LAURA MIGUÉLEZ CAVERO

Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200-600 AD

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Laura Miguélez Cavero

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Laura Miguélez Cavero

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Preface

Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200–600 AD proposes an analysis of the extant Greek hexametric poems produced in Upper Egypt from the third to the sixth century which have reached us on ancient inscriptions, papyri, parchment and tablets, as well as medieval manuscripts. Important efforts have been made by papyrologists and classical scholars with the edition and commentary of individual poems, some of which have been recently acquired through the publication of new papyri.[1] However, a comprehensive study is still lacking. This book aims to fill that gap and to replace the now obsolete model of the so-called 'School of Nonnus', which has for a long time grouped the poets of the area, with a more realistic approach.

Chapter 1 reviews the extant poems relying upon previous scholarship to recreate the literary atmosphere in late antique Egypt and see how our understanding of it is mediated by modern literary criticism. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 constitute the main body of the research and deal with the style attributed to the so-called 'School of Nonnus' (Chapter 2, on metrics, adjectives, vocabulary and stylistics), the interaction of culture and education in late antique Panopolis, from which most of these poets come (Chapter 3) and the relation between the analysed poems and school practice in the form of *progymnasmata*, the exercises of literary composition (Chapter 4). The results of the research are summarised in Chapter 5.

This book is an expanded and substantially rewritten version of my doctoral dissertation (University of Salamanca, Spain, 2006). The whole process from 2001 when I finished my degree to the final stages of the present work, was patiently supervised by Prof. Dr. José Antonio Fernández Delgado. Dr. Dirk Obbink first introduced me to the world of papyrology and then offered me the opportunity of turning my thesis into monograph form. I express my gratitude to them both.

I am very grateful to those who helped me with bibliography, suggestions and corrections: Francisca Pordomingo, Jesús Ureña, Luis Arturo

1 When this book was already in print, *P.Oxy.* 72 was published: it includes several hexametric texts (nos. 4848–52) which could not be taken into account.

Guichard, Daniela Colomo, Claudio De Stefani, Gianfranco Agosti, Willy Clarysse, Gennaro D'Ippolito, Máximo Brioso and Carmen Escribano. Maps were provided by Elisabeth Robinson from the Ancient World Mapping Centre (University of North Carolina). I would also like to remember my colleagues at the University of Salamanca: Alejandra Valdés, Mariangela Bellu and Rodolfo González Equihua. My father, Javier Miguélez, helped me in the translation of my thesis from Spanish into English and Sarah Cullinan revised it all. Errors remain my own.

My PhD was funded by a grant from the Spanish Ministry of Education and Culture (Beca FPU del Ministerio de Educación y Cultura) and I have also benefited from several research projects funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Culture (BFF2001–1957, HUM2004–04110, HUM2007–62093) and the Junta de Castilla y León (SA016/02).

I should also like to thank my family, husband and friends, for their continuing love, patience and support in the past years.

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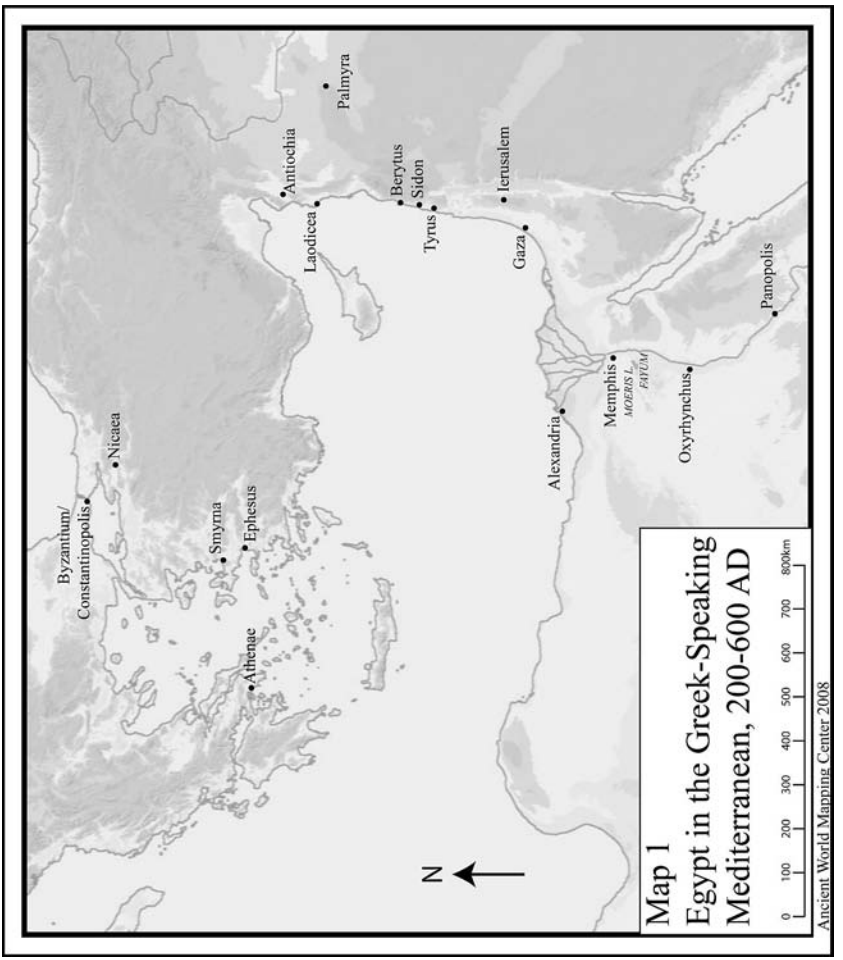
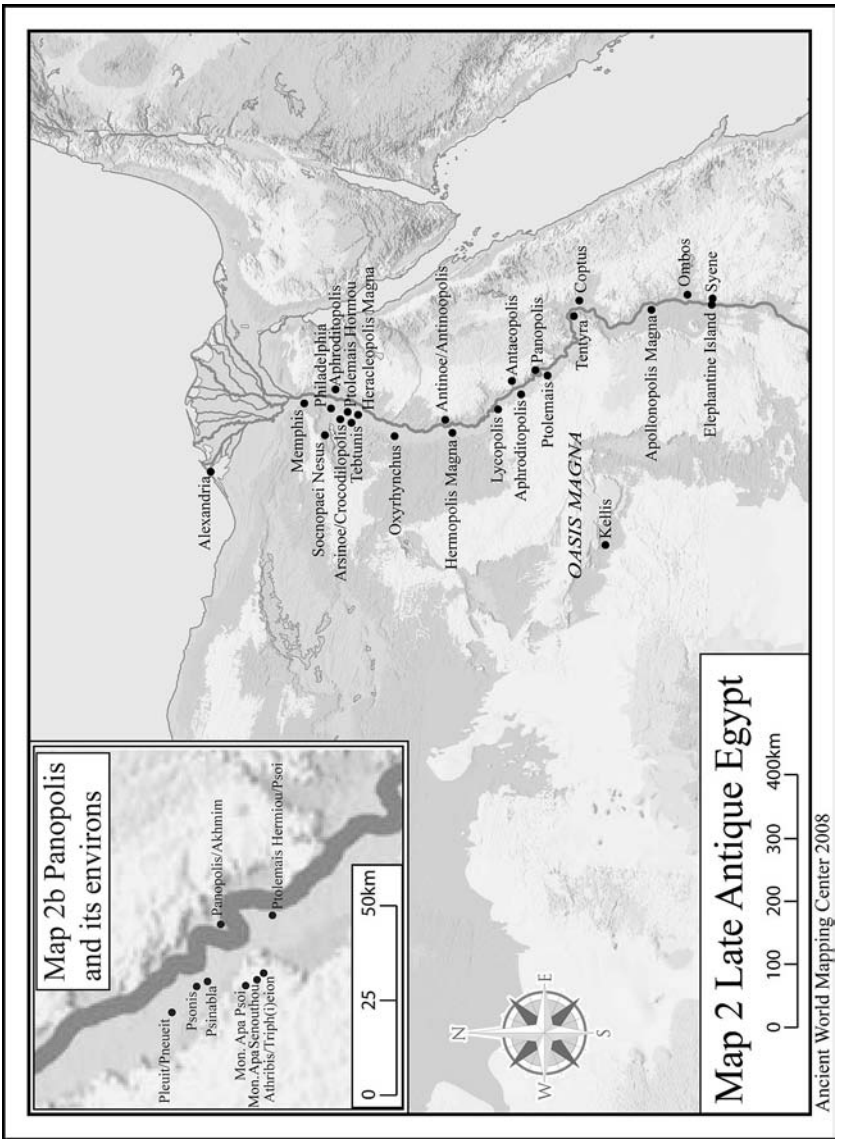

Byzantium/
Constantinopolis
Nicaea
Smyrna
Ephesus
Athenae
Antiochia
Laodicea
Palmyra
Berytus
Sidon
Tyrus
Ierusalem
Gaza
Alexandria
Memphis
MOERIS L.
FAYUM
Oxyrhynchus
Panopolis
N
Map 1
Egypt in the Greek-Speaking
Mediterranean, 200-600 AD
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800km
Ancient World Mapping Center 2008


Map 2b Panopolis and its environs
Pleuit/Pneueit
Psonis
Psinabla
Panopolis/Akhmim
Mon. Apa Psoi
Mon. Apa Senouthou
Athribis/Triph(ì)eion
Ptolemais Hermiou/Psoi
0 25 50km
Alexandria
Memphis
Philadelphia
Aphroditopolis
Socnopaei Nesus
Arsinoe/Crocodilopolis
Ptolemais Hormou
Tebtunis
Heracleopolis Magna
Oxyrhynchus
Antinoe/Antinoopolis
Hermopolis Magna
Lycopolis
Antaeopolis
Aphroditopolis
Panopolis
Ptolemais
OASIS MAGNA
Kellis
Tentyra
Coptus
Apollonopolis Magna
Ombos
Elephantine Island
Syene
N
W
E
S
Map 2 Late Antique Egypt
0 100 200 300 400km
Ancient World Mapping Center 2008

Abbreviations*

ANRW	H. Temporini – W. Haase (Hrsg.) (1972-96), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Berlin – NY
Bailly	A. Bailly (1950), *Dictionnaire Grec - Français*, Paris
BNP	H. Cancik – H. Schneider (eds.) (2002 -), *Brill's New Pauly, Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, Leiden-Boston
CAH XIII	Av. Cameron – P. Garnsey (eds.) (1998), *The Cambridge Ancient History. XIII: The Late Empire, A.D. 337-425*, Cambridge
CAH XIV	Av. Cameron – B. Ward-Perkins – Mi. Whitby (eds.) (2000), *The Cambridge Ancient History. XIV: Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425-600*, Cambridge
Coptic Encyclopedia	A. S. Atiya (ed.) (1991), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, New York
DNP	H. Cancik – H. Schneider (Hgg.) (1996-2002), *Der Neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Bände I-XII/2 Stuttgart – Weimar
Heitsch	E. Heitsch (1963-4), *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Band I, 2. Auflage, Göttingen; Band II, Göttingen
LDAB	Leuven Database of Ancient Books (www.trismegistos.org/ldab/)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell – R. Scott – H. S. Jones (1996), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, With a Revised Supplement edited by P. G. W. Glare with the assistance of A. A. Thompson, Oxford

* Abbreviations of Greek authors and works according to LSJ (except Triph. instead of Tryph.). Abbreviations of journals according to *L'Année Philologique.* Papyri according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, at scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html.

MP^3	The Mertens-Pack^3 Database Project (promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/)
Page	D. L. Page (1942), *Select Papyri, III Literary* Papyri, *Poetry*, Loeb, London – Cambridge (Ma.)
Peek	W. Peek (Hrsg.) (1968-75), *Lexikon zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos*, 4 vols., Hildesheim
PGM	K. Preisendanz – A. Henrichs (1973-4), *Papyri Graecae Magicae = Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2. Aufl., 2 vols., Stuttgart
PLRE I	A. H. M. Jones – J. R. Martindale – J. Morris (1971), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. I A.D. 260-395, Cambridge
PLRE II	J. R. Martindale (1980), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. II A.D. 395-527, Cambridge
PLRE III	J. R. Martindale (1992), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. III A.D. 527-641, Cambridge
RE	G. Wissowa *et al.* (1893-1972), *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart – Münich

The translations of ancient authors used throughout the book are quoted in their first occurrence.

Chapter 1
The so-called school of Nonnus in the literary context of Panopolis (3rd–6th c. AD)

1. Poetry in the Greek East during the 3rd to the 6th c. AD

We cannot speak about epic poetry in Upper Egypt in this period without relating it to the literary panorama of the contemporary cultural world that used the Greek language.[1] Let us consider some of its general features, though in a summarised way.

The epigram became fashionable again from the fourth century among both pagans like the Alexandrian grammarian Palladas and Christians like Gregory of Nazianzus.[2] The use of poetry in epigraphic dedications was also on the increase as a substitution for the bureaucratic prose of the first centuries of the Empire.[3] In Constantinople, Agathias gathered a *Cycle* of poems written during the reign of Justinian which is known today as part of the *Palatine Anthology*. This anthology has also preserved a collection of symposiastic poems attributed to Anacreon and known as *Anacreontics*, which were composed at different times between the first century BC and the sixth century AD.[4]

Hymnic poetry[5] is represented by Synesius of Cyrene (a pupil of Hypatia and bishop of Ptolemais, in Libya), who lived across the fourth and fifth centuries AD, and Proclus (fifth century).[6] The contents of their poems were Neoplatonic.

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1 Cf. Cameron 2004b; Brioso Sánchez 1999; Dihle 1994, 426–9, 570–607; Toohey 1992, 211–23; Vian 1986; Thraede 1962; Wifstrand 1933. Cf. also Keydell 1930, 1941. See map 1 for Egypt in the Greek world.

2 Galli Calderini 1987; Karavites 1993; Conca 2000; Cameron 2004b, 333–9.

3 Cameron 2004b, 331–2. Many of them were first edited and studied in Robert 1948; cf. now Merkelbach – Stauber 1998–2004, concordances in vol. 5, p. 123.

4 Cf. West 1993; Campbell 1988, 3–257. Some studies: West 1990; Rosenmeyer 1992; Ciccolella 2000.

5 Lattke 1991; Brioso Sánchez 1972a.

6 A *Chrestomatia* has been attributed to Proclus: it is a handbook of literature of which only an epitome is preserved; he is also the author of scholia on Hesiod's *Works and Days*.

Late antique epic poetry is characterised by its diversity.[7] The long poem was cultivated by Quintus of Smyrna and Nonnus, and the short poem by Triphiodorus, Musaeus and Colluthus. Its subject matter is also very assorted. As far as magic and religious subjects are concerned, we can mention the *Lithica*, a poem of about 800 hexameters on the powers of stones. In Byzantine times it was associated with the *Orphic Argonautica*, to be dated probably back to Late Antiquity, in which Orpheus narrates his journey with the Argonauts as an allegory of the journey of the soul. We can also mention the poems in the *Codex Visionum* (*P.Bodm.* 29–37), as the kind of language used in all the compositions in this *codex* shows a clearly epic mark.

After the success of didactics in the second century, in the third century we find the *Cynegetica* by Oppian of Apamea, in the wake of the *Halieutica* by Oppian of Cilicia. Also a didactic poem, though somehow different, is that by Naumachius (known only through Stobaeus, Heitsch 29), which gives advice to a girl of marriageable age.

Poems related to contemporary events fall into a different category. We have several 'official' poems dedicated to governing people and, therefore, with a certain laudatory touch, like Heitsch 22 (**41.1**)[8] about the war of Diocletian and Galerius against the Persians; Heitsch 27–8 (**27.**), an encomium on Maximus, a high dignitary from Tyre; Heitsch 32 (**39.**), a panegyric of General Germanus, of which a part survives and is known as *Blemmyomachy*. The last known author is Dioscorus of Aphrodito, whose original manuscripts are still extant.[9] The foundation of cities is also celebrated, as proved by Heitsch 24 (**41.2**), a cosmogonic fragment of some *Patria* from Hermoupolis; some Claudianus, who might have been the citizen from Alexandria related to Stilicho, may have written *Patria* too.[10]

The surviving papyri provide a channel of contact with the renovation of the artistic tradition. Many of the poems preserved only on papyrus were created to meet short-term needs and would therefore disappear when the first copies were discarded. They provide further evidence that late antique poetry was not necessarily anachronic, or confined to a servile reiteration of obsolete schemes.

7 Cf. Vian 1986, 335–6.

8 The bold figures in brackets refer to the catalogue of epigraphic and papyrological compositions in 3.2.

9 Fournet 1999, nos. 1–40.

10 Cf. Cameron 1970b, 7–12.

Bucolic topics are represented by Heitsch 35 (**54.3** "Song of the Day") and two other poems preserved in the *Palatine Anthology*, 9.136 (threnody of Cyrus of Panopolis on leaving Constantinople for his exile) and 9.363 (description of the spring in 23 hexameters). Their contents are bucolic but their form is epic throughout.

Hexametric paraphrases of the books of the Bible were quite common around the Mediterranean and became popular both in Latin and Greek fifth-century poetry, as shown by Nonnus' *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John* and that of the Psalms by Ps. Apollinar, and in Latin by Juvencus and Sedulius, Arator, Ciprianus Gallus, Cl. Marius Gallus and Avitus.[11]

The most abundant subject matter, however, is the mythological one. Quintus of Smyrna (3rd c. AD) is the author of the *Posthomerica*,[12] fourteen books which intended to replace the old cyclic poems accounting for the events of the Trojan cycle between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.* They show clear school features and basic rhetorical patterns as well as the conveyance of a certain Stoic morality.[13] About this time too, Nestor of Laranda wrote his *Metamorphoses* (*AP* 9.129 and 364) and *Lipogrammatic Iliad.* Later, his son Pisander wrote some *Heroic Theogamies,* 60 books about divine matches which gathered a great amount of mythical matter.[14]

Several Egyptian names have already been mentioned, but certainly most mythological poetry is Egyptian: Triphiodorus, Nonnus, Musaeus, and Colluthus are all from Panopolis or its surroundings. Perhaps we could talk about a poetic flourishing, in a sense parallel to and complementary with what is now termed as 'Third Sophistic',[15] but that would force into a category a certain number of poets whose purpose surely was not to create a group.

11 Cf. Roberts 1985; Green 2006.
12 Vian 1963, 1966, 1969. Eng. transl.: James 2004.
13 Cf. Vian 1986, 336.
14 Cf. Heitsch S6; Keydell 1935a.
15 Cf. Pernot 1993, 14; Pernot 2005a, 206–7; Puech 2002, 7–8; Amato – Roduit – Steinrück 2006, v-viii.

2. Only poetry?

Even though late antique Egyptian poetry is so popular, we cannot forget that it coexisted with a prose production, certainly not so abundant, but nevertheless to be taken into account. What follows is just a short overview of what is known about the prose writers of the Thebaid in the third to the sixth centuries AD.

A Family of Priests and Men of Letters

Aur. Ammon was a Panopolite σχολαστικός who lived across the third and fourth centuries and whose documents have been preserved (*P. Ammon*). He is the author of *P.Ammon* 1.7–15 (348 AD), drafts of a *diamartyria* (a protest) addressed by him to the *katholikos* of Alexandria.[16] They are certainly not the acme of the Greek prose of his time, but he can be considered a prose writer because, on a small scale, he uses the same resources as some of his more-talented contemporaries.[17] Along the same line, van Minnen[18] has shown that *P.Ammon* 1.3, a letter written by Ammon to his mother at the beginning of the fourth century, was preceded by several preliminary drafts, the evolution of which left marks in the final phrasing.

A substantial part of the surviving documentation of Aur. Ammon is related to processes with which he had to deal after the death of his brother, Harpocration, a panegyrist who travelled with the Imperial court.[19] As poetry panegyrics are an innovation of the latter part of the fourth century, it can be expected that those written by the Panopolite were in prose.[20]

16 Supplemented by several fragments from Florence, published as *P.Ammon* 2.32–46 (cf. *P.Ammon* 2, p. 11 for the equivalences), of which cf. esp. *P.Ammon* 2.41. On the process cf. *P.Ammon* 2, pp. 16–21.

17 Cf. van Minnen 2002, 183, 195–7.

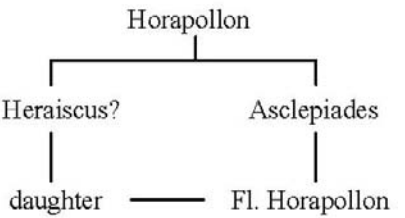
18 Cf. van Minnen 2002, 188–95.

19 Harpocration was Imperial procurator and *curator civitatis* while he served the Emperor: cf. *SB* 14.11929 (Panopolis, 348 AD) and the comment of Browne 1977. Not to be confused with his namesake rhetor: cf. Kaster 1988, no. 226, pp. 410–11.

20 Cf. van Minnen 2002, 183–4; Barnes 1997.

A Family of a Perfect Pagan Pedigree

This is possibly the *stemma* of the second family from the Panopolite nome about whose literary production roughly reliable facts are known.[21] They came from Phoenebitis, where they had their estates, but none of the members about whom some information is known resided there permanently, but in Alexandria or Constantinople. The three generations spanned the whole of the fifth century.



We have to start the reconstruction of their saga with the last of its members, Fl. Horapollon, because a copy of a document written by him has been preserved in the library of Dioscorus of Aphrodito.[22] In it Horapollon reported that he had been robbed by his former wife[23] and it allows us to infer some useful information:

– Fl. Horapollon was a teacher in Alexandria, where he enjoyed great prestige (I 1, very fragmentary, above all I 12–14 and the *subscriptio* of the document in II 24); the description of his teaching activities is

21 Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* III, p. 48 = *PLRE* II, p. 1326. References to each of the family members:
Horapollon: *PLRE* I, *s.v.* "Horapollon", 442; *PLRE* II, s.v. "Horapollon 1", 569; Kaster 1988, no. 77 (pp. 294–5).
Asclepiades: *PLRE* II, *s.v.* "Asclepiades 2"; S. L. Karren, "Asclepiades", *Coptic Encyclopedia* 1, 283–4.
Heraiscus: *PLRE* II, *s.v.* "Heraiscus", 543–4; M. Tardieu, "Heraïscus", *BNP* 6, 183; S. L. Karren, "Heraiscus", *Coptic Encyclopedia* 4, 1221–2.
Fl. Horapollon: *PLRE* II, *s.v.* "Fl. Horapollon 2", 569–70; Kaster 1988, no. 78 (pp. 295–7); S. L. Karren, "Horapollon", *Coptic Encyclopedia* 4, 1255–6; H. Felber, "Horapollo", *BNP* 6, 483–4.

22 Probably Dioscorus copied it for its literary interest: Maspéro 1914, 175, 177–8; Fournet 1999, 671.

23 *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67295. Cf. edition and commentary of Maspéro 1914.

not very clear: I 14 τὴν φιλοσόφον ἐπευθυμὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις παιδείαν.[24]

– He inherited all his knowledge from his ancestors, particularly from his father and teacher, Asclepiades, who devoted all his life to teaching (I 14–16).
– Fl. Horapollon was brought up in the house that Asclepiades and his brother shared. The two brothers had everything in common and led an erudite existence (I 18–19).
– Horapollon's uncle had a daughter who Horapollon had grown up with and later married. She abandoned him and ran away with a lover. When Horapollon was still in Alexandria, in anticipation of the impending divorce, she took away all the furniture from the family house in Phoenebitis and even lifted the floors in search of reserve funds of money (I 28–9, II 4–7).

The *Suda* (Ω 159.1–6 Adler) includes an entry devoted to a Horapollon of Phoenebitis, who had worked as a grammarian at the time of Theodosius, without specifying if it is Theodosius I (379–95) or II (408–50). For chronological reasons he cannot be Fl. Horapollon, but he could have been his grandfather, who might have earned a living as a *grammatikos* in Alexandria and Constantinople. Probably the *Suda* merged the two lives into one entry, as it gathers facts that coincide with what is known about Fl. Horapollon (Ω 159.6), a pagan with philosophical uneasiness who lived in Alexandria and was in contact with Heraiscus, Ammonius and Harpocration.

Zacharias Scholasticus, in his *Life of Severus* (pp. 14–16, 22–3), places in Alexandria a certain grammarian Horapollon, who he calls φιλόσοφος too, as a friend of Heraiscus and Ammonius: he may have been Fl. Horapollon. Zacharias tells that, during the patriarchate of Petrus Mongus (482–9), one Horapollon (as well as several other Neoplatonists) was forbidden to go on teaching under the accusation of magic practices, for which he was jeered at by his pupil Paralius. The rest of his pupils gave the dissident such a beating that the Prefect heard about it, but, being a cryptopagan, allowed the philosophers to escape. Then the bishop launched a campaign against Horapollon, including some imprecations calling him *Psychapollo* ('the destroyer of souls') in all the churches of Alexandria the following Sunday.[25]

24 Cf. Kaster 1988, 295.

25 About pagan proselytism, cf. Athanassiadi 1993, 12.

Damascius[26] says that Horapollon and Heraiscus were arrested and tortured to make them denounce Isidorus and Harpocration, but that they held out. Then Heraiscus hid in the house of a certain Gesius, where he died.[27] He was buried in the traditional way and at his funeral his sarcophagus was covered with light and mystic signs from the deities he worshiped. He was a real pagan saint, who could distinguish which statues were inhabited by gods and which were not.[28]

In all sources Horapollon appears associated with Heraiscus, which is why the latter has been suspected to be his uncle and father-in-law, though this identification is not completely reliable.[29] The *Suda*[30] says that Horapollon was not a real philosopher (in the sense of lover of pagan wisdom) and that Heraiscus had predicted that he would abandon his ancestors' beliefs and convert. And so he did, according to the *Suda* and Damascius (*V.Isid.* fr. 317 Zintzen). He might even have already done so by the time he wrote *P.Cair.Masp*. 3.67295, if we consider some expressions to be Christian.[31] Had he converted by then, it might have had something to do with the ridicule he experienced when he was abandoned by a wife with a perfect pagan pedigree.[32]

Now that the family tree has been clarified, let us try to do the same with the literary activities of each of the family members:

– Horapollon: the *Suda* (Ω 159.3–4) attributes to him some Τεμενικά (*On Sanctuaries*) and studies on Sophocles, Alceus and Homer.
– Asclepiades: if he is the one mentioned in Damascius' *Life of Isidorus*,[33] he would have written several works on Egyptian religion and history, as well as some hymns about the gods. Damascius says that he was superior to Heraiscus in Egyptian lore.[34]

26 *Vita Isid.* fr. 314 Zintzen; *Suda* Ω 159.6–11 Adler.
27 *Suda* Γ 207 Adler.
28 Dam. *Hist. Phil.* fr. 76.E Athanassiadi = *Suda* H 450 (= Δ 522); Dam. *Epit. Phot.* 107.
29 Cf. Kaster 1988, 297; Maspéro 1914, 179–81.
30 *Suda* Ω 159.6 ff. Adler (~ Dam. *Hist. Phil.* fr. 120 B Athanassiadi).
31 Cf. 1.15 and 2.15–16. The cross in 1.30 may have been added in copying *P.Cair.-Masp.* 3.67295.
32 Cf. Athanassiadi 1993, 21–2.
33 Frags. 161, 164, 165, 174 Zintzen. Cf., however, Maspéro 1914, 179–81; Kaster 1988, 245, 297.
34 Dam. *Hist. Phil.* fr. 72.A Athanassiadi = *Suda* H 450.

– Heraiscus was more widely travelled than Asclepiades and had wider knowledge than him,[35] but no information about any of his works is extant.
– Fl. Horapollon: his entry in the *Suda* does not attribute him any writing; he is only reliably known through *P.Cair.Masp*. 3.67295.

Photius[36] mentions a grammarian Horapollon, who would have written some *Patria* about Alexandria and several δράματα in iambi,[37] which he read in the same codex as the *Chrestomathies* by Helladius of Antinoopolis and other iambic works. In principle nothing allows us to identify him with either of the Panopolites or with a third person,[38] but as the rest of the authors of such codex can be dated from the latter part of the fourth century, it may be inferred that he is the first of them, Horapollon.[39]

Finally, there survives a work entitled *Hieroglyphica*, about the interpretation of hieroglyphs,[40] attributed to a *Horapollon Nilotes*. It is not known whether he is one of the members of this family or a different unknown person.

Cyrus of Panopolis

Vid. infra. 3.1.

Olympiodorus of Thebes

Olympiodorus[41] was born in Thebes *c*. 380 AD. Photius says that he was a poet by trade and pagan.[42] He is primarily known as a diplomat and for his historical writings and the Patriarch's statement; his dealings with the Blemmyes have also led to attribute to him a *Blemmyomachy* (**39.**).

35 *Ibid.*
36 Phot. *Bibl.* Cod. 279 (VIII 187. 8–15 Henry).
37 About the meaning of δρᾶμα, cf. Hammerstaedt 1997, 109–11.
38 Cf. Kaster 1988, 295, 297.
39 Hammerstaedt 1997, 116; Caprara 1998; Fournet 2003, 535.
40 Thissen 1998, 2000.
41 *PLRE* II, *s.v.* "Olympiodorus (of Thebes) 1", 798–9; "Olympiodorus [3]", *BNP* 10, 112–13; M. Krause, "Olympiodorus of Thebes", *Coptic Encyclopedia* 6, 1840; Blockley (1981–3), I 27–47; Rohrbacher 2002, 73–81; Liebeschuetz 2003, 201–6; Treadgold 2007, 89–96.
42 Phot. *Bibl.* Cod. 80 (I 166. 12–14 Henry).

It is also possible that the term ποιητής may have been used in the wide sense of writer of artistic poetry or prose.[43]

His religious creed seems to be confirmed by the fact that the pagan Hierocles dedicated his Περὶ προνοίας καὶ εἱμαρμένης to him. To this should be added that he believed in magic and the traditional gods,[44] as some of the Neoplatonic traits which can be traced in the remains of his work are not sufficient to name him a Neoplatonist.[45] Another interesting fact about him is that he had a wide knowledge of Latin, which shows in the frequent transliterated Latin words in his historical work, as well as his use of Latin sources for everything relating to the Western Empire.[46]

Olympiodorus' activities are known through his Ὑλὴ ἱστωρίας (*Material for History*), a 22-volume work about the years 407–25, which he dedicated to Emperor Theodosius II. It is believed that it was published in the 440s.[47] Unfortunately it has not survived, though it can be partially reconstructed through Photius' summary.[48] It is also known that it was the source for Zosimus' *New History* 5.26–6.13[49] and Sozomenus' *History of the Church* from 9.4 to the end. In spite of Photius' unfavourable opinion about him,[50] Olympiodorus seems interesting because he often gives precise figures in geographical matters and details in his digressions.[51]

The life of Olympiodorus was quite exciting, judging by what is reflected in his work: in 412 he was the ambassador before the Hun Donatus, who died while he was carrying out his commission. Olympiodorus then won over Donatus' successor with presents (8.173 Henry = 19 Blockley). He underwent great dangers on his sea voyages (8.181.1–4 H. = 35.1 B.), probably including some to Italy and particularly to Rome.[52] Guided by the Blemmyes, he explored their region to gather materials for his historical work (8.182.9–22 H.= 35.2 B.).

43 Cf. Blockley 1981–3, I 27.
44 Phot. *Bibl.* Cod. 80 (fr. 36 Blockley). Cf. Rohrbacher 2002, 73.
45 Cf. Cameron 1965, 476.
46 Rohrbacher 2002, 73, 80–1.
47 Gillett 1992, 4–6.
48 Phot. *Bibl.* Cod. 80 (I 166–87 Henry); Blockley 1981–3, II 152–220.
49 Matthews 1975, 81–2; Blockley 1981–3, I 107–12.
50 Phot. *Bibl.* Cod. 80 (1.166.15–167.25 Henry).
51 Rohrbacher 2002, 78–80; full analysis in Matthews 1970, 79–97. The digressions could serve as a transition between the different events: Blockley 1981–3, I 35–6.
52 Cf. Blockley 1981–3, I 27–8.

Serenus of Antinoopolis

In the fourth century Serenus of Antinoopolis[53] dedicated a Περὶ κυλίνδρου τομῆς (*About the Cylinder Section*) and a Περὶ κώνου τομῆς (*About the cone section*) to a certain Cyrus, about whom there is no other information. His references in these two works are Euclid and, above all, Apollonius of Perga.[54] He also wrote a commentary of the Κωνικά by Apollonius of Perga, which has not survived.

Zosimus the Alchemist

His work, which will be dealt with when writing about alchemy, was all in prose. Cf. 3.3.3 ('Alchemy').

3. Poetry in the Thebaid

When facing all the poetry produced in the Thebaid during the period from the third to the sixth century, both that which is preserved and that of which we only have little information, the first way of establishing an overview is to divide it by means of the three types of transmission: to some poems we have access through medieval manuscripts, to some through epigraphical and papyrological records and to some through mentions in other authors.

3.1. Authors whose work has been transmitted in manuscripts

Triphiodorus

The *Suda* is the only source that affords some information about Triphiodorus and it shows two entries under the name Τρυφιόδωρος.[55] As there is no contradiction between them and they share some facts (a name used

53 *PLRE* I, *s.v.* "Serenus 1, mathematician, ?M IV"; Orinsky, *RE* II A 2, 1677–8, *s.v.* "Serenus 10".

54 Cuomo 2001, 243.

55 T 1111, 1112. The double entry remains in *PLRE* II, *s.v. Triphiodorus.* Keydell included two separate articles in *RE* (Keydell 1939a, 1939b), though in the second he acknowledged that they were probably the same person.

exclusively in Upper Egypt, a grammarian and epic poet), they have been considered to refer to the same person. The Τρυφιόδωρος of the manuscripts and the *Suda* must be a case of hypercorrection due to the hesitation in spelling ι / υ for phonetic reasons, as can be seen in the sixth-century cadastre of Aphrodito (*P.Freer* Inv. 08.45 a / b – Gascou–MacCoull 1976). Nowadays the usual reading is Τριφιόδωρος,[56] a name, derived from a Panopolite deity, Triphis, which suggests that the poet (or his parents) was Egyptian, as the *Suda* says, and came from that nome, from either its capital city or its surroundings.[57]

His only preserved work is the *Sack of Troy* (Ἰλίου ἅλωσις), an epic poem of 691 hexameters, which narrates the events between the construction of the wooden horse and the sharing out of the loot and the departure of the Achaeans. The narrative is introduced with an invocation to the Muse Calliope (lines 1–5) and a prologue (6–56) on the difficult situation of both armies because of the duration of the war (6–39) and the element which breaks the balance between them, Helenus' prophecies (40–56). The central nucleus is made up of three narrative blocks: the ἔκφρασις of the wooden horse (57–107), the Achaean arrangements for their snare (108–234), opposed to the naïve reactions of the Trojans (235–505), and a long account of the seizure of Troy (506–663). The poet then decides to finish the poem (664–7), remembering the last actions of the Greeks before their departure (668–91).

The articles of the *Suda* show other titles[58] in which epic composition (*Marathoniaca*, *The Story of Hippodamea*) and grammatical interest[59] (*Lipogrammatic Odyssey*,[60] *Paraphrase of Homer's comparisons*)[61] are in-

56 Cf. Livrea 1982; Gerlaud 1982; Campbell 1985; Cuartero Iborra 1988; Dubielzig 1996. Eng. transl.: Mair 1928.

57 From Panopolis: Cameron 1965, 472; Gerlaud 1982, 6; Dubielzig 1996, 4–7. From Athribis: Cuartero Iborra 1988, 13; MacCoull 1988, 59. Pontani 1984, 194, proposes Thebes. Dubielzig 1996, 6–7 supplies another proof that Triphiodorus was Egyptian or that he wrote from an Egyptian's viewpoint: he compares the Trojans driving the wooden horse to their city to the ominous migration of the cranes (352–5).

58 Cf. Dubielzig 1996, 11–15 for an analysis of the titles and a possible reconstruction of their contents.

59 It is also present in his *Sack of Troy*, as Dubielzig 1996, 16–20 remarks.

60 In the line of Nestor of Laranda's *Lipogrammatic Iliad*: cf. *Suda s.v.* Νέστωρ.

61 Cf. Keydell 1939b: "Für die Paraphrase wird er eine Sammlung homerischer Gleichnisse benutzt haben, wie sie in P. Cairo 60565 (Waddell Mélanges Maspero II 145) vorliegt". Dubielzig 1996, 15 compares Triphiodorus' work to a

termingled: we encounter a poet-grammarian who knows and imitates Homer,[62] but also Pindar[63] and Hellenistic poetry.[64] His relationship with Virgil is difficult to define.[65]

Due to the lack of internal data scholars used his style to date him:[66] with Homer as his first model and Apollonius Rhodius as a reference,[67] he also showed reminiscences of poets from Antoninian and Severan times (Dionysius the Periegete, both Oppians) and a great likeness to the *Posthomerica.* The relationship with Nonnus was ambiguous: the language is similar in both, to the extent that Triphiodorus shares with him numerous parts of lines, but his metrics is clearly different from Nonnus'.[68] He ended up being placed in the first generation of Nonnus' disciples, in the latter part of the fifth century,[69] on the basis that Colluthus (*c.* 500) had imitated him in his *Rape of Helen.*

In 1972, however, Rea published *P.Oxy.* 41.2946, which contains the lines 391–402 of the *Sack of Troy.* Though he was forced to admit some wider limits due to lack of Graeco-Egyptian literary hands, paleographic evidence suggests the third century.[70] There was a very fragmentary prose text on the reverse (*P.Oxy.* 41.2947), which could be the com-

"'rhetorische Schulparaphrase', wie die in *Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 3019 (Holztafel; – zu Il. 1, 1–21)".

62 For details see Gerlaud 1982, 37, 51–2.

63 Cf. Cannatà Fera 2003.

64 About the inheritance of the Hellenistic epyllion, cf. Vian 1986, 338; Gerlaud 1982, 40; Dubielzig 1996, 27–8.

65 Cf. summaries in Gerlaud 1982, 41–7; Dubielzig 1996, 20–6.

66 About the chronology of Triphiodorus, cf. outline in Dubielzig 1996, 7–11.

67 Vian 2001, 294–6.

68 Wifstrand 1933, 75: "bei Triphiodoros haben wir nichts Nonnisches gefunden… wären nicht die zahlreichen Phrasen und Versteile, die er offenbar aus den *Dionysiaka* geholt hat, würde man geneigt sein, ihn sogar vor Nonnos zu setzen"; Keydell 1941, 46. Cf. the comparison of the metrics of both of them in Cameron 1970b, 478–82.

69 Keydell 1939a, 178.

70 Similar in size, slant and shape of letters to *P.Oxy.* 1012, dated by Hunt from mid 3rd c. G. Cavallo suggests other parallels, also from the same period: *P. Berol.* 9766, *P.Ryl.* 1.57 and *P.Chester Beatty* XI. Cf. J. R. Rea's edition of the *P.Oxy.* 2946, p. 9, n. 1. Also Del Corno – Vandorni 1976, 235. On the other hand, the fact that it comes frome Oxyrhynchus, about 230 km. from Panopolis and 320 from Alexandria, makes us suppose that some time passed between the moment when the poem was composed and the production of the copy found, as it is not likely that the copy is the or an autograph. Besides, if the text on the *verso* is a commentary, some time must have passed between the composition and the copy preserved. Cf. Dubielzig 1996, 10.

mentary to the text on the other side since the name Neoptolemus occurs, perhaps a reference to his appearances in the poem.[71]

Even considering this papyrus, the opinions about his dating are still very varied. Gerlaud[72] starts from 250 AD as *terminus post quem*, taking into account the *Lipogrammatic Iliad* by Nestor of Laranda (1st-2nd c. AD) and the *Posthomerica* (mid 3rd c. AD) and 350 AD as *terminus ante quem* because of *P.Oxy.* 2946 and the *Poems* by Gregory of Nazianzus (latter part of the 4th c.), who seems to know the *Sack of Troy.* Inside those limits, Gerlaud associates the writing of the poem to the construction of Constantinople (324–30), which was accompanied by artistic and literary propaganda praising the new city as a second Rome and a third Troy, giving way to a renewed interest in the Trojan cycle.

Dubielzig rejects Gerlaud's chronology[73] and, on the basis that the name of the author was frequent particularly in the third century, favours the third century. He would be later than Oppian of Anazarbus and probably also than Nestor of Laranda, but earlier than Diocletian (284–305). A more accurate dating will depend, according to Dubielzig, on whether it can be maintained that Quintus of Smyrna is earlier than Triphiodorus, as has been understood up to now.[74]

Nonnus

Nonnus of Panopolis is the most complex author of those dealt with in this book. As there is not an entry in the *Suda*,[75] the only sure fact about him is that he was from Panopolis, though his name looks rather Syrian or Palestinian.[76] Out of the two epic poems attributed to him,

71 Ll. 51–4 (arrival at the Achaian camp), 152b-7 (gets onto the horse), 634–43 (kills Priam). It could also be brought up in relation with the murder of Priam (399–400), which appears on the other side.

72 Gerlaud 1982, 6–9; Cuartero Iborra 1988, 9–14.

73 Dubielzig 1996, 10.

74 Cf., notwithstanding, Carvounis 2004, 11. Cf. also Dillon 1995, who discovers echoes of Theodorus of Asine (first half of the 4th c.) in Quintus.

75 He is quoted only as the author of the *Paraphrase* in an addition to the article νόνναι.

76 Cf. Bonner 1954. This leads Livrea 1987 to reconstruct some Christian Syrian origins for his family and to identify him with Nonnus, bishop of Edessa (*RE* XVII.1, cols. 902–3, *s.v.* "Nonnos 3"). *Contra*, Cameron 2000, 182–8. Livrea 2003 answers to his arguments. Also cf. De Stefani 2002, p. 8, n. 15.

the *Dionysiaca*[77] and the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John*,[78] very few facts can be inferred: it has been supposed, on the basis of *D.* 1.13 (Φάρῳ παρὰ γείτονι νήσῳ), that Nonnus would have written his *Dionysiaca* in Alexandria, which would imply that he was in touch with the learned élites of the city.[79]

It is an arduous task to decide on his religious creed: can we reconcile the paganism of the *Dionysiaca* and the piety of the *Paraphrase?* If we believe that the part played in the *Dionysiaca* by magic, astrology,[80] theurgy, orphism and hermetism[81] is so important as to be sufficient to deduce that its author was a pagan,[82] we have to consider that the *Paraphrase*, in which very deep theological knowledge can be perceived,[83] is either someone else's work[84] or a work by him after his conversion to Christianity.[85]

The theory that he converted would demand that the *Dionysiaca* would have been composed earlier than the *Paraphrase* in spite of the lesser accuracy in metrics and style of the latter,[86] as well as other lexical matters.[87] If we accept a reverse order and maintain that both works cannot have been written by a Christian author, we should be considering apostasy.[88] It has also been suggested that the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrase* were developed in parallel.[89]

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77 Bilingual Greek-English edition: Rouse – Rose – Lind 1940. The new edition in Belles Lettres is now complete: Vian 1976–2006. Cf. also Tissoni 1998; Gigli Piccardi 2003–4.

78 Old, but complete edition: Scheindler 1881. The new Italian edition is not complete yet: De Stefani 2002; Livrea 2000; Caprara 2006; Agosti 2003b; Greco 2004; Livrea 1989; Accorinti 1996.

79 Gigli Piccardi 1993; Livrea 1987, 440. Cf. also *AP* 9.198, referred to in Wifstrand 1933, 166–7; Livrea 1987, 450–3. Against the attribution of this epigram to Nonnus: Keydell 1926–7; Abel-Wilmanns 1977, 10.

80 Feraboli 1985.

81 Accorinti 1995. Cf. the realistic analysis in Frangoulis 2000.

82 Bogner 1934; Keydell 1939c, 915–16; Abel-Wilmanns 1977, 16.

83 Cf. Golega 1930, 106–15; Smolak 1984.

84 Sherry 1996, *contra* Cameron 2000, 175.

85 Ludwich 1909–11, viii; Keydell 1927; 1932a; 1939c, 909–11; Collart 1930, 8–15.

86 Vian 1976, xii ff.; Sherry 1996, 420–1; Cameron 2000, 178–9. Cf. though Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 408: "Le deviazioni di Nonno parafraste evangelico dall'*usus* dionisiaco più rigoroso… possono quasi per intero essere spiegate con la particolare natura della parafrasi rispetto ad un testo di invenzione".

87 Vian 1988a; Vian 1997b; Cameron 2000, 179–80.

88 Stegemann 1930, p. 209, n. 1; Rémondon 1952, 69 ff.; Dostálová-Jeništova 1957, 35.

If both poems are by the same author, this may suggest that he was a half pagan Christian,[90] or that his works were simple composition exercises in which personal attitudes were not involved.[91] Another option would be that the *Dionysiaca* might have been the product of the cultural contemporary syncretism.[92] However, the most satisfactory explanation is that they are the work of a Christian who had received the same training as a contemporary pagan and composed a mythological poem which did not contradict his beliefs,[93] and which could be related to his Egyptian origins.[94]

Several dates have been proposed:

– Collart[95] places the supposed conversion of Nonnus *c.* 390, before the edicts of Theodosius which led to the definitive prohibition of pagan cults: the *Dionysiaca* would have been previous to that and the *Paraphrase* subsequent to it. According to Cataudella,[96] they would be earlier than 381, the starting date for the composition of the poems by Gregory of Nazianzus, who would have imitated Nonnus.
– Ludwich:[97] the *Dionysiaca* is later than 390 (imitation of Gregory of Nazianzus) and earlier than 405 (Eun. *VS* 10.7.11–12 and imitation of Cyrus of Panopolis).
– Keydell:[98] the *Dionysiaca* was written later than 397 (Claudian)[99] and prior to 470 (Agath. *Hist*. 4.23; the first "Nonnians" i.e. the encomium of Theagenes [**54.4**] and PSI 253 [**46.**]; the *Hymns* by Proclus and the poetry of Cyrus of Panopolis are not far away from Nonnian technique). Vian[100] does not believe that, in 405, Eunapius (*VS* 10.7.11–12)

89 Livrea 1987, 443; De Stefani 2002, 6; Agosti 1998b, 212; Agosti 2003b, 45; Vian 1997b, 160.
90 Golega 1930, 79–88; Lind 1934, 71.
91 Cataudella 1936; String 1966, 71.
92 Chuvin 1986, 387–96 sees Nonnus between both systems of beliefs, virtually indifferent; Bowersock 1990, 41–2 describes his Dionysus as a polytheist Christ. Livrea 1987, 449 calls him a champion of both Dionysism (as purported in mysteries and by soteriology) and a Neoplatonic Christianity.
93 Cf. Agosti 2003b, p. 46, n. 34. Particularly revealing are Vian 1994a; Liebeschuetz 1996.
94 Gigli Piccardi 1984a; 1998; 2003, 45 ff.
95 Collart 1930, 13 ff.
96 Cataudella 1934.
97 Ludwich 1887; 1909–11, ix-x.
98 Cf. Keydell 1939c, 904–5; also Golega 1930, *passim.*
99 Keydell 1935b.
100 Vian 1976, xv-xviii.

refers to Nonnus: the *terminus post quem* of the *Dionysiaca* would be *AP* 9.136, composed by Cyrus in 441–2, since Nonnus seems to quote his first line (*D.* 16.321, 20.372).[101] Besides, *D.* 41.143 ff., 174 and 395–8 would refer to τῆς οἰκομένης διδάσκαλοι, the title which the teachers at the school of law in Beirut received in 449–50, when it was made a metropolis. The *Dionysiaca* would have been composed in the period 450–70, rather at the end, since neither Cyrus (*fl.* 435–57) nor Proclus (410–85) seem to have been under its influence.[102]

– Friedländer:[103] the *D.* is subsequent to 440 (Nonnus uses Cyrus of Panopolis and Proclus is not Nonnian) and prior to 490 (first Nonnians at the time of Anastasius).

As for the *Paraphrase*, the use by Nonnus of the adjective θεοτόκος as applied to the Virgin has been reckoned decisive. It became a popular orthodox designation in the defence of the double nature of Christ during the Council of Ephesus (431),[104] but was already used in the fourth century.[105] That is why Vian[106] reluctantly suggests the decade subsequent to the Council as its composition time: it would be a work of youth.

However, the probable influence of the *Commentary on John's Gospel* written by Cyril of Alexandria would give, for its composition date (425–8), the *terminus post quem* of the *Paraphrase*.[107] Livrea suggests the Council of Chalcedon as *terminus ante quem* (451), as its condemnation of Monophysite theses marked the separation of the Monophysite Egyptian Church, and the revaluation of the paraphrase which occurred between the *Ecclesiastical History* by Socrates and that by Sozomen. Thus Livrea dates the *Paraphrase c.* 445–50 AD.[108]

Keydell defined the content of the *Dionysiaca* as a mosaic on which the tesselae opposed and interrelated to each other, hiding the central theme of Dionysus' life. The main concern would not be lineal clarity but colour intensity.[109] He thus rejected the theory of Stegemann, who

101 Friedländer 1912a, 44–9.
102 Friedländer 1912a, 48–52.
103 Friedländer 1912a, 44 thought that *AP* 9.136 (*c.* 441–2) was previous to Nonnus. Also Lind 1934, 69–73. Opposite thesis in Cameron 1982, 230–8.
104 Keydell 1936a, 904–5.
105 Collart 1930, 275. Nevertheless, such a term does not appear yet in the commentary to the Gospel of John by Cyril: cf. Golega 1930, 109.
106 Vian 1976, xviii.
107 Golega 1930, 110–11; Livrea 1987, 444; De Stefani 2002, 9.
108 Livrea 1987, 445.
109 Keydell 1936c, 910.

held that the underlying pattern was the βασιλικὸς λόγος (royal encomium) of Menander Rhetor (368–77),[110] without explaining how the poet adapted it. Such theory was taken up by Vian and Lasky in the 70s[111] and it is nowadays regarded as *communis opinio*, not minimising the structural importance of genealogy, metamorphosis and smaller compositive units.

The content of the *Dionysiaca*[112] can be outlined like this:

1–12: Antecedents and youth of Dionysus
- 1.1–5.561: Antecedents
  - 1.1–44 Proem
  - 1.45–137, 321–61 Rape of Europe
  - 1.138–320, 1.362–2.712 Typhonomachy
  - 3.1–4.248 Cadmus in Samothrace; he leaves with Harmonia (Aphrodite's daughter)
  - 4.249–5.87 Cadmus in Greece
  - 5.88–189 Wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia
  - 5.190–561 Offspring
- 5.562–12.397: Birth and youth of Dionysus
  - 5.562–6.388 Story of Zagreus, flood
  - 7.1–109 Aion asks for the redemption of humanity
  - 7.110–9.242 Zeus and Semele, birth and first youth of Dionysus
  - 9.243–10.138 Ino and Athamas
  - 10.139–12.397 Dionysus and Ampelos, discovery of wine
  - 11.313–12.137 Calamos and Carpos; the Hours visit Helios (predictions)

13–24: Trip to India (until the arrival at the city of the Indians)
- 13.1–34 Zeus orders Dionysus to subdue the Indians
- 13.35–568 Catalogue of mortal troops
- 14.1–227 Catalogue of heroic troops
- 14.228–46 Dionysus gets ready for the battle
- 14.247–17.86 Trip to Asia Minor
- 14.269–15.168 First battle against the Indians (Astraeis)

110 Stegemann 1930, 210–31; Gerstinger 1943–7: the poem was to be framed in the progymnasmatic tradition of the encomium.

111 Vian 1976, xx-xxi; Lasky 1978.

112 Cf. Keydell 1936c, 905–9; Vian 1976, xxii ff.; 1991b, 1994b; Giraudet 2005; Chuvin 2006. Cf. also Shorrock 2001, who aims to show that the *Dionysiaca* were composed as a full epic cicle.

15.169–16.405 Episode of Nicaea
17.87–397 Second battle against the Indians, in the Taurus, against Orontes
18.1–20.141 Visit to Staphylos, King of the Assyrians
20.142–21.199 Trip to Arabia via Tyre and Biblos, encounter with Lycurgus
21.200–78 The Satyr Pherespondos sent as ambassador to the Indian King Deriades
21.279–24.348 Arrival in India
22.136–23.116 Battle on the banks of the Hydaspes against the Indians (Thureus)
23.117–24.142 Battle against Hydaspes and victory
24.143–348 Victory of the Bacchants, story of weaving Aphrodite

25–40.291: War with the Indians – *Indiad*
25 Second proem and description of Dionysus' shield
26 Athena deceives Deriades in a dream; he summons his troops; catalogue
27 Arrangements in the Indian and Dionysiac armies and among the gods
28.29–29.322 First day of battle:
28.45–112 *Aristeia* of Indian Corymbasos
28.172–330 Exploits of Cyclopes and Corybantes
29.15–322 Exploits of the army of Dionysus and defeat of the Indians
29.323–81 Dream of Ares, who abandons the battlefield
30.13–325 *Aristeias* of Morrheus and Tectaphus
31.4–32.299 Hera deceives Zeus and facilitates Indian victory
34.123–36.480 Second day of battle:
34.123–35.261 Absence of Dionysus; the Bacchic army is defeated
35.262–390 End of Zeus' deceit; Hera heals Dionysus
36.3–132 Theomachia
36.133–290 Confrontation of the two armies
36.291–390 Singular combat between Dionysus and Deriades
36.391–480 Truce
37 Funerary games
38–40.100 Predictions, final battle, death of Deriades
40.101–297 Mourning of the Indians and reactions of the conquering army

40.291–48.978: Return to Phrygia and trip to Europe
40.291–43: Return to Phrygia
40.291–580 Visit to Tyre

41–3 Dionysus tries to conquer Beroe, Aphrodite's daughter, but is defeated by Poseidon in a naval battle (Zeus' orders)
44–8: Trip to Europe, return to Phrygia, apotheosis
44–6 Dionysus in Thebes, Pentheus
47.1–264 Dionysus in Athens, Icarius
47.265–471 Dionysus in Naxos, Ariadna
47.472–741 Dionysus in Argos, fight with Perseus
48.1–89 Return to Thrace, Gigantomachia
48.90–237 Fight with Pallene
48.238–973 Return to Phrygia, Aura, Iacchus is born (his brother dies)
48.974–8 Apotheosis

The size of this work leads to contradictions and similarities between certain episodes bring about repetitions. Both are part of Nonnus' style, though they have been attributed to the fact that the poem is supposedly unfinished.[113] Collart and Keydell[114] tried to explain the typical 'disorder' in the poem as a result of its creation process: Nonnus would have 'swollen' an initial nucleus and abandoned its composition after converting to Christianity. The surviving text would be the product of the work of an editor who, after the death of Nonnus, would have gathered the bulk of his work and added some loose passages still unfinished.

In fact, there is no evidence for this and it would be virtually impossible to distinguish the primary passages from the additions. We would be applying the nineteenth-century analytic interpretation of the Homeric poems to the *Dionysiaca*, later by more than a millennium and characterised, from its very proem (*D.* 1.15), by ποικιλία.[115] The ποικιλία affects the narration and the style, baroque and disproportionate, the counterpoint of the classical ideal:[116] intensity, redundancy,[117] and subtle relationships take priority (hence the carefulness when choosing epithets and using

113 Keydell 1936c, 910; Collart 1930, 40–8. On the contrary, cf. Vian 1976, xxvi-xxvii; evaluation of all the available data in Tissoni 1998, 17–20.
114 Collart 1930, *passim*; Keydell 1927; 1932a; 1936c, 909–11. Cf. summary in Vian 1976, xxix-xli and the review of the studies on the technicalities of Nonnian composition from the 18th c. to Riemschneider in D'Ippolito 1964, 5–36.
115 Fauth 1981, *passim*; Gigli Piccardi 1985, 97–8, 150–4, 214–17.
116 Keydell 1936c, 911. Also, Friedländer 1912a, 43; Wifstrand 1933, 33 ff. On the inappropriateness of the term 'baroque': Riemschneider 1957; String 1966, 4.
117 Keydell 1953; Vian 1976, xxxv-xxxvii; Schmiel 1998.

chiasmus) and so do the musical effects, often associated to plays on words.[118]

To what sort of reading public did Nonnus devote all these formal efforts? There is no clue about it, but we can infer that they must have been very learned readers, capable of appreciating such complicated style and perceiving the allusions to other authors and the different intertextual games. Chuvin[119] says that it was an aristocratic reading public, made up both of Christians and pagans, in line with the theory that the *Dionysiaca* would not sound unpleasant to a Christian ear.

The *Dionysiaca* did not emerge in a thematic *vacuum:* among the immediate predecessors[120] we know of the existence of the *Bassarica*, the work of an unknown Dionysius, earlier than Oppian, of which some fragments have survived;[121] also of four books of *Dionysiaca* or *Bassarica* and one *On Ariadna*, works of Soterichus Oasites (from the time of Diocletian). To them we can add the Dionysiac *excursus* in Oppian's *Cynegetica* 4.230–319[122] and the significant presence of the god in hymnic poetry, as shown by *P.Ross.Georg*. 1.11 (= Heitsch 56),[123] several orphic hymns (30, 45–57, 50, 52, 53) and *AP* 9.524 *Hymn to Dionysus* made of epithets in alphabetical order.

Judging by the surviving remains, Nonnus knew and used Dionysius' *Bassarica* for the war against the Indians[124] and Euphorion's *Dionysus* for the god's triumphal trip around Greece.[125] Several times he also recounts passages from the *Gigantomachy*, which he might have known through Dionysius' *Gigantias*,[126] and / or the *Heroic Theogamies* by Pisander of Laranda. They are, no doubt, the sources of part of the mythological material of the *Dionysiaca*, though Dionysiac mythology includes local myths as well, particularly in the Πάτρια of Byzantium, Nicaea, Tarsus, Beryto and Tyre.[127]

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118 Opelt 1958; De Stefani 2002, 31–2, 188 (n. to 124).
119 Chuvin 1986, 394; Agosti 2003, 100.
120 Keydell 1936c, 905–9, 914–15; Vian 1976, xli-l.
121 Livrea 1973.
122 Cf. analysis in Zumbo 2000, who says that its function in the *Cynegetica* is to be "[723] *exemplum pro bono fidei*"; also Englhofer 1995, 169–73, who finds in his treatment of Dionysiac religion a strong personal commitment.
123 Cf. Zumbo 1997; Furley 2007.
124 Vian 1998. *Recueil* and analysis of Nonnian sources in Tissoni 1998, 20–6.
125 Barigazzi 1963; Wilson 1993.
126 Keydell 1932b; Wifstrand 1933, 178–9; Livrea 1995.
127 Keydell 1961a; Vian 1978; Chuvin 1991, *passim.* About the Πάτρια, cf. Chuvin 1980, 1994.

As would be expected, Nonnus' first reference and rival is Homer,[128] from the number of cantos in the *Dionysiaca*, equal with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* together, to the Homeric reminiscences in vocabulary and the typical scenes. He also mentions Hesiod (13.76) and Pindar (25.21). In spite of the allusions to Callimachus, he seems to have only second-hand knowledge of Hellenistic poetry, with some exceptions.[129] On the other hand, we know that he read Apollonius Rhodius, as he refers to him.[130] Numerous examples of the epigram show its clear mark in Nonnus' work.[131] The novel (particularly Achilles Tatius) provides the intricate plots and the treatment of digression, as far as the technique is concerned, but also its peculiar eroticism[132] and perhaps its irony.[133] It is also quite clear that Euripides' *Bacchae* has left its mark in the *Pentheid* (bks. 44–6).[134]

As for the Latin authors, a significant number of elements in the *Dionysiaca* remind us of Ovid and there have been some that have attributed it to a common Hellenistic source[135] and others who have believed that it was due to the fact that Nonnus knew the *Metamorphoses*.[136] It is more difficult to perceive Virgil's influence,[137] though, if he could read Latin, Virgil would have been the first poet he read.

The other poem by Nonnus, *The Paraphrase of the Gospel of John*, is a hexametric version of the fourth gospel, to the 21 chapters of which 21 cantos correspond. It is still to be discovered exactly what text of the Gospel the poet had in front of him, though he frequently resorts to a *contaminatio* of New Testament episodes to enrich the text he had as a base.[138] From the analysis of the poem, especially from the prologue (*P.* 1.1–

128 Cf. *D.* 1.11–38; 13.49–52; 25.253–63, on which Vian 1991b; Hopkinson 1994b.
129 Cf. Cazzaniga 1963, 626–6; Hollis 1976, 1994; Fauth 1981, 144–57; Magnelli 2002, 117–22.
130 Vian 2001, 296–307.
131 Collart 1913; Schulze 1974.
132 Vian 1976, xxx-xxxi, xliii-xlix; Hägg 1971, 15 ff.; Dostálová-Jeništová 1962; Gigli Piccardi 1978.
133 Gigli Piccardi 1981.
134 Simon 2004, 130–2.
135 Castiglioni 1906.
136 D'Ippolito 1964, *passim*; Braune 1935; Diggle 1970, 180–200; Schulze 1985; Knox 1988. Cf. also the balanced analysis in Otis 1970, 391–5; Agosti 2004b, 762–4.
137 In favour: Cataudella 1932, 333; D'Ippolito 1991, I 527–32. *Contra:* Keydell 1941, 33.
138 Cf. Agosti 2004b, 107–10.

58),[139] it can be inferred that the author attaches himself to antiarian orthodoxy (1.19 πίστις ὀρθή), later than the Nicaean creed and earlier than the dogma of Chalcedon, and closely related to Cyril and Gregory of Nazianzus.[140] This is not an obstacle to including some expressions of Neoplatonic origin, which coincide with the interest that the Gospel of John (especially the Hymn to the Logos that it begins with) raised in Neoplatonic environments.[141]

As happens in the *Dionysiaca*, the influence of Homeric,[142] Hellenistic[143] and Imperial poetry can be perceived throughout, but now it is intermingled with the Christian text, which goes beyond the Gospels.[144] It is necessary to bear in mind Christian authors like Cyril and Gregory of Nazianzus[145] and the different links with the liturgy.[146] Obviously, the relationship that the Christian poet shows with the Scripture is quite different from the one that the pagan poet shows with the topic about which he writes.[147]

Agosti[148] favours Alexandria as the context for the creation of the *Paraphrase*, though he does not rule out Panopolis. Livrea holds that the reading public of this work was one made up of pagans, but also of Christians capable of overcoming the paganising forms of the poem.[149] Nevertheless, as Agosti admits, only Christians could recognise the liturgical echoes and utterly value the translation of the Gospel into Nonnian lines, although there might have been pagans among them. In this genre the evangelising function[150] is always present and it can be perceived in

139 De Stefani 2002, 14–26.

140 Livrea 1989, n. to 18.25 and De Stefani 2002, 22–6 find some monophysitic tendencies.

141 Cf. Dörrie 1972. On the pagan elements in the *Paraphrase*, cf. Golega 1930, 65 ff.; Agosti 2003b, 89–94, 96.

142 Golega 1930, p. 52, n. 1. On Homer as object of paraphrase, cf. Roberts 1985, 40–51.

143 Hollis 1994, 58–9; Tissoni 1995.

144 For example, *P.* 5.1–2: the name of the city is suggested with a paraphrase in which the epic motif of the palace description is interwoven (cf. esp. that of Menelaus' palace: *Od.* 4.42–8) with Mt. 5.14. Cf. Agosti 2003b, 38–9.

145 On Nonnus and Greg. Naz., cf. String 1966, 56–7 (the apparent parallels are the result of a "poetischen Schulbetrieb"); Livrea 1987, n. 14 (they come from a Christian formulary κοινή); D'Ippolito 1994.

146 Cf. Agosti 2003b, 70–3.

147 Cf. Roberts 1985, 220.

148 Agosti 2003b, 95–102.

149 Cf. Livrea 1987, 449.

150 Cf. Agosti 2003b, 97–9; 2006a, 50; Roberts 1985, 223.

the confrontation of the pagan θεῖος ἀνήρ with the Christian θεὸς ἀνήρ, of the pagan miracles with the real miracle of Christ.[151]

A surprising fact about Nonnus is that of his works, despite their overall popularity, we have just five folios of a papyrus codex of big size from the sixth century,[152] containing part of books 14–16 of the *Dionysiaca.* The final *subscriptio* of canto 14 and in the title of 15 attribute the work to Nonnus.

Musaeus

Nothing at all is known about Musaeus: only his *Hero and Leander* remains.[153] He is described as Μουσαίου γραμματικοῦ in some of the *Hero and Leander*'s manuscripts, which makes us think of a poet similar to Triphiodorus, with a difference of 200 years.[154] The reconstruction[155] of the environment where his work was composed is therefore unsure. As there are not any facts about his origin, his close relationship with Nonnus has made scholars think he was Egyptian.

His *Hero and Leander*, though quite different in character from Nonnus' poems, shares some features such as metrics and phraseology with them. Keydell[156] demonstrated that its parallelism with Colluthus' *Rape of Helen* (certainly dated from the reign of Anastasius, 491–518) is due to Colluthus' imitation of Musaeus. These two facts have lead experts to date him between the latter part of the fifth century and early sixth century.[157]

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151 Agosti 2003b, 102–7.

152 *P.Berol.* inv. 10567 = *BKT* V.1 94–106 = MP^3 1329 = LDAB 3077. Cf. Turner 1977, 14: "Group 1", "very broad" (28 x 40 cm.). Cf. Ludwich 1909–11, I. 11; Vian 1976, lxi.

153 Ludwich 1912; Malcovati 1947; Färber 1961; Orsini 1968; Kost 1971; Trypanis *et al.* 1974; Livrea – Eleuteri 1982; Hopkinson 1994c, 42–53, 136–85.

154 Cf. Gelzer 1967, 135.

155 Cf. Keydell 1933; Kost 1971, 15–55; Minniti Colonna 1976; Gelzer 1967, 1968; *PLRE* II, *s.v.* "Musaeus, grammaticus and poet, L V/M VI", p. 768; "Musaeus Grammaticus [4]", *BNP* 9, 319–20.

156 Keydell 1930, 125; 1933, 767. Cf. also Kost 1971, 15–16. *Contra* Minniti Colonna 1976, 65.

157 Ludwich 1912, vi ("etwa in die Mitte des 5. Jahrh. n. Chr."); Keydell 1930, 768 ("in die zweite Hälfte des 5. Jhdts."); Färber 1961, 93 (5th c.); Kost 1971, 16 ("die zweite Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., vielleicht mehr gegen das Ende und die Regierung des Anastasios hin, also etwa die Zeit zwischen 470 und 510"); Minniti Colonna 1976, 65 ("periodo che va dalla seconda metà del V ai primi decenni del VI secolo d.C."); Trypanis 1974, 299 ("at the earliest in

Musaeus also shows a special relationship with the members of the school of Gaza, with whom he shares some stylistic features, above all the use of verbal moods and tenses, as well as the paragraph construction and the free use of figures.[158] There are also two letters addressed by Procopius of Gaza (*c.* 465 – *c.* 528) to a Musaeus,[159] a poet from the circle of Procopius' Alexandrian friends. He could be the same person,[160] which would provide one more connection with the school of Gaza.

Hero and Leander reproduces a novelistic plot[161] with a tragic tone not free from humourous traits: the love story of two youths[162] who meet at a feast of Aphrodite and Adonis and fall in love. Each of them lives on one of the Hellespont banks, and from then on Leander swims across it every night to meet his beloved, who leads him with the light of a lamp. One stormy night, the lamp goes out and Leander drowns, and when, on the following morning, Hero finds his corpse, she commits suicide.

Musaeus knows and works upon not only Nonnus' works[163] but also Homer's,[164] the *Hymn to Aphrodite* and the *Batrachomyomachy*, *Works and Days* by Hesiod, Euripides, Apollonius Rhodius,[165] Callimachus,[166] the bucolic poets, Lycophron,[167] Dionysius the Periegete, the *Bassarica*[168] and Oppian's *Halieutica*. However, it is very unlikely that the passages and even turns of phrase common with *Heroids* 18 and 19 are due to Musaeus' use of Ovid, because they are common in erotic literature[169] and ascribable to the rhetoric parameters usually applied in schools.

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the last third of the fifth century"); Morales 1999, 43 ("some time in the late fifth or early sixth century").

158 Cf. Seitz 1892, 37 ff.; Gelzer 1967, 140–1; 1968, 11, 17, 21.

159 165 and 177 Garzya-Loenertz. Besides, in letter 1 G.–L. Procopius quotes *AP* 9.362 about Alpheus and Arethusa, which is not, as sometimes has been said, a work of Musaeus himself: cf. Keydell 1933, 767; Orsini 1968, vii; Brioso 1996.

160 Gelzer 1967, 138–9; Kost 1971, 17.

161 About his relationship with the novel, cf. Kost 1971, 29–30.

162 About the origin of the story, cf. Kost 1971, 18–23; Trypanis 1974, 302–7; Malten 1950; Solimano 1966.

163 Gelzer 1967, 135; Kost 1971, 43.

164 Merone 1955. Leander is an Odyssean figure and the seduction of Hero is built upon Odysseus' meeting with Nausicaa: cf. Morales 1999, 47, 57–8.

165 Livrea 1967.

166 Cucchiarelli 2002.

167 Kost 1971, p. 544, n. to 341. I owe this reference to C. De Stefani.

168 Wifstrand 1930, 103; 1933, 193.

169 Keydell 1933, 768; Kost 1971, 21–3; Trypanis 1974, 304–5.

Possible loans from the New Testament are harder to defend, as antecedents of the passages in question can be found in Homer and Nonnus.[170] On the contrary, it is certain that he borrows from Nonnus' *Paraphrase* and from Gregory of Nazianzus' poetry. This makes it difficult to deny that he was Christian,[171] but does not justify the theory of Gelzer,[172] who thinks that *Hero* is a Neoplatonic Christian allegory, basing himself on Musaeus' knowledge of Plato and Proclus.

Finally, it is useful to make a brief reference to the relationship between Musaeus' work and the papyri which might have dealt with the same story. *P.Ryl.* 3.486 (MP^3 1783) brings out some badly preserved hexameters from the first century AD.[173] They probably do not keep a direct relationship with Musaeus, but allow us to infer that the story was already known in Egypt and, according to Cribiore,[174] that this type of text was dealt with in the school system. On the contrary, *P.Oxy.* 6.864 fr.6,[175] part of a third century florilegium, where we read a messenger's words about a woman who is mourning on the bank of the Hellespont before a shipwrecked man's body, may have nothing to do with it. The same can be said about BKT 9.153 (*SH* 901A, MP^3 1793.1), the remains of a codex from the fourth or fifth century, which preserves a poem in hexameters with coincidences with the story of Hero and Leander.[176]

Musaeus influenced not only Colluthus but also Christodorus of Coptos, John of Gaza, Paul the Silentiary, Agathias and Macedonius of Thessalonica II,[177] which leads Gelzer to say that he was a real authority in his time and immediately later.[178]

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170 Cf. Gelzer 1967, 135; Kost 1971, 17; Minniti Colonna 1976, 68–9.

171 Keydell 1933, 767; Kost 1971, 17.

172 Gelzer 1967, 136, 140; Kuehn 1995, 38–41. Lamberton 1986, 157–61 accepts that a double level reading could be done, but thinks that it depends on the kind of reader not on the author. Morales 1999, 61–5 acknowledges in it a social order allegory which shows the consequences of rejecting rules and social institutions, not ruling out a Christian allegoric reading.

173 Snell 1939, 540–2 thought that it could be a monologue of Hero. Page (514 ff.) divides the lines among several people and attributes it to the final journey and death of Leander.

174 Cribiore 2001a, 140. Cf. nn. in *ed.pr.* and Keydell 1941, 45.

175 5 hexameters and 20 iambic trimeters, maybe from a Hellenistic tragedy (*TrGF* II 705).

176 Maehler 1986. About these papyri, cf. also D'Ippolito 1988; Malten 1949–50.

177 Gelzer 1967, 139; Kost 1971, 69–71. On Aristenetus, cf. Kost 1971, 36–43.

178 Gelzer 1967, 139.

Colluthus

According to the *Suda* (K 1951), Colluthus[179] was from Lycopolis,[180] lived during the reign of Anastasius (491–518) and wrote epic poems: *Calydoniaca* in six books (about the Calydonian boar hunt), Περσικά (perhaps on the victory of Emperor Anastasius over the Persians in 506)[181] and some hexametric encomia. Surprisingly enough, the *Suda* does not say anything about the *Rape of Helen* (Ἁρπαγὴ Ἑλένης),[182] the only one of his works to survive. Nothing is known about his beliefs.

The *Rape of Helen* is a hexametric epyllion of 392 lines which deals with the origins of the war of Troy from the wedding of Thetis and Peleus, when the despised Eris throws the apple that gives rise to the beauty contest of Aphrodite, Hera and Athena. After the toilette of the three goddesses comes the judgement of Paris, who allows himself to be seduced by Aphrodite's promise and leaves for Sparta at once, in search of Helen, his prize. Helen falls in love with the Trojan prince and freely makes the decision to go with him. They run away leaving Hermione inconsolable, and the poem finishes with their arrival in Troy.

The poem is heir to Homer and Nonnus,[183] but also to Triphiodorus and Musaeus. Apollonius Rhodius occupies a special place as far as influences are concerned.[184] It is more complicated to decide on the influence of Alexandrian poetry: its technique for building consecutive images,[185] bucolic tone and pathetic interventions have their primary origin, no doubt, in Callimachus and Theocritus, but first-hand knowledge of the work of either of them cannot be demonstrated, nor that he depended

179 In the *Suda* and in several manuscripts he appears as Κόλουθος, but Κόλλουθος has become widespread with the support of other manuscripts and, especially, papyri. Cf. Livrea 1968, p. XI, n. 2.

180 Now Assiut, about 100 km. to the north of Panopolis. Lycopolis was a city between Upper and Lower Egypt, on the route of the caravans of the Lybian desert. It was also the home city of the philosopher Plotinus (205–70).

181 Cf. Cameron 1982, 236–7.

182 Livrea 1968; Orsini 1972; Schönberger 1993. About the title of the work, cf. Livrea 1968, p. xii, n. 6.

183 About the sources of Colluthus, cf. Livrea 1968, xiv-xxiii; Orsini 1972, viii-xxii; Schönberger 1993, 9–13, 17–18. Regarding Nonnus, the influence of Harmonia's wedding (Nonn. *D.* 5.93 ff.) is particularly clear on his Thetis and Peleus' wedding and perhaps also the episode of Erigone (Nonn. *D.* 47.148 ff.) on that of Hermione (Collut. 328 ff.).

184 About 201–9, apparently an echo of AR 2.169 ff., cf. Giangrande 1975.

185 Cf. Schönberger 1993, 16. The Alexandrian influence comes via Nonnus: Livrea 1968, xx.

on a lost Alexandrian model.[186] As for previous treatments of the preliminaries of the war, he certainly did not know the *Kypria*, Stesichorus and the *Encomium of Helen* by both Gorgias and Isocrates. Ovid's (*Heroids* 16) or Lucian's (*Deor. Dial*. 20) influence on him cannot be demonstrated, as they all share a direct relationship with schooling, clear in the presence of pre-Homeric mythical subjects (such as the judgement of the goddesses) in school drills on papyrus.[187] Besides literary references, we cannot forget that this episode had been the subject matter of numerous works of art.[188]

The poem's composition is meticulous and very elaborate in its details. Its recherché and erudite vocabulary, full of glosses, is also remarkable.[189]

Cyrus of Panopolis

Panopolite Cyrus,[190] about whose previous life nothing is known, probably became a member of the court of Constantinople after reciting a poem which caused Empress Eudocia to admire him.[191] His political career under Theodosius II,[192] with Eudocia's protection, was quite rapid: he was Prefect of the city in 439 and of the Eastern Praetorium, an unusual accumulation of offices. He reached the Consulate in 441 and was made a patrician.[193] He became very popular through a building and embellishment programme for the city after the 437 earthquake[194] and was the first Prefect to issue edicts in Greek.[195]

Having achieved such high positions, Cyrus was removed from office as a result of a series of palace intrigues of chamberlain Chrysaphius, who aspired to be the only controller of absolute power: he may have made the Emperor feel threatened by the Panopolite's popularity or accused

186 Cf. Livrea 1968, xv-xxiii.

187 About Ovid: Ureña Bracero 1993, 288–90. About Lucian: Ureña Bracero 1995a, 112–15.

188 Cf. Ghali-Kahil 1955, chapters 2, 4, 6, 7.

189 Orsini 1972, xxxiii; Minniti Colonna 1979, 86–93.

190 Cameron 1965, 473–4; Constantelos 1971; Cameron 1982.

191 *Suda* K 2776 Adler: Εὐδοκία γὰρ ἡ Θεοδοσίου γαμετή, βασιλὶς οὖσα, ὑπερηγάσθη τὸν Κῦρον, φιλοεπὴς οὖσα. Cf. Cameron 1982, 280.

192 It is possible that *AP* 15.9 is a part of a panegyric dedicated to Theodosius II by Cyrus.

193 Cf. Malalas, 361; *Suda s.v.* "Cyrus".

194 Priscus ap. *Chron. Pasch.* p. 588 Bonn. Cf. Dagron 1974, 267–72, 315–16; Cameron 1978, 88.

195 Ioh. Lyd. *De mag.* 2.12–3.42.

him of militant paganism.[196] The Emperor sent Cyrus as bishop to Cotyaeum, in Phrygia.[197] There he shut himself in the Episcopal See, until he was forced to preach the Christmas homily, which has survived in its entirety:[198] "Brethren, let us honour the birth of God, our Saviour, in silence, because the Word of God was conceived in the holy Virgin, through listening and alone; to Him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen."

As it was understood that he had been sent to exile as a consequence of his pagan beliefs and that the Emperor had made him convert, it was thought that he had proved his conversion in the Christmas homily, which would have saved him from being lynched like the four preceding bishops.[199] The analysis of his homily,[200] however, reveals that he uses a Patristic *topos*. Also, in line with the sermons by Proclus, bishop of Constantinople since 437, he makes a defence of the virginity of the Mother of God (Θεοτόκος), through which he rejects the Nestorian practice of making her the mother of Christ's humanity only. Therefore Cyrus rapidly defined himself as an orthodox with theological knowledge before an audience who had lynched his preceding Nestorian bishops. This goes along with the fact that during his prefecture in Constantinople he had supported the building of the Church of the Theotokos.

As for his activities in the subsequent years, after the death of Theodosius (450) he resigned from his Episcopal see and returned to Constantinople, where he lived until the reign of Leo.[201] He was in touch with Daniel the Stylite, to whom he dedicated a poem on the pillar upon which he lived.[202]

It is difficult to know exactly what he really wrote, as no titles of his works survive. In the *Palatine Anthology*, seven poems are attributed to him (7.557; 9.136, 623, 808, 809, 813; 15.9), though, according to Alan

196 Cameron 1982, 256–70.

197 On leaving Constantinople he wrote *AP* 9.136, perhaps preserved incomplete. About the diocese, cf. Cameron 1982, 223.

198 J. Malalas, *Chron.* 362 (Bonn) and Theophanes, *Chronographia* A. M. 5937, 96–7 (de Boor).

199 Cf. Cameron 1965, 471–7, 497–8; Kaegi 1966.

200 Gregory 1975. Resumed in Cameron 1982, 239–45. Baldwin 1982a shows that the situation where Cyrus preached his brief homily is not unique and provides literary parallels of the poem dedicated to Daniel the Stylite (*AP* 1.99).

201 Cf. Cameron 1982, 223–4.

202 *Life of Daniel the Stilite*, §31 ff. (*Analecta Bollandiana* xxxii [1913], 150 ff.). The poem is extant, too, as *AP* 1.99. Cf. Cameron 1982, 247–54.

Cameron,[203] only 15.9 (a panegyric),[204] 9.136 (a pastoral threnody on his leaving for exile)[205] and maybe 1.99 (to Daniel the Stylite) are his.[206] Besides, he seems to be the author of a Passion of St Menas, a martyr from Panopolis, whom he describes as living in Cotyaeum and presents as an exact replica of the Gordius in the homily of Basil of Caesarea.[207]

Christodorus of Coptus

Very little is known about Christodorus:[208] the *Suda* calls him ἐποποιός (hexametric poet), the son of Paniscus, says that he was from Coptus, in the Thebaid, and places his ἀκμή in the reign of Anastasius (491–518).[209] To him are attributed Ἰσαυρικά in six books, which probably dealt with Emperor Anastasius' victory over the Isaurians (497),[210] six Πάτρια (Constantinople, Thessalonica, Nacle, Miletus, Tralles and Aphrodisias), and some *Lydiaca*[211] about the mythical history of Lydia. To these the *Suda* adds an ἄλλα πολλά. His description in hexameters of the statues in the thermae of a gymnasium called Zeuxippus' in *AP* 2 has survived,[212]

203 Cameron 1982, 226–7. Concerning his relationship with Nonnus, Cameron 1982, 235–9 ("[239] There is more than a chance that Cyrus is the earliest extant reader of Nonnus").

204 Cf. commentary in Viljamaa 1968, 115–16 and Cameron 1982, 228–30. It is probably the fragment of a longer panegyric dedicated to Theodosius. Cameron (p. 230) dates it before the wedding of Eudoxia, Theodosius' daughter, *c.* 435, before he started his political career.

205 About rhetorical lament in late poetry, cf. Viljamaa 1968, 118 ff. Cf. the analysis of the poem in Cameron 1982, 230–5.

206 Cameron 1982, 254.

207 Cf. Peeters 1950, 32 ff.; Cameron 1982, 245–7.

208 Suda X 525 Adler; Baumgarten 1899; *PLRE* II, 293, s.v. "Christodorus, poet L V/E VI"; Ch. Selzer, "Christodorus", *BNP* 3, 268–9. In spite of Baumgarten's opinion, he seems to be a different person from his namesake in the next entry of the *Suda:* cf. Cameron 1965, p. 475, n. 33.

209 Christodorus dedicates several encomiastic verses to Anastasius: cf. *AP* 2.398–406.

210 Cf. Tissoni 2000a, 16.

211 Two lines have been preserved in a *scholium: Schol.* A *ad* Hom. *Il.* 2.461 (= Heitsch S 8.1). Cf. Tissoni 2000a, 17–18.

212 Waltz 1960; Tissoni 2000a. Cameron 1973, 154 places the *Description c.* 500; Tissoni 2000, 21 ff. proposes year 503 AD as *terminus post quem* for the poem (the year when the panegyric of Priscianus was composed).

as well as two epigrams: *AP* 7.697 and 698, about the death of John of Epidamnus, Governor of Illiria and Anastasius' son-in-law.[213]

The only thing known about his religious beliefs[214] is that he wrote a poem entitled *About the pupils of the great Proclus* (Περὶ τῶν ἀκροατῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Πρόκλου),[215] which is likelier to be a pagan's work rather than a Christian's, given Proclus' confessed paganism. A name like his, however, is hardly applicable to a pagan. The *Suda* (X 526 Adler) includes an entry on a second Christodorus, *vir illustris* from the Thebaid, author of a hexametric *Ixeutica* and some *Miracles of the saints Anargyros, Cosmas and Damian.*

His *Description* deals with the 80 statues which decorated Zeuxippus' thermae in Constantinople. The thermae dated back to Septimius Severus' times, but Constantine had reformed them and provided them with a gallery of statues.[216] The collection was destroyed in Nika's revolt (532), so we do not know to what extent the poet is faithful to his subject matter. Obviously, though, his objective was not that of an art critic but of a poet who took those images and also details of others as a source of inspiration and expressed himself by means of epic forms. It is very likely that his description was introduced by a prologue which was not included in the *Anthology*,[217] perhaps because only the description was useful for teaching purposes.[218]

The description seems to follow the order in which the figures were arranged. They often had their names on their bases, though sometimes the poet seems not to be sure as to whom the statue that he is describing represented (cf. 228 ff., 393–5, 407 ff.). All of them share an air of life and intelligence reflected in various ways: their attitude, thoughts and feelings are evoked.[219] The poet tries to show a faithful description of every statue

213 Reedited and commented in Tissoni 2000a, 24–36. Nevertheless cf. Eudociae Augustae *Violarium s.v.* Χριστόδωρος (1010 Περὶ Χριστοδώρου τοῦ ποιητοῦ), where he is also attributed three books of epigrams and four of letters.

214 Cameron 1965, 475.

215 By whom a hexameter verse remains: Ioah. Lydus, *De Magg.* 3.26 = Heitsch S8. Cf. Tissoni 2000a, 18, 37–44. About his relationship with the school of Proclus, cf. Saffrey 1990, 160–3.

216 Cf. Bassett 1996; 2004, 160–85; Kaldellis 2007.

217 Baumgarten 1899 thought that the description is incomplete and that neither the beginning nor the end have survived; Waltz 1960, p. 53, n. 7, on the contrary, believed that he just avoided the statues of contemporary personages. Cf. Tissoni 2000a, 50, 63; Whitby 2003a, 595.

218 Zumbo 1998, 37.

219 Cf. Tissoni 2000a, 50, 54.

but also uses openly literary models:[220] Homer,[221] Alexandrian authors[222] and Quintus of Smyrna.

Christodorus frequently uses Homeric and Nonnian *hapax* and on some occasions he presents neologisms with which he aimed to boast an elevated phraseology.[223] He uses eleven different hexametric forms, against the nine used by Nonnus, and in general he quite closely follows the various "Nonnian" metric rules.[224]

3.2. Works known only through inscriptions, papyri, parchment and tablets

As the medieval transmission has been quite selective as far as quality and subjects are concerned, the works known through inscriptions (Ptolemagrios' monument), papyri, parchment and tablets[225] allow us to have a clearer idea about the evolution of language, style, metrics and genre and the different reasons why certain types of hexameters were written as well as the reasons for their different qualities.

A catalogue of 59 papyri, parchments and wood pieces and an inscription containing hexametric poems dated from the third to sixth centuries is offered below. On many occasions they are not epic compositions *sensu stricto*, but all of them incorporate content and / or formal aspects found in epic poetry.[226] Not all of them come from the area around Panopolis,

220 Tissoni 2000a, 58–60, 65–9.

221 In fact, the description of the statue of Homer (311–50) is the most elaborated one.

222 E.g., the description of the statue of Artemis (306–10) suggests an imitation of Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*. Cf. Tissoni 2000b, 216.

223 Cf. Tissoni 2000a, 61–2.

224 Tissoni 2000a, 69–73.

225 The poetic fragments from the Imperial period preserved were collected and edited in the 1960s by Heitsch, who counted on the precedent of the bilingual edition of literary papyri by Page. Cf. the review of Heitsch's book in West 1963.

226 Hymns are left out: *P.Harr.* 1.6 (2nd/3rd c., Hymn to Demeter), *P.Chic.* 2 (2nd/3rd c.; Hymns to Aphrodite, Apollo, Dionysus and Artemis-Hecate); PGM 6 (2nd/3rd c.; Hymn to Helios-Apollo), *P.Ross.Georg.* 1.11 (3rd c., Hymn to Dionysus), PGM 17 b (3rd c.; Hymn to Hermes), PSI 7.844 (3rd c.?, Hymn to Isis), PGM 12 (ll. 193–201; 3rd/4th c.; Hymn to the Pantocrator), *P.Rain.* 1.4 (3rd/4th c.; Hymn to Pan?), PGM 3 (ll. 198–228, 549–58; Hymns to Helios and the Pantocrator), PGM 4 (3rd/4th c.; Hymns to Typhon, Hecate, Helios, Selene, Artemis, Selene-Artemis and Aphrodite), PGM 7 (ll. 668–78; 3rd/4th c.; Hymn to Hermes),

but they have been included because of the difficulties to determine the origin of many of them and to show a more comprehensive vision of the contemporary production.

The entries in this catalogue have been ordered chronologically and are intended to be as comprehensive as possible.[227] To facilitate their nomenclature and later references, each entry has been given a number, according to its position in this catalogue, and a title, besides its edition and the number it is given in other catalogues.[228] In the cases where, due to the fragmentary conservation, the title is not known or cannot be deduced, one or some of its most outstanding elements have been used as such. The works preserved in the same support have been included under the same heading, though they are studied separately. On most occasions I depend on previous research.

Where possible, I have included information about the edition, bibliography, author, provenance, dating, physical description, content and stylistic and metric characteristics, use and comparative material of each work. Entries for which there is no evidence are omitted. The editions and the bibliographical data are presented chronologically. Under 'author', the various conjectures about what the author of that poem was like are indicated. In most cases, only an approximate dating of the material could be obtained, but where the date of composition is known, it is stated. I have not included compositions dated as previous to the third century AD, even if they are first attested in the period here studied.[229] The 'physical description' includes information about the material, form and hand used. Subsequently, a summary of the con-

PGM 5 (ll. 400–19; 4th c.; Hymn to Hermes), PGM 1–2 (4th/5th c.; Hymns to Apollo, Helius and Apollo-Helius). Astrological poetry (PSI 3.157, *P.Laur. inv.* II/27, *P.Berol.* s.n. as quoted in *P.Schubart*, p. 37) was beyond my reach.

227 I have not been able to track Worp 1998, 215: "On the reverse side of the papyrus listed as *van Haelst* 672, stands an unpublished (?) pagan literary (mythological) text from Jena which may come from Panopolis or Apollinopolis Magna; it dates from the IIIrd / IVth century". Due to their extremely fragmentary condition I have left out *P.Ant.* 3.116 and 118; Luiselli 2003, frags. 3–5. Edgar 1926, 13 reproduces three lines mentioning Cyrene, out of context and with no apparatus (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 47270 = LDAB 10828 = MP^3 1842). SEG 24.1243, a 5th-6th c. inscriptional epigram, is of unknown provenance, though it has been ascribed to Egypt.

228 "Leuven Database of Ancient Books" (LDAB), The Mertens-Pack^3 Database Project (MP^3). Papyri related to school have been included in Cribiore 1996, which will be referred to as 'Cribiore'.

229 E.g. *P.Oxy.* 69.4714 is not included because, although the roll is ascribed to the 3rd c., the composition is assigned to the 1st c. BC or to the 1st or 2nd c. AD.

tent is given if it is necessary for a general outlook of the composition and the stylistic and metric characteristics are examined. Under 'use', the possible function of the composition is shown, taking into account the interaction of the various elements in a roll or codex. Other compositions to which the one in question may be similar and papyri from the same lot are also mentioned.

1. Ptolemagrios' Monument
(*I.Milne* 9267 = S.E.G. 8. 363 + 638 = *I. métriques* 114+115)

Editions: Milne 1901; Milne 1905, 48–50, no. 9267; Bernand 1969, pp. 442–4, nos. 114–15; Peek 1973, 239–45; catalogue and photo of 115 in Hodjash – Berlev 1982, no. 208; latest edition of 114, in Criscuolo 2000.

Bibliography: Guéraud 1935, 1939; Bradford Welles 1946; Wilhelm 1948, 302–3; Schönbauer 1949; Cameron 1982, 219–20; Costa 1989; Masson 1993, 167; Martin – Primavesi 1998, 43–4; van Minnen 2000, 451–3; Criscuolo 2002, 63–7.

Author: a professional poet (Bradford Welles 1946, 196; Peek 1973, 244); Ptolemagrios himself (Wilhelm 1948, 326, for the personal tone of his poems).

Provenance: Panopolis.

Dating: 2nd / 3rd c. (Criscuolo 2000, Guéraud 1935 and 1939, Bradford Welles 1946); Schönbauer 1949, between Antoninus Pius and the concession of the βουλή to Egyptian cities (202); Milne 1901, 1905, Wilhelm 1948 and Bernand 1969 place it in Augustus' time for the Emperor's acclamation.

Physical description: *I.Métriques* 114 is a pillar with four sides, decorated on its top part with the same bust of a bearded soldier; underneath, a symbol (an eagle, a sea monster, a shield and another animal, perhaps a dog) of the gods to whom the poem is devoted (Zeus, Ares, Poseidon and, probably, Hades) and a Homeric line (Zeus *Il.* 2.412, Ares *Il.* 5.31 = 455, Poseidon *Od.* 9.528, the one for Hades is lost; they are the only Homeric lines that fitted into this context: cf. Costa 1989), followed by the poem in question; the decoration is rounded off with some canopic jars of different Egyptian gods and goddesses to a total number of fourteen. On *I.Métriques* 115 cf. Criscuolo 2000, 277: "La lastra, tagliata accuratamente sul lato destro di cui è mutila, presenta su quello sinistro una raffigurazione, forse non ben conservata o più probabilmente non bene scolpita, di Min… sormontato da una cornucopia da cui fuoriescono due spighe. Proprio tale raffigurazione, per scelta iconografica e posizione, suscita qualche perplessità: nessuno ha infatti spiegato quale sarebbe la funzione della lastra, che evidentemente non poteva essere murata, e qualche sospetto sull'autenticità di un oggetto (o meglio di quale sua parte) che riproduce esattamente il testo di un altro rinvenimento, [278] ma che è stato inciso con caratteristiche paleografiche sovente diverse". It shows the text of Poseidon's side.

Content and stylistic and metric characteristics: the composition (following the order suggested in Criscuolo 2000), after the invocations to the Emperor and the gods, deals with the evergetic activities of Ptolemagrios, who seems to have met the expenses of the plantation and care of some trees called Perseus, as well

as the popular banquets in honour of of Pan; he and his children led a frugal life according to philosophy; it can be inferred that Ptolemagrios served in the army and due to it he was considerably worn down; it finishes with a new invocation to the gods and a mention of the commissioner, which is typical of funerary inscriptions.

Order of the poems: Milne 1901, 1905, Guéraud 1935, 1939 and Bradford Welles 1946 suggested the sequence Ares, Poseidon, Zeus and Hades, probably because the first line would start with a self definition (εἰμὶ μὲν ἐξ ἱερῆς στρατιῆς ὅπλοισιν ἀ<ρ>ωγός), but this does not seem very convincing. Wilhelm suggested Zeus, Poseidon, Ares and Hades, starting with the king of gods and an invocation to the Emperor, more plausible, though the argument loses strength because of the subsequent order towards the left. Schönbauer 1949 and Bernand 1969 first read Poseidon's narrow side, then Zeus' and then the opposite side (Ares), to finish with Hades', so that the poem begins, on the one hand with the partition of the world between the gods and the author's religious proclamation, and on the other with the author's full name, by way of introduction. Criscuolo 2000 believes that the most natural order would be to begin with Zeus and then, towards the right, Hades, Ares and Poseidon, to end with the signature ("If anyone asks you who wrote these words… tell them my name correctly, the pious Ptolomeus and Agrios").

Metrics: Ares, distichs; Poseidon, hexameters; Hades, 6 hexameters and 7 scazontic iambi; Zeus, 2 hexameters and an unknown number of distichs. Stylistic analysis in Peek 1973, 244: "Der Verfasser dieser metrisch untadeligen Inschriften, der ganze Verse, ja Versreihen aus Homer oder Hesiod entlehnt, wie denn auch seine Epitheta meist dem alten Epos entnommen sind, und für den als Hauptregel feststand, dass der bestimmte Artikel in poetischer Diktion nicht vorkommen dürfe – dieser bemühte und weitschweifige Versificator… Die Gedichte geben sich freilich trotz aller Bemühungen [245] um einen höheren Ton so nüchtern und bieder-gegenständlich… aber auch im ganzen so unbeholfen umständlich und einfallslos, dass man jenem Gedanken wirklich einen Augenblick Raum geben mag, zumal Wiederholungen… verraten, wie begrenzt der Wortschatz war, über den der Verfasser verfügte (er hat auch stockprosaische Wörter wie κτιστύς I 16 und ὑπήρεμος I 15 nicht verschmät). Aber die vielen Epitheta, unter denen sich (scheinbare) Neubildungen wie κελαινοφιλής I 6, νειόφυτος I 13, παλαιόφυτος I 15 oder seltenere wie κυμόκτυπος I 5, ὀρεσσινόμος IV 3, σαγηφόρος IV 10… befinden, hätten einem noch so eifrigen Homerleser schwerlich zur Verfügung gestanden". Nonnus does not know it: cf. Livrea 1989, 20.

Use: Criscuolo 2000, funerary monument; Guéraud 1939, Bradford Welles 1946, Wilhelm 1948, Schönbauer 1949 and Bernand 1969 considered 114 as part of an honorary monument, perhaps erected in a garden, of which other stones (among them 115) would be part.

2. Ruin of the town
(*P.Heid. inv.* G 239D = MP^3 1810.01 = LDAB 8245)

Edition: De Stefani 2000.

Dating: 2nd-3rd c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.* p. 56 "frammento papiraceo di colore scuro, mutilo in tutti i lati, bianco sul *verso*. La grafia si caratterizza come una calligrafica regolare, databile con approssimazione al II–III d.C.".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: on the difficult reconstruction of the contents, cf. *ed. pr.*, 57–8. L. 6 (ὧδε τ᾽ἔ]ειπεν ἀρήϊα δοῦρα τε τέμ[νε) shares a *iunctura* with Nonnus (*D.* 29.87 Δηριάδης φλέξειεν ἀρήϊα δούρατα νηῶν; cf. also *D.* 2.100–2).

3. Bacchus
(BKT 9.70 [*P.Berol.* inv. 21167] = MP^3 1984.5 = LDAB 4976)

Editions: *ed. pr.* Maehler 1970, 159–61 (No. 2); *ed. altera* G. Ioannidou, BKT 9.70.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus?

Dating: (*ed. pr.* and *ed. altera*) 2nd / 3rd c.

Physical description: strip of a papyrus roll; a rather angular hand, with a slope towards the right.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: Maehler 1970, 159 "Zum Inhalt lässt sich nicht viel mehr sagen als dass es sich um ein Gedicht 'dionysichen Charakters' handelt. Bakchos und Persephone sind genannt (4.12), die Eumeniden (14a…), eine Priesterin kommt vor (3), und es ist von einem Hirsch die Rede (7?. 20)… [160] …Da in Vers 17 τελεταί erwähnt werden, könnte man auch an einen 'orphischen' Hymnus denken, allerdings scheinen die dort so charakteristischen Anrufungen hier zu fehlen".

4. Rheghium
(PSI 15.1466 = MP^3 1837.1 = LDAB 5013)

Edition: PSI 15.1466 (pp. 39–42).

Bibliography: Crisci 1970, 90; Pernigotti 2003, 64.

Dating: 2nd / 3rd c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.* p. 39 "Frammento di *volumen* papiraceo, bianco nel *verso*, di provenienza incerta, riferibile, per le caratteristiche della scrittura, alla fine del II^p o più probabilmente all'inizio dell III^p". To be compared to *P.Oxy.* 42.2999. Beginnings of 14 hexameters. End of the narration marked by a diacritical sign not described.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: after the Ῥήγιον which can be read in line 9 and taking into account the presence of a crying character (10 πολλὰ δὲ δακρύσας, 14 μύρετο γηραλέην) the *ed.pr.* relates the fragment to the foundation of either Rhegium or Croton. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5–10 only mentions Heracles loosing a bull from Geryon's herd at Rhegium. Diod. S. 4.24.7 tells the legend of the foundation of Croton: Heracles kills Lacinius, who was at-

tempting to steal Geryon's animals, and also Croton, accidentally; to the latter he gives a funeral and erects a tomb and foretells that a city should arise there bearing Croton's name. This fragment, then should tell how Heracles (on his way to Rhegium?; close to the sea? Cf. l. 6 ἰοειδής always refers to the sea in Homer) killed Croton or a similar eponymous hero (8 ἔτλη ὃν ἔκτεινεν) and then mourned him. L. 13 ἄλγος ἄλαστον ἔχων is to be related to *Il.* 24.105 πένθος ἄλαστον ἔχουσα μετὰ φρεσίν. Cf. also QS 3.595.

5. The Cup
(*P.Rain.* 3.15 [*P.Vindob. gr.* 29333] = MP^3 1827 = LDAB 5146)

Edition: H. Oellacher, *P.Rain.* 3.15 (pp. 22–3).

Bibliography: Körte 1941, 108.

Provenance: Fayum.

Dating: *ed. pr.* p. 22 "aus der Wende vom II. zum III. Jahrh. n. Chr.".

Physical description: *ed. pr.* p. 22 "Rollenfragment, 8 cm hoch, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm breit, trägt auf recto Reste einer Urkunde aus der ersten Hälfte des II. Jahrh. n. Chr., auf Verso oben 2 cm freien Rand, dann 24 Zeilen einer mikroskopisch kleinen, zur kursive neigenden rechtsgeneigten Schrift… Das Material ist hellgelb, die tinte dick und reinschwarz".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: *ed. pr.* p. 22 "Ich möchte in erster Linie an ein episches Fragment denken, die Stützen für einen Elegiker scheinen mir schwach. Crönert erwägt noch die Möglichkeit, daß wir es mit einem Prosatext mit poetischen Zitaten zu tun haben. M. E., handelt es sich um die Privatabschrift eines Dichters". Körte 1941, 48: "episches Gedicht". Too little is readable to make any suggestion on the contents: cf. 5]εκ κάλυκων and 10]ων πολλῷ̣ν ἔγχη ἐρ̣ρ̣[.

6. Thasos
(*P.Rain.* 3.11 [*P.Vindob. gr.* 29805] = Heitsch 19.28 = MP^3 1791 = LDAB 794)

Editions: H. Oellacher, MPER 3.11, pp. 19–20 (*Addenda et corrigenda*, *P. Rain*. 4, p. 135); Livrea 1973, fr. 83 (introd. p. 20, comm. p. 40).

Bibliography: Körte 1941, pp. 107–8, no. 939.

Author: according to H. von Gärtringen *ap. ed. pr.* it belongs to Dionysius' *Bassarica.* Heitsch and Livrea 1973 included it in the 'fragmenta dubia'. There is no real reason for this attribution.

Dating: beginning of the 3rd c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.* p. 19 "Rollenfragment: 4 cm. breit und hoch. Material hellgelb, die kräftige, etwas in Bräunchiche spielende Schrift weist auf den Anfang des III. Jahrh. n. Chr."

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: the fragment has always been understood to be referring to a storm at the sea because of 5 ἀέλλ[αι and 7 Κυκλάδες and supposing that 4 γ]λωχῖνι τριαί[ν is Poseidon's trident (cf. Nonn. *D.* 8.238, 36.111, 39.281, 42.404, 42.520), not a fishing fork (cf. Opp. *H.* 3.88, 5.255, 5.440; QS 7.574). The Thasos in l. 9 is known to be a son of Poseidon

or of Agenor who took part in the search for Europa and later founded Thasos: cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11, Paus. 5.25.12, Nonn. *D.* 2.679–86 (cf. comm. in Vian 1976, n. to 2.685; G. Türk, *RE* V.A [1934], col. 1327, *s.v.* "Thasos 2"). We can infer that it was a quality poem when reading 6 βουπελάτησ[ι, to be found only in AR 4.1342, Nic. *Alex.* 39 and Opp. *Cyn.* 1.534.

7. Hermes and the Nile – epithalamium (*P.Oxy.* 3.423 = MP^3 1820 = LDAB 5281)

Edition: B. P. Grenfell – A. S. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 3.423 (pp. 68, 71).

Bibliography: Blass 1904–6, 265 (no. 192).

Dating: 3rd c.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Physical description: *ed. pr.* p. 68 "a strip from the bottom of a column containing on the *verso* parts of thirteen hexameters in a large and rather rough uncial hand apparently of the third century. The *recto* of the papyrus is blank".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: it is clearly an epithalamium. After mentioning the inmortals (l. 3 ἀθανάτοι), Hermes (4), the mythical herald of weddings (cf. Men. Rh. 400.19–20), is introduced. In l. 7 we read ὁμοφροσυν[, the virtue wished for the spouses in the epithalamia (cf. **34.** Epithalamium [*P.Ryl.* 1.17], line 4; Men. Rh. uses the synonym ὁμόνοια: 407.14–17, 21–4; 411.14–16). In ll. 8–9 the poet seems to be talking about his role, as if he had just told a myth and were now drawing the comparison with the wedding he is attending (cf. Men. Rh. 400.15–22). In line 13 the flood of the Nile (π]λημ<μ>υρῶν Νίλος) is mentioned, following the recommendation of incorporating stories of rivers (Men. Rh. 401.28–402.2, 12–14).

To be compared with: other epithalamia on papyrus and similar compositions such as **8.** Galatea and Apollo (*P.Lit.Lond.* 38), **31.** Heracles and Penelope (*P.Hal.* 2), **34.** Epithalamium (*P.Ryl.* 1.17), **51.1** Bridegroom Nile and Bride Egypt (PSI 7.845). For the comparison of the union of the couple with that of water/river and earth/land, cf. Plut. 366a; *AP* 9.362; Nonn. *D.* 3.275–8; 6.339–66; 8.244–6; 26.222–35; 40.324–6, 558–62; 41.28–37. Rhetorical models in Men. Rh. 399.11–412.2, [DH] *Rhet.* ch. 2 and 4 U.–R.

8. Galatea and Apollo – Epithalamium (*P.Lit.Lond.* 38 [*P.Lond.* 3.970] = MP^3 1814 = LDAB 5313)

Edition: H. J. M. Milne, *P.Lit.Lond.* 38.

Bibliography: Körte 1932, 30 (no. 711); Viljamaa 1968, 34, 38–9, 41–2, 130; Uebel 1976, 225.

Dating: 3rd c.

Physical description: fragment of papyrus, leaning cursive hand.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: Viljamaa 1968, 130 "PLit. Lond. 38… is most probably an *epithalamium*… The beginning of the papyrus seems to have a kind of prooemium; no definite conclusions can, however, be drawn from the scanty remains of the poem. The poet possibly appeals to Aphrodite and her retinue so in order to obtain a suitable beginning for his wedding

song… A little later the poet mentions Apollo (the verses 16, 27, and 30) and Galatea (the verses 13, 18, and 21). Apollo's falling in love with Daphne and Polyphemus' or Pan's love for Galatea are related in the poem, possibly as examples of the power of love".

Use: epithalamium.

To be compared with: Nonn. *D.* 6.300–25; 14.61–6; 38.227–94; 40.553–8; 48.266–7, 390–3. Rhetorical models in Men. Rh. 399.11–412.2, [DH] *Rhet.* ch. 2 and 4 U.–R. Other epithalamia on papyrus: **7.** Hermes and the Nile (*P.Oxy.* 3.423) **31.** Heracles and Penelope (*P.Hal.* 2), **34.** Epithalamium (*P.Ryl.* 1.17), **51.1** Bridegroom Nile and Bride Egypt (PSI 7.845).

9. Death of the *boukolos* (*P.Oxy.* 3.434 = MP^3 1821 = LDAB 5285)

Edition: B. P. Grenfell – A. S. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 3.434 (pp. 70, 76).

Bibliography: Blass 1904–6, 276 (no. 200).

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Dating: 3rd c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.* p. 70 "parts of two columns remain, written in rather large coarse uncials, probably of the third century. On the *verso* is some more writing in a similar but more cursive hand".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: too little remains to know if we are dealing with hexameters or distichs. Cf. *ed.pr.*, 70: "perhaps a θρῆνος or ἐπιτάφιος. Groups of a few lines (usually four) are separated by a shorter line [12, 17, 22], which may have contained a refrain". Blass 1904–6 suggests "ein Klagelied mit Refrain". 11 ωλετο χων̣.[, 16 ωλετο μη[and perhaps 21 [….]οτυπον λ̣[may be compared with pastoral refrains for the dead *boukolos*, such as: Bion 1.1–12 ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις / ὤλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις; [Mosch.] 3.7b καλὸς τέθνακε μελικτάς and 11–12 ὅττι Βίων τέθνακεν ὁ βουκόλος, ὅττι σὺν αὐτῷ / καὶ τὸ μέλος τέθνακε καὶ ὤλετο Δωρὶς ἀοιδά; [Theocr.] 23.45 καλὸς δέ μοι ὤλεθ' ἑταῖρος. Cf. also Nonn. *D.* 15.399, 403, 409, 414. The Nymphs are also mentioned: 13 νυμφόφορον, 15 νυμφῶν.

10. Hector (*P.Oxy.* 30.2514 = MP^3 1972.6 = LDAB 5385)

Edition: E. Lobel, *P.Oxy.* 30.2514 (pp. 15–17).

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Dating: 3rd c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.*, 16 "col. i appears to be in a different and, I should have guessed from the very exiguous remains, earlier hand, perhaps of the second century. Col. ii is a medium-sized, rather heavy example of the angular type used from the second to the fourth century, which I should not suppose to be earlier than the third".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: *ed. pr.*, 15 "if the sign below col. ii 26 indicates the end of the piece, it can be deduced from l. 22 that the piece

was in hexameters. The only clue to its contents that I see is the mention of Hector [in his transcription II.25 εκτοριᾳ[]".

11. Hexameters about glassblowing (*P.Oxy.* 50.3536 = MP^3 1982.2 = LDAB 5383)

Edition: R. Coles, *P.Oxy.* 50.3536 (pp. 57–9).

Bibliography: Deroy 1987, 1989; Stern 2007, 349–54.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Dating (*ed. pr.*): paleographic dating, 3rd c.; the composition cannot be earlier than Roman times, as it was then that glassblowing was invented (cf. Plin. *HN* 36.27; Flav. Ioseph. *Bellum Iudaicum* 2.10.25; studied in Forbes 1966, 150 ff.).

Physical description: fragment of a papyrus cut out on its four sides on which 14 lines are preserved. The fragment is formed by two stuck papyrus pieces, which leads us to believe that it might have been a roll. The other side is occupied with the remains of a record and another line in the margin, which seem to be from the 2nd – 3rd c. The hexameters (in a leaning documentary hand) seem to show a more recent calligraphy.

Stylistic and metric characteristics: *ed. pr.*, 57 "The etymologically false ἀεργεννῆς (3, cf. n.) gives some indication of the quality of our author". Deroy 1989, 184 comments on this poem: "le verrier utilise une motte de verre produite par un frittage et un concassage préalables… il souffle son verre. La canne qu'il utilise est simplement appelée σίδηρος "fer" et je n'ai pas trouvé que σίδηρος soit attesté ailleurs avec ce sens spécial. Le poète a bien observé que le mors de la canne doit être préalablement chauffé au rouge sombre pour que le verre en fusion y adhère". Stern 2007, 349–54 describes the process and adds photographs.

To be compared with: *AP* 16.323 (attributed to Mesomedes, from Hadrian's time), though the method of blowing is different (cf. Stern 2007, 353–4); cf. Stern 2007 for other texts on the subject.

12. Achilles and Hector – Priam's ethopoea (PSI 6.722 = MP^3 1834 = LDAB 5243)

Edition: G. Vitelli, PSI 6.722.

Bibliography: Vitale 1921; Bell 1922, 84; Körte 1924, 118 (no. 536).

Dating: 3rd c.

Physical description: fragment of a papyrus roll, hand datable from the third century.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: apparently Hector has already been killed by Achilles and the recovery of his body (4 νέκυν Ἕκτορα λῦσαι) is mentioned; the key for the interpretation of the fragment is line 17 ἀλλὰ τί ῥέξω, which shows that, at least one part, is direct speech. We could reconstruct an ethopoea entitled "What words would Priam say after receiving Iris' visit?" (cf. l. 5 ὕϊεϊ χερσὶ δαμάσσαι), in which the question would mark the beginning of the future treatment in the sequence [present – past (– present) – future] recommended by the rhetors. We could also afford a Homeric model: the conver-

sation between Priam and Hecabe (*Il.* 24.191–227) when Iris has informed Priam about the conditions for the recovery of Hector's body and Priam consults Hecabe about what to do (cf. esp. 197 ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ, τί τοι φρεσὶν εἴδεται εἶναι;), though he has already taken the decision of obeying Zeus' orders and going to the Achaean camp (cf. l. 18 of the papyrus: ποτὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν). On the contrary, Vitale 1921, 40–2 attributes it to Andromache on the death of Hector. As for the metrics, the first editor noted that, out of the seven lines in which it is possible to rebuild the second hemistich, there are five feminine caesurae (1, 8, 10?, 13, 18) and two masculine ones (2, 11?); only l. 11 is σπονδειάζον and it ends with a polysyllabic word; the rules for word ending are respected in ll. 1 and 2.

To be compared with: other 'Homeric' rebuildings: **19.** Odysseus' Ethopoea (*P.Ryl.* 3.487); **55.** Anthology of six ethopoeae (*P.Heid. inv.* 1271v).

13. Odysseus'? return
(*P.Oxy.* 15.1821 = MP^3 1823 = LDAB 5386)

Edition: B. P. Grenfell – A. S. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 15.1821 (p. 226). Cf. suggestions in *P.Ryl.* 3.487 (p. 100).

Bibliography: Körte 1924, p. 118, no. 539.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Dating: 3rd c.

Physical description: papyrus fragment; "a rather small, informal, upright hand of the third century" (*ed. pr.*).

Stylistic and metric characteristics: beginnings of nine hexameters (or elegiac lines) which seem to deal with Odysseus' return (bearing in mind Roberts' reconstructions in *P.Ryl.* 3.487: 1 νοστοιτε̣, 6 και τοξο μνη[στηρ). Cf. v. 8 ἀτρέκεως, so typical of late antique poetry.

To be compared with: **19.** Odysseus' Ethopoea (*P.Ryl.* 3.487).

14. Mythological acrostic
(*P.Mich. inv.* 4953 = MP^3 1968.3 = LDAB 5338 = Cribiore 138)

Editions: Daniel 1981a; Daniel 1981b, 100–3.

Dating: 3rd c. (middle or latter part, according to paleographic analysis).

Physical description: fragment of a papyrus roll; there is an account on the *recto*; on the *verso*, four mythological hexameters from the teacher's hand in a fluid semicursive (the fourth one, incomplete). The pupil (Eutichydes, Callopus' son, as can be seen by his signature, which is more legible and worked on) copies the first one (Cribiore: "'evolving', attempts to imitate everything in the model, even size and *ductus*").

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: the teacher copies three complete hexameters of mythological subject matter (1. Althea killed Meleager, 2. [Polydeuces] overcame Amicus, 3. Perseus and Gorgon) which begin with the first three letters of the alphabet. In line 2 there is a violation of Hermann's bridge.

Use: school copy exercise.

15. Encomium on Theon the Gymnasiarch (*P.Oxy.* 7.1015 = Page 130 = Heitsch 16 = MP^3 1847 = LDAB 5218)

Edition: A. S. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 7.1015.

Bibliography: Körte 1913, p. 540, no. 380; Manteuffel 1930, 58–9, 201–2; Turner 1952, 85; Turner 1956, p. 142, pl. 2; West 1969, 9; Uebel 1976, 225; Turner – Parsons 1987, no. 50; Dorandi 1991, 20; Cribiore 2001a, 241–2; Caroli 2007, pl. 40a; Pordomingo 2007, 425–8.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Dating: middle or latter part of 3rd c. (*ed. pr.*)

Physical description: sheet cut from a papyrus roll; judging by the corrections in the titles and the composition, it is an autograph (Dorandi 1991, 20). Accentuation similar to *P.Oxy.* 223 and 841, but it is not used strictly. As for the hand, "personal form of the mixed style… but rounded, of medium size" (Turner-Parsons 1987, no. 50). In both the left lateral and bottom margins there are titles Ἑρμοῦ ἐνκώμιον (ἐγκώμιον in the bottom one), in which the first word has been erased with a sponge, perhaps because another title suited best (cf. *ed. pr.*, p. 112 and n. 8); also in the left margin, εἰς τον ἄρχοντα.

Content and stylistic and metric characteristics: 22 hexameters to honour Theon, ostensibly a young man who, due to his wealth, held the office of gymnasiarch very early (ll. 11–12 and *ed. pr.* p. 112) and, as such, gave the gymnasium oil (ll. 11, 14) and grain (l. 15). Another gift, typical of a man who has received wisdom from the Muses (16 ff.), is also mentioned. Manteuffel 1930, 58: "Quod *Encomium* sermone pedestri confectum est, sed rhetori ars in eo perspicitur, quod et numerosa verborum conclusio (praecipue cretici, interdum: resoluti; ll. 2, 3, 5–7, 9–10, 12, 14, 16, 19–26, 31, 36, 38 – – –: 1, 13, 27–30, 34–5, choriambi 17, 18, spondei ll. 8, 11, 15, 32–3, 37 chorei 4) et versus extremis litteris consonantes occurrunt, velut 2:3, [59] 5:6:7; 12:13:14; 16:17; 20:21, hiatus tamen neglegenter relincti. Itaque ficula cum ipso melle comparata cibum, quem maxime Hermes deus appetit, rhetor concelebrat".

Use: Turner-Parsons 1987, no. 50 "may be a prize poem" (already Turner 1956 had pointed out that it was a poem that had entered a poetry contest); Cribiore 2001, 241–2 a local poet's work to take part in the poetry competitions included in the games; Pordomingo 2007, 427 perhaps a work of a student from the gymnasium for a Hermes festival.

To be compared with: Encomium on the word (Swiderek 1966; Oxyrhynchus, 2nd c., prose), *P.Oxy.* 68.4677 (Encomium on the horse; Oxyrhynchus, 2nd/ 3rd c., prose), *P.Oxy.* 17.2084 (Encomium on the fig; Oxyrhynchus, 1st c., prose), **26.2** Encomium on Antinous and Hermes (*P.Oxy.* 50.3537v).

16. Ethopoea on the king and sceptre (*P.Oxy.* 4.671 = MP^3 1857.1 = LDAB 5458)

Edition: B. P. Grenfell – A. S. Hunt, *P.Oxy.* 4.671 (pp. 122–4).

Bibliography: Blass 1904–6, p. 484, no. 320; McNamee 1981, p. 63, *s.v.* Νι(κάνωρ?); Fournet 1992, p. 256, n. 1; Fernández Delgado 1994; Jarcho 1999, 186 (n. I); Agosti 2005a.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Dating: latter part of the 3rd c. (*ed. pr.*).

Physical description: two papyrus fragments; opposite the first line of the composition, in the left margin, there is an N crossed with a vertical stroke, like the one in *P.Panop.* 31, and similar to the slimmer one which Parsons (*P.Oxy.* 42, p. 14) finds in *P.Oxy.* 3002; the hand is an irregular uncial.

Content and stylistic and metric characteristics: the parallels (ll. 4, 14, 21) suggest that it is a single composition (cf. Fernández Delgado 1994, 300–1), which would have had at least 25 lines (after line 14 the papyrus is torn and 4 or 5 lines are missing); type A (τ.α.ε.λ.) in the classification by Fournet, who reconstructs the initial title: τίνας ἂν εἴποι [λόγους ὁ δεῖνα πρὸς] τὸν υ[ἱ]ὸν̣ τοῦ Δε̣[(or Δο̣[). The speaker addresses a king (21 βασιλεῦ; the sceptre mentioned in 15 and 20 may be his), by whom he asks to be listened to (17 κλύοις) and to whom he complains for a delay (21 δηθύνεις) probably related to the wish expressed in l. 22 (ἱμείρω σέο παίδα).

Use: regrettably the edition does not afford a photo and the papyrus has disappeared from Wellesley College (Mass.); 'irregular uncial' is a too ambiguous description to know if it is a composition related to school.

To be compared with: **29.** Athena's words to Achilles (*P.Oxy.* 42.3002).

17. Antinous and Diocletian – encomium (or encomia?) (*P.Oxy.* 63. 4352 = MP^3 1972.91 = LDAB 5407)

Editions: J. R. Rea, *P.Oxy.* 63.4352 (pp. 1–17).

Bibliography: Magnelli 1998; Livrea 1999, 2002; Gigli Piccardi 2002; Agosti 2002b; Derda – Janiszewski 2002, 65–9; Henry 2003; Pordomingo 2007.

Author: Rea, one piece by an unknown author. Livrea 1999: poem by Soterichus Oasites, an encomium on Diocletian mentioned in the corresponding entry in the *Suda*, which would have influenced Nonnus' epyllion of Ariadna *D.* 47.265–741; he (Livrea 1999, 71) did not rule out the possibility of it being the ending of a poem about Antinous recited by Soterichus as a *patrion* in the Great Antinoeae, separated by the initial paragraph of an *Encomium to Diocletian*; he developed this theory later (Livrea 2002), reconstructing a longer poem, known partially through *P.Strasb.* 481, *P.Oxy.* 4352 and *P.Strasb.* 480. Gigli Piccardi 2002: a single composition, because of the soteriological outlook which both share. Agosti sees in 5.II.18–39 the final part of the poem. Derda – Janiszewski 2002: two compositions from an unknown author, an encomium of Antinous and an encomium of the *epistrategos* of the Heptanomia who presided over the Capitoline Games at Oxyrhynchus.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Dating: of the text *c.* 285; the papyrus does not seem to have been copied much later (cf. *ed. pr.*, p. 4). Livrea 2002, 17 suggests 297–8, *adventus* of Diocletian in Egypt to crush Domitian's and Achilleus' revolt (reading διογενής in 5.ii.27 instead of Διογενής). Agosti 2002b, 56–8 favours a dating *post* 298.

Physical description: papyrus roll, five fragments; one of them, of large size, preserves the lines on Antinous and Diocletian. The poem is written on the *recto*, the *verso* is blank. On the disposition of the fragment, cf. *ed. pr.*, pp.

3–4. The hand is informal, small, generally straight, with a slanting inclination, fluent and with ligatures. The hexameters on Antinous (5.ii.1–17) and those on Diocletian (5.ii.18–39) are separated by a *paragraphos* which might mark the beginning of a new poem or section.

Stylistic and metric characteristics: the text presents some analogies with Nonnus, as shown in *ed. pr.* (nn. to 5.ii.3, 5.ii.13) and Magnelli 1998, on 3.7. Magnelli 1998, 66 explains them as the result of the dependence of both the authors on non-extant literary precedents, without ruling out that Nonnus might have known this text. Livrea 1999, 70–1 quotes also as pre-Nonnian traces the use of *synkrisis*, the tricolic οὐ (5.ii.7), μετά + acc. (5.ii.8). Gigli Piccardi 2002 resorts to Nonnus to explain 5.ii.1 (ζωάγριον) and 12 (θαλαμηπόλον). Magnelli 1998, 64–5 relates 5.ii.18–20 with Opp. *H.* 2.669–75 and Livrea 1999, 72 compares 5.ii.16 πόνων πολυγηθέα λήθ[ην with Triph. 671 (πολέμων ὑπεραυχέι νίκῃ) and **39.** *Blem.* 81 Livrea (μάχης πολυγηθέα νίκ[ην). Agosti 2002b, 53–4 emphasises the part of Diocletian as world saviour, a motif widely exploited by Diocletian's imperial propaganda, but also sees the encomium as a faithful transposition of the precepts recorded by Menander the Rhetor.

Use: Rea *ed. pr.*, p. 2, it was to be recited at a poetry contest during the Capitoline Games at Oxyrhynchus (Autumn 285) or during the games in honour of Antinous, held both in Antinoopolis and Oxyrhynchus; also Derda – Janiszewski 2002, 67. Magnelli 2002, 61 points out that it is an interesting document to know the 'public' dimension of Greek poetry in imperial Egypt, though he admits that the public reading of a poem in an agon does not imply that its author must have necessarily been a professional or itinerant poet.

To be compared with: **41.** Codex of encomia (*P.Argent.* 480–1), **60.** Encomium on Archelas (*P.Ant.* 3.115). Other compositions for Antinous: *IG* XIV 978a (= *Inscr. Gr. Ital* 978[a] Kaibel: hymn to Antinous preserved in a second century Cypriot inscription; *ed. alt.* Lebek 1973); *P.Oxy.* 8.1085 (Heitsch 15.2), *P. Lit.Lond.* 36 (Heitsch 15.1), Pancrates ap. Athenaeus 15.677d-f (Heitsch 15.3), **26.2** encomium on Antinous and Hermes (*P.Oxy.* 50.3537v); *P.Mil.-Vogl.* 1.20, col. II.25 – III.25 (a prose encomium to Antinous' flower, Tebtunis, 2nd / 3rd c.); Mesomedes wrote an ἔπαινος in honour of Antinous (cf. *Suda s.v.* Μεσομήδης). The lines dedicated to Diocletian should be compared with Nonn. *D.* 7.1–109.

18.1 Reunion after Troy (*r.*) + **2.** Rivalry between the Sirens and the Muses (*v.*) (*P.Ant.* 1.17 = MP^3 1786 = LDAB 5360)

Edition: C. H. Roberts, *P.Ant.* 1.17.

Bibliography: Merkelbach 1956, pp. 84–5, no. 1041; West 1969, 5–6; Uebel 1976, 225 (*Adespota*); Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 305; McNamee 1981, p. 105, *s.v.* φύλ(λον).

Provenance: Antinoopolis.

Dating: 3rd c. (nearer to the end of the century).

Physical description: part of a sheet of a payrus codex; relative position of *recto* and *verso* is unclear. Fluid hand, semicursive, with frequent ligatures, probably from the end of the third century. In the left margin of the the *recto*, be-

tween lines 38 and 39, a second hand added φυλ ()ξβ, which seems to stand for φύλ(λον), i.e. "*folio*" and 62, a stichometric note (cf. *ed. pr.* n. 39).

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: in the *recto* after the end of the Trojan War someone (Ajax' father Telamon?) complains about Ajax' death; the *verso* deals with the rivalry of Sirens and Muses. Cf. Merkelbach 1956, 85: "Das Verso… enthält den Wettstreit zwischen den Musen und den Sirenen, wie Pfeiffer erkannt hat. Er könnte in eine Metamorphose ausgelaufen sein, und man fragt sich, ob nicht die Szene des Recto in einem ähnlichen Zusammenhang stand (Aition oder Gründungsage; vgl. das Aition des Gerichtes ἐν Φρεαττοῖ bei Pausan. I 28, 11)".

19. Odysseus' Ethopoea (anthology?)
(*P.Ryl.* 3.487 = Page 137 = Heitsch 21 = MP^3 1857.2 = LDAB 5539)

Edition: C. H. Roberts, *P.Ryl.* 3.487 (pp. 100–2).

Bibliography: Körte 1941, 106–7 (no. 936); Keydell 1941, 16–17; Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 313; Fournet 1992, p. 258, no. 8; Fernández Delgado 1994; Jarcho 1999, 186–7 (n. II); Ureña Bracero 1999, 328.

Dating: end of 3rd c. or turn of 4th c.

Physical description: papyrus sheet which could have been independent or a part of a codex (cf. Körte 1941, 106); rough irregular hand, inclined to cursive at the end of line; at the beginning of line 32, remains of some deliberately erased letters can be perceived; in the part that remained untouched there could be a reconstruction of an α[λλο which would mark the beginning of a second composition, perhaps about the same topic (cf. 35 μνηστήρων).

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: apparently an account of Odysseus' last adventures. In the *verso* Odysseus seems to be telling of his adventures with the Ithaceans to an unknown listener (Laertes? Eumeus? Euryclea?), to whom he might have revealed his identity in l.10. In the *recto* he shows him/her his scar and encourages, first Philoetius (ll. 24–6) and then a group (l. 26 ὑμεῖς), to join him, armed, to fight the suitors. Fournet 1992, 258 reconstructs the title: "τ.α.ε.λ. Ὀδυσσεὺς γνωρισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐμαίου καὶ τοῦ Φιλοίτιου;". It is not a mere paraphrase of the text of the *Odyssey* (21.193–220), but presents a development of its own, and the vocabulary is innovative too, forseeing Nonnus (cf. *ed. pr.*, 100; Keydell 1941, 17: "deutet die Ausdrucksform der Versprechungen 23–26 schon auf Nonnos voraus; freilich kann das unsicher gelesene καὶ nicht richtig sein, vielmehr muß der Satz negiert sein. Auch die Paronomasie 7 αἰγος… αἰγίοχος hat ihre nächste Parallele Dionys. 27.295"). Jarcho 1999, 186–7 believes that, since both episodes come from very distant parts in the *Odyssey*, they might be two different exercises, the separation of which does not survive due to the lacuna in the papyrus.

Use: It might have been a part of a collection of extracts or exercises and the next have begun with line 32 (cf. *ed. pr.*, n. to 32; Fernández Delgado 1994, 304; Fournet 1992, 258).

To be compared with: **13.** Odysseus'? return (*P.Oxy.* 1821). Other compositions reworked after Homer: **55.** Anthology of six ethopoeae (*P.Heid. inv.* 1271v).

20. Penelope?
(BKT 9.116 [*P.Berol. inv.* 21212] = MP^3 1831.1 = LDAB 5492)

Editions: *ed. pr.* Maehler 1970, 168–9; *ed. alt.* G. Ioannidou, BKT 9.116.

Dating: *ed. pr.* 3rd – 4th c.; Ioannidou 4th c.

Physical description: fragment of a papyrus codex reused as cartonnage together with other fragments, probably for a book cover or jacket. Maehler 1970, 168: "Die Schrift ist eine etwas ungleichmässige Buchschrift mit kursiven Elementen, die es möglichen, die Hand etwa in die Zeit Diocletians oder jedenfalls in den Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts zu datieren".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: it may reproduce an episode of the *Odyssey* in which Penelope plays a part (cf. reconstruction in *ed. pr.* for B 1); cf. also the typical Homeric epithet for Zeus in l. 5 (νεφεληγερε[τα).

To be compared with: **19.** Odysseus' Ethopoea (*P.Ryl.* 3.487: it deals with some scenes from the Odyssey and dates back to about the same time); **21.** Trojan Cycle (BKT 9.126).

21. Trojan Cycle
(BKT 9.126 [*P.Berol. inv.* 21222] = MP^3 1984.6 = LDAB 5494)

Editions: *ed. pr.* of the first two fragments, Maehler 1970, 166–8; the *ed. pr.* of the third is G. Ioannidou, BKT 9.126.

Provenance: Hermoupolis (Ioannidou)? Maehler 1970, 166: "Die Fragmente gehören zu einem Ankauf, der grossenteils aus Urkunden bestand, die im Fayûm, meist in Philadelphia, geschrieben worden sind; ob auch die literarischen Stücke aus dem Fayûm stammen, ist freilich nicht unbedingt sicher".

Dating: 3rd /4th c.

Physical description: three fragments of a papyrus codex; round hand (3rd or 4th c.).

Content: Maehler 1970, 166 "Zum Inhalt lässt sich nur sagen, dass das Werk zum troianischen Sagenkreis gehört zu haben scheint; Anklänge an homerische Wendungen sind jedoch nicht sehr bezeichnend. Es könnte sich um eine Iliasbearbeitung handeln".

To be compared with: **19.** Odysseus' Ethopoea (*P.Ryl.* 3.487); **20.** Penelope? (BKT 9.116).

22. Tyrtaeus?
(*P.Berol. inv.* 17024 = MP^3 1800.1 = LDAB 5769)

Edition: Müller 1974, 397 (no. 3).

Bibliography: van Minnen – Worp 1993, [128].

Provenance: Hermoupolis.

Dating: 3rd/4th c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.* "Mittelgroße, etwas nach rechts geneigte und stellenweise stark verwischte Buchschrift. Das Fragment stammt aus einem Papyruskodex, die Abfolge von Rekto und Verso ist unsicher. Auf Rekto sind offenbar die Anfänge der Zeilen erhalten".

Content: *ed. pr.* "die Erwähnung von Kampf, Anstrengung und Feinden lassen an Tyrtaios denken".

23. Encomium on a contemporary (PSI 2.149 = Heitsch 33 = MP^3 1731 [recto] + 1833 [verso] = LDAB 5791)

Edition: G. Vitelli, PSI 2.149, pp. 80–1.

Bibliography: Crusius 1914, 122; Collart 1919; Bell 1921, 88; Körte 1924, 118–19 (no. 540); West 1963, 171; Viljamaa 1968, 77; Uebel 1976, 225 (*Adespota*); Cunningham 1987, 58–9 (no. 14); Pintaudi 1998–9, 243.

Provenance: Hermoupolis (Pintaudi 1998–9, 243).

Dating: 3rd/4th c.

Physical description: papyrus codex; *recto* and *verso* by the same hand.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: 17 iambic trimeters on the *recto*, 27 dactylic hexameters on the *verso*. It was thought that they were two independent poems, the one on the *recto* would be a part of a tragedy or mime (Crusius 1914, 122, considered it part of a mime) and the one on the *verso* an epic poem. In fact, as Körte 1924, 119 suggested, it is a hexametric poem with a iambic prologue. The *recto* preserves the beginnings of the iambi (including, in line 17, the beginning of the proverb ἔαρ χελιδὼν οὐχὶ ποιήσει μία, which seems to be a part of the *topos* of the magnitude of the poem – cf. Viljamaa 1968, 77). What is preserved of the hexameters on the *verso* suggests that the metrics is Nonnian (cf. Collart 1919, 37–8): at the end of line, dactyls are more common than spondees, which are admitted in the fourth foot of line (ll. 26, 27, 31); 26 and 30 present a trihemimeres caesura and 31 and 33 a hepthemimeres, which would probably combine with a trihemimeres; in l. 33 αὐχένα occupies, like in Nonnus, the fifth foot to stress the end of the line and perhaps a bucolic diaeresis. L. 30 σαόπτολις, l. 31 βλάστησεν and l. 32 εἰ θέμις are characteristic of Nonnus.

To be compared with: other encomia on contemporaries on papyrus, such as **27.** Encomium on Maximus, **39.** Panegyric on general Germanus, **43.** Farewell to a Dux of Thebes (*P.Flor.* 2.44), **46.** Encomium on Heraclius (PSI 3.253), **54.4** Encomium on Theagenes, **56.** Encomium on a Dux from the Thebaid, **60.** Encomium on Archelas (*P.Ant.* 3.115).

24. Priam (*P.Bingen* 15 [*P.Vindob. gr.* 19410 R] = MP^3 1824.01 = LDAB 7996)

Edition: W. Luppe, *P.Bingen* 15 (pp. 77–8).

Dating: 3rd / 4th c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.* p. 77 "Ringsum abgerissenes Fragment auf der Rückseite eines – nur in drei dürftigen Zeilenanfängen kenntlichen – dokumentarischen Textes. 13 Linien. Die linke Bruchkante verläuft ab Zeile 3 fast senkrecht. Vom Anfang dieser 11 Zeilen fehlen zumeist jeweils 1 1/2 Metren, nur Zeile 6 f. noch eine Kürze mehr. Allein von den Zeilen 3–6 sind mehr als zwei bzw. drei Silben erhalten".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: not much can be reconstructed of the content. We read (cf. *ed. pr.*) 4. Πρ]ιάμοιο καὶ αν[.].[. and maybe οἰν]οχόη πολυδήριτο̣[, where πολυδήριτος is only accounted for in Opp. *Hal*. 5.328.

25.1 On Odysseus (PSI 15.1467 = MP^3 1837.2 = LDAB 5788) + **2.** Scene of seduction (PSI 15.1468 = MP^3 1837.3 = LDAB 5788)

Edition: V. Bartoletti – M. Manfredi, PSI 15.1467–8 (pp. 42–6).

Bibliography: Pernigotti 2003, 64; McNamee 2007b, p. 455, no. 1837.3.

Dating: 4th c.

Physical description: papyrus fragment; *ed. pr.* p. 42 "le scritture delle due facciate sono abbastanza simili, anche se di modulo diverso: entrambe di tipo informale, quella del *verso* [1468], più minuta, sembra meno recente dell'altra. Il manoscritto è databile al IV o fors'anche al V sec. d. C. Si notano affinità con la scrittura di P. Lit. Lond. 40 (Dionysii *Bassarica*), e con PSI 17".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics:

1. (*Recto*, 1467) Remains of ten hexameters on Odysseus (cf. 4]μ̣ητις Οδυσε̣ῦ̣[, either the ubiquitous Homeric πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς or later choices: αἰολόμητις as in Opp. *H.* 2.503 or δολόμητις as in QS 5.292) contributed by an unknown character (cf. 2 μοι). It is feasible that the story of Odysseus partaking in the expedition to Troy was told, explaining that he had to leave Ithaka (3 τ]ρηχείη δ' Ἰθακ̣ῃ[: the combination appears only in *Od*. 10.417 and 463) to fight in Troy (5 ἐπὶ Τροίην πτ[ολεμιζ, for which the *ed. pr.* proposes something similar to *Il*. 13.644–5). The orders of a female may also be mentioned (7 ἐ̣πει̣γομενη). Lines 3 and 4 suggest a Homeric reworking.

2. (*Verso*, 1468) Final letters of 16 hexameters, accompanied by a marginal line written from the top to the bottom (]..... ἔ̣πλεε Θησέυς, for which cf. Nonn. *D.* 47.269–70 ἐάσας / παρθενικὴν λιπόπατριν ἀμείλιχος ἔπλεε Θησεύς). Quite clearly a scene of seduction of a woman. A search with the TLG reveals Homeric line ends: 5 βροτοῖσιν appears 13 times in Homer as a line end and 7 times in QS; 8 αἰδώς occurs 3 times in the *Il.* and 8 in QS; 9].ον ἐδέγμην, maybe after *Od*. 9.513 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τινα φῶτα μέγαν καὶ καλὸν ἐδέγμην. However, concordances with late epic are conspicuous too: 6].αημων, as in Colluth. 186 ὁμοφροσύνης ἀδαήμων; 10]μίαν ὥρην, as 5 times in Nonn. *D.* εἰς μίαν ὥρην|; 12].ο̣σεν ὀνείρω.[], perhaps as in Triph. 632 ὡς ἐν ὀνείρῳ|; 12].ἐπὶ λέκτρωι, cf. ἐπὶ λέκτρων| 16 times in the *D.* On the possible topic, cf. *ed. pr.* p. 43 "potrebbe trattarsi… di una 'storia' di Arianna, quale Nonno racconta estesamente nel libro XLVII… e quale sappiamo esser stata versificata, tra gli altri, da Soterico Oasita… A meno che non si narrasse il ratto di Elena bambina da parte di Teseo… O ancora la storia di Ulisse (cfr. testo sul *recto*) che aiuta Tindaro a risolvere il problema dei pretendenti di Elena, a patto di ricevere in compenso la mano di Penelope (Apollod. 3, 10, 9)".

Use: too little remains to have a clear idea of the contents, let alone the possible uses of these hexameters, but cf. *ed. pr.* p. 43 "almeno per il testo sul *recto*… ci troviamo di fronte ad esercizi scolastici composti su un foglio staccato; il testo sul *verso* invece, in scrittura più piccola ed apparentemente più ordinata ed or-

ganica, poteva appartenere ad un componimento più ampio ed elaborato, a un 'classico' della letteratura bizantina d'Egitto".

To be compared with: **25.1.** with **13.** Odysseus'? return (*P.Oxy.* 1821) and **19.** Odysseus' ethopoea (*P.Ryl.* 3.487). Other compositions reworked after Homer: **55.** Anthology of six ethopoeae (*P.Heid. inv.* 1271v).

26. Ethopoea and encomium: **1.** Hesiod inspired by the Muses (acrostic ethopoea) + **2.** Encomium on Antinous and Hermes (*P.Oxy.* 50.3537 = MP^3 1857.32 + 1849.1 = LDAB 5556)

Editions: *ed. pr.* P. J. Parsons, *P.Oxy.* 50.3537 (pp. 59–66). Reed. and critical contributions in West 1984, Barigazzi 1985, Bona 1995, Agosti 1997b, Bernsdorff 1999, Livrea 1998a and Jarcho 1999 for the ethopoea; cf. *P.Oxy.* 63.4352, p. 10 for the encomium.

Bibliography: West 1984; Barigazzi 1985; Dorandi 1991, 20; Fournet 1992, 256 (no. 2); Fernández Delgado 1994, 302; Bona 1995; Agosti 1997b; Livrea 1998a, 28–31; Bernsdorff 1999; Jarcho 1999, 2001; Agosti 2005a; Pordomingo 2007, 430–2.

Author: local author (*ed. pr.*, p. 59); according to Fernández Delgado 1994, 303 ascribable to a 'Gelegenheitsdichter'; about **1.** cf. Jarcho 1999, 199 "composed not by a pupil but by a teacher who might as well have his own opinion of poetic techniques".

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Dating: 3rd or early 4th c.

Physical description: (*ed. pr.*) two papyrus strips, between which there must have been another one measuring 2.5 cm., now lost. Opistograph: the *recto* contains the ethopoea and the *verso* the encomium. There is at least one missing column which might have contained the beginning of the text that precedes the ethopoea and the ending of the encomium. The later corrections from the same hand in both compositions suggest that it is an autograph (cf. Dorandi 1991). The hand on the *recto* is a semiliterary dated from the 3rd or early 4th c., with a strong inclination to the right and a tendency to cursive ligatures. The writing on the *verso*, of the same size and type, is more cursive. We might be dealing with two authors, each one writing his own composition, or one using his best writing on the *recto* and his daily writing on the *verso*.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: before the ethopoea two other lines from another poem have been preserved for the subject matter of which cf. *ed. pr.*, p. 62, n. to 1–2.

1. The ethopoea is introduced by the title (r. 3–4)

τίνας ἂν λόγου[ς Ἡσίοδος εἴπο]ι ὑπὸ

τῶν Μουσῶν ε.[μ]ενος

Parsons suggests (*ed. pr.* n. ad loc.): ἐκ[διδασκόμ]ενος, ἐμ[πεπνευμ]ένος, ἔν[θεος γενόμ]ενος. It is a variation of Fournet's type A (1992, 255). Summary of the contents, *ed. pr.* p. 59: "Hesiod speaks: he feels the presence of the Muse; asks [60] her in person to inspire him with *Theogony* and *Catalogues*; bids farewell to the scenes and prizes of rustic verse, now that he has tasted Hippocrene – invokes parents and brother – abandons the bucolic pipe – sees the

heavens open – and steps forward to immortality". It is an acrostic (cf. Agosti 1997b), with the well-known Homeric hemistich τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, which does not fit the situation well (Hesiod answers to the Muse, not to a male interlocutor). The content comes from Hes. *Theog.* 1 ff. and *Op.* 633 ff. and 654 ff., but takes into account later compositions, especially the idea that the Muses' inspiration turns the bucolic Hesiod into a high-flying poet. For Hesiod abandoning pastoral activities, cf. the parallels presented in West 1984, 33. Agosti 1997b studies the ethopoea as a poetic visionary initiation influenced by pagan and Christian mysticism of the time; for a comparison with *P.Bodm.* 29, cf. Bona 1999, 126. Line 25 (σὺν δ' αὐτοῖς καλά[μοισιν ἀπέσ]τυγον ἄγριον ἠχήν) looks like an inversion of Verg. *Ecl.* 6.8 (*agrestem tenui meditabor arundine Musam*), which would bring out the idea that we have here a poet who might have read Virgil, the most popular Latin author in Greek schools. Cf. also Nonn. *D.* 1.41 δονάκων… ἀναίνεται ἔμπνοον ἠχώ. Cf. Gigli *ap.* Parsons *ed. pr.* n. ad loc.; also *ed. pr.* p. 60. Bernsdorff 1999, 71–8 points out the possibility that the biographic facts of Hesiod are based on a type of stylised biography of Virgil we find in Latin texts from the first century AD (Calp. 4, 160–3; *Laus Pisonis* 230–5). Jarcho 1999, 2001 argues unconvincingly that despite its title this composition is not an ethopoea.

Ed. pr. p. 60: "The hexameters are indeed correct, they violate Callimachean decencies only once (26), they do not pander to the stress accent (27)… But the whole thing shows a heavy hand; rhetorical technique gets no further than crass anaphora, jerky transitions, flat and flabby exercises in theme and variation… At the same time this poet looks forward to Nonnus". For a similar opinion, cf. Fernández Delgado 1994, 302. Also cf. Jarcho 1999, 198: "some reluctance on the part of the author to use Homerisms and various rhetorical figures. In the reliably readable text the former are represented only by tmesis (ἐκ δ' ἐλόμην, 16), gen. sing. in -οιο (6), three uncontracted forms (4, 24) and the dialectal πτολ- (11), and the latter, by several cases of not too obtrusive anaphora: τίς (3), αὐτή (7, 9), νῦν (17), οὐδ(έ) (20, 22), ἐκ (24). The author seems not to wish to be carried away by formal techniques: the content of the poem is of greater importance to him".

2. The composition on the *verso*, the title of which might be ᾠδὴ περὶ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀντίνοου, refers to Antinous (1 Ἀντίνοε, following the Homeric model) and Hermes (5, 13). Cf. Pordomingo 2007, 431: Antinous was venerated as a new Hermes and his iconography is close to the god's. Misinterpreted Homeric formula in 8 αἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν; he seems to try to use Homeric expressions continuously (also cf. 7 and 23), but he does not succeed in doing it correctly.

Use: Fernández Delgado 1994, p. 303, n. 24 "Vielleicht also zielte die Sammlung von Kompositionen des P.Oxy. 3537 auf die Praxis in der Schule ab und war selbst das Werk eines Dichters, der zur gleichen Zeit als *grammatikós* arbeitete".

1. Agosti 2005a, 42: "La qualità della scrittura, il livello della versificazione, l'impegno dell' acrostico… fanno propendere non per un esercizio o un modello da utilizzare in una classe, ma piuttosto per il carme di qualcuno che voleva esprimere una sua personale visione della poesia esiodea. L'authore, attraverso una riattualizzazione del paradigma esiodeo, delinea chiaramente una gerarchia

fra i generi letterari… Si trattava di questioni discusse, né escluderei che dietro il carme si nasconda una polemica letteraria, probabilmente [43] intorno al valore della poesia pastorale o delle opere esiodee".

To be compared with:

1. *AP* 7.55.5–6, 9.64.5–6, 11.24.4–5 (cf. Livrea 1998, 29); QS 12.306–13. Also *P.Oxy.* 37.2816 hellenistic hexameters beginning with an invocation to the Muses to help in the narration of a cosmogony.

2. Encomium on the word (Swiderek 1966; Oxyrhynchus, 2nd c., prose), *P.Oxy.* 68.4677 (Encomium on the horse, prose; Oxyrhynchus, 2nd/3rd c.), **15.** Encomium on Theon the Gymnasiarch (*P.Oxy.* 7.1015; Oxyrhynchus, 3rd c.), *P.Oxy.* 17. 2084 (Encomium on the fig; Oxyrhynchus, 3rd c.); other compositions about Antinous: *P.Oxy.* 8.1085 (Heitsch 15.2), *P.Lit.Lond.* 36 (Heitsch 15.1), Pancrates ap. Athenaeus 15.677d-f (Heitsch 15.3), *P.Oxy.* 63.4352 (**17.** Antinous and Diocletian); *P.Mil. Vogl.* 1.20, II 25 – III 25 (prose, on Antinous' flower, Tebtunis, 2nd/3rd c.); Mesomedes seems to have written an ἔπαινος in honour of Antinous (cf. *Suda* s.v. Μεσομήδης).

27. Encomium on Maximus
(*P.Vindob. gr.* 29788 a-b + 29474 = Page 132 = Heitsch 27 + 28 = MP^3 1853 = LDAB 7118)

Editions: *ed. pr.* H. Oellacher, *MPER* n.s. 1.5 (pp. 83–8); *Addenda et Corrigenda* in H. Oellacher, *MPER* n.s. 3, pp. 90–3: in number 29776 of the inventory appeared a small fragment of 29788a which adds the eight lines immediately before the beginning (*verso*), to complete 35 lines. *P.Vindob. gr.* 29474 turned out to be an upper fragment of 29788b, which improves the reconstruction of the *verso* considerably, adding four lines and the verse beginnings up to line 15, and also allows more meanings to the loose words reconstructed for the *recto.* Reed.: Zumbo 2007.

Bibliography: Körte 1935, 224–5 (no. 791); Schmidt 1936, 248–50; Keydell 1941, 15–22; Viljamaa 1968, 35, 64–5, 84, 110–11; Uebel 1976, 225 (*Adespota*); Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 319; Livrea 1978a; Cameron 1970a.

Dating: *ed. pr.* 4th c.; Page, p. 531 "Since (in the iambics) the central imperial court is evidently still in Italy, the composition is to be dated before the end of the 3rd century A.D.".

Physical description: papyrus codex; Körte 1935, 224: "Zwei verstümmelte Blätter desselben Kodex aus mehreren Bruchstücken zusammengesetzt, Schreibmaterial und Tinte sind nach dem Herausgeber gleich, die Schrift dagegen nicht. Die Übereinstimmung der Wurmlöcher zeigt, daß beide Blätter mit den besser erhaltenen Versoseiten aufeinander lagen, die Rectoseiten sind durch Nässe fast ganz unleserlich geworden… Die Schrift von a ist sorgfältiger, die von b nähert sich der Kursive und zeigt Neigung zu Ligaturen. Die Lesezeichen sind auf beiden Blättern gleich, ziemlich viele Paragraphoi und Interpunktionen, Apostrophe sind unregelmäßig gesetzt, das stumme Iota mitunter kleiner beigeschrieben, in a 25 ein Spiritus asper. Einige Verbesserungen sind von der Hand des Schreibers".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: the poem is made up of a proem in iambi (b – Heitsch 27; cf. analysis in Cameron 1970b) and a central body in hexameters (a – Heitsch 28). The whole of it is an encomium on a unknown Maximus. According to Zumbo 2007, 1068 the structure of the poem would be: iambic prologue + hexametric prologue + central body on the ἔργα of the *laudandus*, Maximus, about whom we don not have any information outside the poem. Zumbo 2007, 1069–71 analyses several turns of phrase adscribable to the 'modern style': fr. 28.33 ἔργα δ' [ὕ]φ[ην]ε, 34 ἀμφιβόητος, 23 στίχουσιν. On the metrics, cf. Zumbo 2007, 1072: "La forte presenza di olodattilici, unita al fatto che non si riscontrano mai due spondei di seguito e che frequente è lo schema con l'unico sp. In prima sede, denuncia decisamente che la fattura dell' esametro è nelle tendenze moderne".

Use: Ἐπιβατήριος λόγος.

To be compared with: *P.Vindob. gr.* 29776 (*Phenomena* by Arato), which shares its origin with 29788a and b. Other encomia on contemporaries, such as **23.** Encomium on a contemporary (PSI 2.149), **39.** Panegyric on general Germanus, **43.** Farewell to a Dux of Thebes (*P.Flor.* 2.114), **46.** Encomium on Heraclius (PSI 3.253), **54.4** Encomium on Theagenes, **56.** Encomium on a Dux from the Thebaid, **60.** Encomium on Archelas (*P.Ant.* 3.115).

28. The War of Troy
(*P.Ant.* 2.57 = MP^3 1849.3 = LDAB 5721)

Edition: J. W. Barns – H. Zilliacus, *P.Ant.* 2.57 (pp. 33–6).

Bibliography: Latte 1962, 154; Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 321.

Author: *ed. pr.*, 33 "presumably one of the numerous band of Egyptian epic poets who flourished in the later imperial period".

Provenance: Antinoopolis.

Dating: Turner, 4th c.; according to the *ed. pr.* 5th – 6th c.

Physical description: remnants of the top part of a sheet from a good quality papyrus codex; variety in spaces and sizes of letters; the same hand underlined some words.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: reconstruction of the contents in *ed. pr.*, p. 33 "on the recto is an account of a battle in Homeric style, with echoes of the *Iliad.* In ll. 3 seqq. a weapon is aimed by a weakling without success; in ll. 12 seqq. a commander reproaches his own men, or possibly taunts the enemy, with cowardice and effeminacy. In the first lines of the verso a female character is perhaps mourning someone slain". Homeric style (5 [κω]φὸν γὰρ βέλος, cf. *Il.* 11.390; 13 [φυ]ζακνῆις ἐλάφοι[σ as in *Il.* 13.102; 21 εὐρυπόροιο θαλά[σσης], inversion of *Il.* 15.381 and *Od.* 4.432, 12.2, also found in Opp. *Cyn.* 3.176 and QS 1.64) and 'late' choices (6 [α]ὐτοφόρητον, only in Nonn. *D.* 10.150; 35 ἐγέρσιμος, only in Theocr. 24.7 and Nonn. *P.* 20.42, 21.78). A parallel for ll. 16 ff., where the speaker is perhaps asking the warriors what use their locks will be to them in battle, may be found in Call. *Aetia* fr. 7.9–12.

29. Athena's words to Achilles – ethopoea (*P.Oxy.* 42.3002 = MP^3 1857.31 = LDAB 2124)

Edition: P. J. Parsons, *P.Oxy.* 42.3002.

Bibliography: Cataudella 1975, 41–2; Fernández Delgado 1994; Jarcho 1999, 188 (no. IV); Ureña Bracero 1999, 324–5.

Author: according to Fernández Delgado 1994, 303 ascribable to a 'Gelegenheitsdichter'.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Dating: 4th c.

Physical description (*ed. pr.*): the text occupies the top part of a single sheet; the bottom part and the other side are blank. Spelling and hand typical of a professional. In the left margin, against line 1, there is a sign difficult to decipher; the editor (p. 14, n. 1) believes that it may be a N crossed with a vertical stroke.

Stylistic and metric characteristics: *ed. pr.*, 13 "it follows its Homeric original (*Iliad* 1, 207–214) very closely… In this respect the new text comes close to the alternative exercise of paraphrase… The paraphrast makes his way partly by rhetorical expansion and partly by simple repetition; his sentences join only in asyndeton or with δέ. The vocabulary is basically Homeric, with additions from later hexameter poetry. The metre ignores Callimachean niceties (19 and 20 have a word-end after both seventh and ninth elements; 20 lacks a secondary caesura (ὑπο|δρήσσων); 25 is a clear breach of Meyer's bridge); equally it shows no Nonnan tendency to consider accent at the line-end". 'Later' choices: 1 κούσσεο χε[ῖρ]ας, 2 ἀστυφέλικτον, 20 ὑποδρήσσων, 22 βαρύμηνιν.

Use: taking into account the difference between the professionalism of the copy and the scant quality of the contents, two hypotheses can be advanced: it could be the work of someone capable of making a good copy but not a good composition (nothing suggests that it is an autograph, which is why it must be a copy of the original) or someone incapable of writing a good composition but with enough money to pay for a good copy.

To be compared with: **16.** Ethopoea on the king and the sceptre (*P. Oxy.* 4.671), **26.1** Hesiod inspired by the Muses (*P.Oxy.* 50.3537r).

30. Helen and Hermione (*P.Berol. inv.* 13239 [= 239] = MP^3 1798 = LDAB 5597)

Edition: W. Schubart – U. von Wilamowitz, BKT V.2, p. 146.

Bibliography: Körte 1913, 542 (no. 385); Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 309; van Minnen – Worp 1993, [120].

Provenance: Hermoupolis.

Dating: 4th c.

Physical description: Körte 1913, 542 "Papyrusfetzen aus einem Kodex. Auf dem Rekto ist nur ein Versschluß erhalten, auf dem Verso 20 Versanfänge, von denen die folgenden 11 ἐξ Ἑλένης-, 12 Ἑρμιόνη-, 15 Ἀργείω[ν-, 17 Τρῶι (Akzent erhalten), 18 πᾶσαι μ[έν -, 19 ἑλκόμε[ναι – zeigen, daß wir es mit einem heroischen Epos zu tun haben"; the *ed. pr.* does not describe the hand an does not afford a photo on which it can be analysed.

31. Heracles and Penelope – epithalamium (*P.Hal.* 2 = MP^3 1787 = LDAB 5650)

Edition: Bechtel *et al.* 1913, 181–2 (+ Tafel VIII).

Bibliography: Viljamaa 1968, 34, 38, 129–30; Uebel 1976, 225 (*Adespota*).

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus?

Dating: 4th c.

Physical description (*ed. pr.*): right half of the bottom part of a column of papyrus roll; it is probably the last column of the roll; semicursive hand of the 4th c.

Stylistic and metric characteristics: *ed. pr.*, 182 "Beachtenswert sind die starken Anklänge an Apollonios" (cf. nn. at ll.. 3, 5, 6); Viljamaa 1968, 38: no influence from Nonnus.

Use: Viljamaa 1968, 129, epithalamium ("The poet uses the labours of Hercules to describe the bridegroom's manliness, while Penelope is an example of the bride's faithfulness or diligence").

To be compared with: other epithalamia and similar compositions, such as **7.** Hermes and the Nile (*P.Oxy.* 3.423), **8.** Galatea and Apollo (*P.Lit.Lond.* 38), **34.** Epithalamium (*P.Ryl.* 1.17), **51.1** Bridegroom Nile and Bride Egypt (PSI 7.845); epithalamia by Dioscorus of Aphrodito (32–7, 50 Fournet). Rhetorical models in Men. Rh. 399.11–412.2, [DH] *Rhet.* ch. 2 and 4 U.–R.

32. Encomia on a teacher from Beryto (**1.** *P.Berol.* 10559 a and b [= Page 138 = Heitsch 30] + **2.** 10558 [= Heitsch 31] = MP^3 1851 = LDAB 5596)

Edition: W. Schubart – U. von Wilamowitz, BKT V.1, 82–93; Schubart 1911, 43a.

Bibliography: Ludwich 1907, 493; Jurenka 1907; Körte 1913, 547–8, no. 397; Sitzler 1919, 103–4; Ludwich 1923; Schemmel 1923; Viljamaa 1968, 38, 64, 68–97; Luschnat 1964, 122–4 (on col. I, 28–30); Cameron 1970a, 119, 123; Uebel 1976, 225 (*Adespota*); Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 317a; Cavallo 1986, n. 70 (p. 250); Dorandi 1991, 21; Bajoni 2001, 2003; Agosti 2006b, 353.

Provenance: Hermoupolis Magna.

Dating: 4th c.

Physical description: papyrus codex; fine hand assignable to the 4th c.; rather than to an autograph, the corrections and variants in the margin point out to a text edition (*ed. pr.* p. 93; Dorandi 1991, 21; Cavallo 1986, p. 250, n. 70: "si tratta, a quanto lascia credere, di autografi giunti in Egitto, attraverso relazioni tra retori o scuole, ed ivi conservatisi").

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics:

1. 10559 is made up of a proem in comic iambi which occupies A *verso* (ll. 1–32) and a central body in hexameters (33–101, ll. 1–48 seem to speak about Beryto, 48b-68 speak about Smyrna, and, after a lacuna, it seems to speak about Constantinople to l. 97; in line 98 a new section seems to start in which the Muses are involved). It is possible that the epicedium is built upon the following identifications: Beryto – laws, Smyrna – rhetoric, Constantinople – philosophy.

2. 10558 is much more fragmentary: it begins with a iambic prologue, the lines 14–22 of which are identical with 10559.16–24 (10558.23–4 is a summary of 10559.25–7); there follow some elegiac lines which seem to be a second prologue introducing the main body in hexameters (l. 40:]ν ἐ[πικ]ὴν βήσομ᾽ ἐς ἀτραπιτό[ν; cf. Viljamaa 1968, 68). Cf. *ed. pr.*, 91: "Die Sprache sucht ganz homerisch zu sein, ohne doch grob abzuschreiben wie Quintus. Sie bleibt einfach und verständlich: an den Alexandrinern hat sich dieser Dichter nicht gebildet; aber sie sucht [92] auch Neologismen zu meiden, wie sie der Oppian der Kynegetika zuläßt… Der Versbau will korrekter sein als Homer und verzichtet auf dessen Freiheiten… Also weder kallimacheische noch nonnische Technik. Das Streben nach Daktylen zeigt die Spätzeit… Von den Iamben gilt das nicht ganz. Er nennt sie komische, und sie lassen auch zweisilbige Senkungen zu und kümmern sich nicht um die Regula Porsoni. Aber den Versschluß behandeln sie mit euripideischer Strenge, Auflösungen sind selten, überwiegend Zäsur nach der fünften Silbe, auch nach der siebenten… das ist viel mehr tragisch".

To be compared with: the same papyrus codex as *P.Berol.* 10566 (BKT V.1, 67–74) = MP^3 1775 (*On the Property* by Diomedes), which seems to be from Alexandrian times.

33. Homeric Parody
(*T.Kellis inv.* D/2/46 = MP^3 1844.01 = LDAB 10674)

Edition: Hope – Worp 2006, 233–47.

Author: *ed. pr.*, 247 "More reasonable seems the assumption that one is dealing… with a 'poetical' product of an anonymous youngster who visited the local village school at Kellis, or (slightly less likely, perhaps?) that it was an equally anonymous local school teacher who produced this paraphrase".

Provenance: the wooden codex was found in 2002 within the Temple of Tutu in Kellis (now Ismant el-Kharab) in the south centre of Dakhleh Oasis. Cf. *ed. pr.* for the context of the discovery: this codex was found together with a similar one and some papyri; the papyri may have been deposited there by the wind and the codices dropped; various pens, ostraka and fragments from inscribed boards have been found in another area of the same temple (Shrine III, Area D/4), which may have been reused as a scriptorium during the 4th c. and is likely to be the place of origin for these items too.

Dating: mid 4th c. (*ed. pr.* p. 238).

Physical description: (cf. *ed. pr.* pp. 233–8) wooden codex (H. 8 x W. 5.5 x Th. 0.4–0.5) made of four boards (I-IV), kept together by a piece of string drawn through the holes made in the spine of each of them. Ia and IVa-b are blank, though Ia and IVb contain traces of obliterated writing. Ib-IIIb contain 15 hexameters written in 'landscape' fashion, with each hexameter divided over two lines. Handwriting ascribed to a mid 4th-c. trained scribe, who paused during the process.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: in ll. 1–7 a white cock addresses a bold speech to Alexander (l. 3 Φιλίππιος refers to him as son of Philippos), who grabs it and gives it to a cook (ll. 8–9). The cook prepares it and produces a speech (ll. 10–15), inviting Trojans, Lycians and Dardanoi to a meal, asking

them to bring their napkins (l. 12 μάππαν, from Latin *mappa*) and to leave the bones for him. He finishes asking Zeus for bread, cheese and a cake. The poem is a parody of Homer, not only for the mocking reappraisal of Homeric lines (cf. notes in the *ed. pr.*), but also for the reworking of the Homeric setting. The metrics are faultering: cf. *ed. pr.*, 245.

To be compared with: found together with *T.Kellis inv.* D/2/45, another wooden 'mini-codex', consisting of three boards and containing tables of fractions and a list of Greek verbs, and a group of still unpublished Greek papyri. From Shrine III comes *T.Kellis inv.* D/4/2, a wooden board containing *Il.* 12.294–7, written in an early/mid 4th-c. hand (cf. Hope – Worp 1998); the Kellis Isocrates Codex, which can be also related to school (cf. Worp – Rijksbaron 1997, 28–30).

34. Epithalamium
(*P.Ryl.* 1.17 = 139 Page = Heitsch 25 = MP^3 1829 = LDAB 5681)

Editions: *ed. pr.* A. S. Hunt, *P.Ryl.* 1.17. Reed. Manteuffel 1930, 188–9 (n. 34).

Bibliography: Schultz 1912, 58; Körte 1913, 541; Schubart 1918, 141; Bell 1921, 89; Keydell 1941, 17; Keydell 1960; Uebel 1976, 225 (*Adespota*).

Provenance: Hermoupolis.

Dating: 4th c., probably second half (*ed. pr.*).

Physical description: small papyrus sheet preserved in its enterity; irregular semiuncial, medium size hand.

Stylistic and metric characteristics: a 6-line epithalamium, very conventional and not of very good quality. Cf. *ed. pr.*, 28: "The sentiment as well as the phraseology, in which Homeric echoes are noticeable, is of conventional character. Some metrical laxity is seen in the scansion of καί as a long syllable before a vowel in l. 6". Also Körte 1913, 541: "die Niederschrift, in der σύ für σοί V. 1 die geringe Bildung des Schreibers verrät". In l. 3 and ff. it resumes Theocritus' *Epithalamium of Helen* (18.49–53). Imitations of Homer reviewed by Schultz 1912, 58.

Use: epithalamium.

To be compared with: other epithalamia and similar compositions on papyrus, such as **7.** Hermes and the Nile (*P.Oxy.* 3.423), **8.** Galatea and Apollo (*P. Lit.Lond.* 38), **31.** Heracles and Penelope (*P.Hal.* 2), **51.1** Bridegroom Nile and Bride Egypt (PSI 7.845); epithalamia by Dioscorus of Aphrodito (32–7, 50 Fournet). Rhetorical models of the genre in Men. Rh. 399.11–412.2, [DH] *Rhet.* ch. 2 and 4 U.–R.

35. Aphrodite and the Trojans
(*P.Laur. inv.* III/277 = MP^3 1812.1 = LDAB 5645)

Edition: Livrea 1979a.

Dating: late 4th c.

Physical description: fragments of a papyrus codex; informal, medium-sized capitals.

Stylistic and metric characteristics: Livrea 1979a, 34 "È almeno consentito escludere nella forma più categorica che questo testo riveli tracce di quello 'stil nuovo'… La scolorita limpidità della struttura narrativa e stilistica… conviene piuttosto a qualche provinciale ὁμηρικώτατος, del tipo di Quinto Smirneo; ma non ci sentiamo di escludere per questi mutili versi un'origine assai più antica, addirittura prealessandrina o tardo-arcaica".

36. Polyxena – ethopoea
(*P.Flor.* 3.390 = Heitsch 37 = MP^3 1803 = LDAB 5789)

Editions: *ed. pr.* Vitelli 1904; reed. G. Vitelli, *P.Flor.* 3.390 (p. 129).

Bibliography: Blass 1904–6, 480 (no. 311a); Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 310; Cavallo 1998, no. 37 (E. Crisci), pl. XXXI; Pintaudi 1998–9, 243; Fournet 1999, 653.

Author: Vitelli 1904, 357 "possono dunque esser versi di un contemporaneo di Ciro di Panopoli, magari di questo ἐποποιός stesso, a cui Calliope ὥπασε μαζόν (Anth. Plan. IV 217,1), ma della cui poesia epica noi non sappiamo nulla, e possiamo perciò prenderci il gusto di attribuirgli qualche cosa, senza pericolo per ora di essere smentiti dai confronti"; Blass 1904–6, 480 "ein ägyptischer Dichter wahrscheinlich".

Provenance: Hermoupolis (Pintaudi 1998–9, 244).

Dating: end of 4th c. (Crisci); 5th c. (Vitelli 1904, 357); end of 4th or beginning of the 5th c. (Kenyon, *ap.* Vitelli 1904, 357).

Physical description: Crisci ap. Cavallo 1998, 118 "Piccolo frammento della parte inferiore di un foglio di codice papiraceo in cui sopravvivono 12 esametri sul *recto* (faccia perfibrale) e 13 sul *verso* (faccia transfibrale). Il margine esterno è mutilo; sopravvivono in parte il margine interno, largo ca. cm. 1.5, e il margine inferiore di cm. 13… un codice… di dimensioni medio-piccole, di qualità non elevata, come lascia credere anche il tipo di scrittura utilizzato, di aspetto piuttosto dimesso… La scrittura è una maiuscola informale, dal *ductus* corsiveggiante, verticale o leggermente inclinata a destra, moderatamente contrastata… Come termini di confronto si possono indicare… soprattutto P.Berol. 11037 (BGU IV 1092…) documento del 372 d.C. La datazione più probabile per P.Flor. III 390 è dunque la fine del IV secolo d.C.".

Stylistic and metric characteristics: it seems to be an ethopoea (cf. Fournet 1999, 653) in which Polyxena exhorts herself, on her way to her wedding to Achilles (2 ἔσσο πάις Πριάμοιο, 5 περιτύξω σε); its remnants show Nonnian technique both in metrics (proparoxytones are avoided at the end of line) and in construction and vocabulary (l. 12 εὔγαμον ἀγλαόπαιδα, 22 ἀ]πορρίψανες Ἐνύω ~ *D.* 40.215 Βάκχοι δ' ἐκροτάλιζον ἀπορρίψαντες ἐνυώ).

To be compared with: prose ethopoea n. 16 by Libanius (VIII.411–2 Förster: τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Πολυξένη κελευομένη παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κομίζεσθαι λεγόντων αὐτῇ ὅτι νύμφη ἔσῃ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως;); two declamations by Choricius (Förster 1882); three ethopoeae by Dioscorus (42, 43 and 46 Fournet); Cassandra on Polyxena in Triph. 403–5; Christod. *AP* 2.197–208; Agath. *AP* 7.205 (*exemplum*).

37. Epic speech
(*P.Berol. inv.* 1969 = MP³ 1795 = LDAB 5870)

Edition: W. Schubart – U. von Wilamowitz, BKT V.2, pp. 145–6.

Dating: Byzantine (*ed.pr.*).

Physical description: *ed. pr.*, 145 "Papyrusfetzen, hoch 11.5 cm, breit 4.5 cm mit großer gezierter Schrift später Zeit".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: an epic speech (cf. l. 7]ος φάτο μῦ̣[θον) in which a character talks about him-/herself (12]εν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ δ̣[). The first lines seem to refer to a difficult situation including a fire – a battle? (2]ὅδοντα δ̣ιὰ γν̣[αθμ, 3]αν ἐπέδ̣ραμ̣[, 4 ξ]ύλα δανᾷ̣ κελ[, 5]ρα πρὸ γὰρ χαλ[maybe πρὸ γὰρ χαλ[κὸν ἔλασσεν after *Il.* 13.388 *et al.*). Homeric referent (for l. 4 cf. *Od.* 15.322 πῦρ τ᾽ εὖ νηῒσαι διά τε ξύλα δανὰ κεάσσαι; cf. also Call. *Hec.* Fr. 32 Hollis = 243 Pf.).

38. The Funeral Pire and the Bird
(*P.Rain.* 3.12 [*P.Vindob. gr.* 29833b] = MP³ 1825 = LDAB 5849)

Edition: H. Oellacher, MPER 3.12, p. 20.

Bibliography: Körte 1941, p. 108, no. 43; Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 311.

Dating: 4th / 5th c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.*, 20 "Unter dieser Signatur findet sich neben verschiedenen kleinen Fetzen folgendes 6 cm hohes, 3 cm breites Kodexfragment; Material fein, hellgelb; Tinte frisch, rötlich; die Schrift gehört wohl zur schwer datierbaren Buchschrift des späten IV. – V. Jahrh. (vielleicht verwandt Schubart, PGB 43a). Lesezeichen nicht erfaßbar; Verso trägt Spuren von ungleich langen Zeilenschüssen, demnach auf Recto Zeilenbeginn".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: meagre remains of 9 lines. Someone asks / is asked for aid (1 πρ]οσαμ̣υντ.[, cf. *Il.* 2.238, 5.139, 16.509), the fire on a funeral pire is mentioned (3 πῦρ ἐνὶ πυρκ[αίῃ) and something whitens (4 ὑπολευκαν[; cf. *Il.* 5.502). In the last line a bird is mentioned (9 ὄρνις). It seems to be a Homeric reworking.

39. Panegyric of General Germanus – Blemmyomachy
(*P.Berol.* 5003 [= Page 142 = Heitsch 32] + *P.Gen. inv.* 140 + *P.Phoib.* fr. 1a/6a/11c/12c = MP³ 1852 = LDAB 5938)

Editions: *ed. pr.* Stern 1881. In this edition Stern published only two folios: A and C (B was the property of A. Wiedemann, who later donated it to the Museum). The first complete edition is that of Buecheler 1884, 277–82. Reconstruction of the order of the fragments: Wilcken 1891, Taf. V. Later contributions to the text in Wessely 1885, 77–8. Reedited in Ludwich 1897, 183–95; W. Schubart – U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, BKT V.1, 108–14; Livrea 1978b. *P.Phoib.* fr. 1a/6a/11c/12c in MacCoull 1981. The only edition that includes all the fragments is Steinrück 1999.

Bibliography: Ludwich 1907, 495; Dräseke 1916; Wifstrand 1933, 183–5; Naoumides 1967, 355; Viljamaa 1968, 39–40, 47–9; Seider 1970, pp. 160–1,

no. 62 (pl. xxxiii); Livrea 1975a, 281–8; Bossi 1975–7, 303–4; Livrea 1976; Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 318; Cameron 1982, 227–8; Whitby 1994, 128–9; Mugelli 2001.

Author: Buecheler 1884, 281 Cyrus of Panopolis; Viljamaa 1968, 49 "The author of the poem was probably one of the well-known poets of the time, i.e. Cyrus of Panopolis, Ammonius the writer of *Gainias*, or the epigrammatist Claudian"; Livrea 1978b, 23–31 Olympiodorus of Thebes; Cameron 1982, 227–8 Olympiodorus of Thebes; Whitby 1994, 128 "the identification of the author as Olympiodorus of Thebes, although attractive, cannot be more than one possibility among many".

Provenance: (cf. summary in Steinrück 1999, 112) Stern in *ed. pr.* p. 70 said that the two fragments he had purchased had been found in Thebes together with Coptic fragments; Buecheler published the fragment acquired by A. Wiedeman saying (1884, 281) that it came from the same tomb as Stern's; more fragments (*P.Phoib.* 1a, 1b, 2, 3) were recovered in 1947–8 in the excavations of the Monastery of Phoebammon (West Thebes) in a group of Greek and Coptic papyri; a third group (*P.Gen.* inv. 140) was acquired by Naville in 1882 in the same place as Stern's and Widemann's. The three groups seem to come from the tombs of the monks of the monastery.

Dating: paleographic analysis, *c.* 400 AD. (E. G. Turner, apud Livrea 1978b, 9).

Physical description: the three groups of fragments could be remnants of three subsequent folios in a booklet of a papyrus codex (Steinrück 1999, 112); capitals slightly leaning to the right (cf. Livrea 1978b, 7–9).

Contents, stylistic and metric characteristics: reconstruction of the plot of the story in Steinrück 1999, 112–14. From the beginning its style and metrics were related to those of Quintus of Smyrna (Buecheler 1884, 280; BKT V, 113–4; Wifstrand 1933, 183). Cf. the analysis of the violations of Nonnian metrics in Viljamaa 1968, 39–40 and on its style: "[44] The phraseology [45] characteristic of Nonnus' style is not so prominent in it. On the other hand, it does contain some Nonnian phrases and, obviously, some of Nonnus' hexametric verse technique. When we add that the poem has an abundance of Homeric phrases… the poem stands closest to the language of Tryphiodorus' poetic works"; p. 49: "It is evident that the subject is a historical event, which the poet has desired to describe by means of the traditional epics. In its mythologizing of a historical subject the poem resembles the corresponding Latin poems of Claudius Claudian". Livrea 1978b, 15: "La lingua della *Blemyomachia* appare talmente intrisa di omerismi da suggerire l'impressione di una tecnica centonaria. 'Typische Szenen' iliadiche costituiscono, della totalità dei casi, il serbatoio linguistico del versificatore".

Use: Livrea 1978b, 14 "il papiro, rinvenuto a Tebe e vergato in scrittura informale, lascia pensare ad una composizione d'occasione, legata ad eventi locali e destinata al pubblico indigeno".

To be compared with: other encomia on contemporaries, such as **23.** Encomium on a contemporary (PSI 2.149), **27.** Encomium on Maximus, **43.** Farewell to a Dux of Thebes (*P.Flor.* 2.114), **46.** Encomium on Heraclius (PSI 3.253), **54.4**

Encomium on Theagenes, **56.** Encomium on a Dux from the Thebaid, **60.** Encomium on Archelas (*P.Ant.* 3.115).

40. Codex Visionum (*P.Bodm.* 29–37 = LDAB 1106): **1.** Vision of Dorotheus, **2.** On Abraham, **3.** Speech to the Righteous, **4.** [Eulogy] of Lord Jesus, **5.** Cain's words, **6.** The Lord to those who suffer, **7.** Abel's words, **8.** hexametric poem; **9.** hymn?

Edition: A. Hurst – O. Reverdin – J. Rudhardt, *P.Bodm.* 29 (including a "Description et datation du Codex", by R. Kasser and G. Cavallo); A. Hurst – J. Rudhardt, *P.Bodm.* 30–7.

1. Revised text with English translation: Kessels – van der Horst 1987.

2. Edited previously in Livrea 1994; cf. formal complaint of H. E. Braun, answer of E. Livrea and *Stellungnahme* of A. Hurst and J. Rudhardt in *ZPE* 103 (1994), 154.

Bibliography: Vian 1985; Livrea 1986; van Berchem 1986; Gelzer 1988; Agosti 1989, 1989–90; Fournet 1992; Horak 1992, p. 230, no. 27a; Bremer 1993; Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6; Livrea 1996; Agosti 2001a; in Hurst – Rudhardt 2002, cf. esp. Lukinovich 2002, Morard 2002, Agosti 2002b, Van der Horst – Parmentier 2002, Rey 2002, Hurst 2002, Norelli 2002; Crisci 2004; Agosti 2005a.

Provenance: Panopolis? (cf. Chapter 3).

Dating: early 5th c. (*P.Bodm.* 29, p. 117; Cavallo ap. *P.Bodm.* 38, pp. 123–4); second half of 5th c. (Van Haelst, ap. *P.Bodm.* 38, p. 124).

Physical description: (*P.Bodm.* 38, pp. 103–28) papyrus codex (group 5 in Turner 1977) of a single book, made up of 12 double folios, of which the central one is missing. The booklet contained the first four visions of the *Shepherd* of Hermas (fol. i-xiii – *P. Bodm.* 38), the *Vision of Dorotheus* (xiv-xviii) and other brief compositions (xviii-xxiv). The copy was the work of six different hands, of which A and D come from the graphic environment of the 4th-c. biblical capitals and C, E and F show graphic 5th-c. tendencies; B combines 4th- and 5th-c. characteristics.

Stylistic and metric characteristics: they share a strong Homeric mark and deep piety, illustrated in the call to a total conversion (μετάνοια) and to face martyrdom courageously. Cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, pp. 8–12. On the Homeric influence, cf. Agosti 1989; 1989–90, pp. 177–89; 2002a, 93–101; Rey 2002. Martyrdom can be read as a radical testimony of faith before a persecution or simple ascesis: cf. Lukinovich 2002 and Morard 2002. Nonnus does not seem to have known them and shares with them only some elements which may be characteristic of a Christian poetic *koine* (cf. Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 306). *Cain's words*, *The Lord to those who suffer* and *Abel's words* make up an "ensemble", differentiated by its content unity and similar vocabulary (cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, p. 160); the hexametric poem could also be included in it (cf. Norelli 2002).

1. *Vision of Dorotheus:* 360 hexameters in which Dorotheus tells of his vision with the objective of celebrating the glory of God. On Dorotheus, cf. *P. Bodm.* 29, pp. 33–6, 43–9 and *P. Bodm.* 30–7, pp. 13–14, 68–70. The colophon of the *Vision* and l. 160 of the *Speech of the Righteous* introduce him as the son

of the poet Quintus, not necessarily Quintus of Smyrna: cf. Vian 1985; Livrea 1986, 688. The *ed. pr.* and Kessels – van der Horst 1987 date him from the turn of the 4th c.; van Berchem 1986, a little later; Livrea 1986 at 342–62 and Bremer 1993 from the latter part of the 4th c. On its literary genre, cf. Agosti 2001a, 205–8. It shows some contact points with *Ezek.* 40–3. 2 *Cor.* 12,1–4 must be taken into account too.

2. *On Abraham:* van der Horst – Parmentier 2002, 156 translate "On Abraham", understanding πρός as "with regard to", in the sense in which it appears in the New Testament. *P.Bodm.* translated *Adresse à Abraham.* The editors (p. 43) note its parallels with the prayer or liturgical hymn about the sacrifice of Isaak published by Roca-Puig 1994, 117–26. They insist that "[42] n'est pas une paraphrase banale du récit biblique; ce n'est pas simplement un exercice littéraire". As for its genre, cf. Agosti 2001a, 214: "un'*elegia salmica*".

3. *Speech to the Righteous:* 164 distich-elegiac lines on Dorotheus' destiny, to draw a moral or religious teaching (didactic-parenethic character): it urges the "righteous" to respect the rules of a demanding piety and, therefore, recounts the destiny of a personage very well known to its readers.

4. *[Eulogy] of Lord Jesus* (or *[Works] of the Lord Jesus*): an acrostic poem, built upon the letters of the alphabet. Regarding the doctrine reflected in the poem, cf. *ed. pr.,* pp. 105–10.

5. *Cain's Words:* the full title is "What would Cain say when killing Abel?" (Τί ἂν εἴποι ὁ Καιν ἀποκτείνας τὸ[ν Ἄβελ; cf. already Fournet 1992). 19 lines based on *Gen.* 4. It is an ethopoea (cf. Fournet 1992), but not necessarily a school exercise (cf. Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 305).

6. *The Lord to those who suffer:* the title appears mutilated in the manuscript, but it can be reconstructed quite reliably. It is composed of three introductory lines + 24 acrostic lines built upon the letters of the alphabet. The poet was acquainted with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as he puts most of the words in the places that they have in the lines of both poems, plays skilfully with their formulae giving them a Christian meaning, and even uses the dual number (cf. l. 8 κοσμήτορε λαῶν, and *ed. pr.*, pp. 130–3).

7. *Abel's Words:* the full title of the eidolopoea is: "What would Abel say after being killed by Cain" (Τ[ί ἂν εἴπ]οι ὁ Ἄβελ ἀναιρηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καιν;). It seems to have Psalm 102 (101) as a reference; it is not, however, a mere paraphrase (cf. Hurst 2002).

8. *Hexametric poem:* mutilated title and very bad state of conservation, but it can be seen (cf. Norelli 2002) that it contains a description of the Last Judgement, where the basic criterion will be the attention paid to the widow, the orphan and the poor (ll. 13–24); it also goes back to Psalm 148 (ll. 40–65).

9. *Hymn:* it could be a hymn, but both its metrics and subject matter are unknown.

Use: book for devotional use in an early male community (*P.Bodm.* 30–7); 'class book' in a postconstantinian Christian school (van Haelst, ap. *P.Bodm.* 38, app.). Cf. also Lukinovich 2002, 56: "Le tout est construit comme une liturgie où une première partie consacré à l'écoute d'une parole inspirée et à la commémoration d'un saint homme est suivie d'une deuxième partie homilétique, pour

terminer avec une célébration (méditation de la parole biblique en relation avec le contexte particulier, psaumes, cantiques, louanges finales à Dieu)".

41. Codex of encomia (MP^3 1848 = LDAB 5742):
1. Diocletian and Galerius' War against the Persians – encomium (*P.Argent.* 480 or *P.Strasb.* 480 = Page 135 = Heitsch 22) +
2. *Patria* of Hermoupolis – Cosmogonic fragment (*P.Argent.* 481 or *P.Strasb.* 481 = Page 136 = Heitsch 24)

Editions: **1.** Reitzenstein 1901, 47–52. **2.** *Ed. pr.* Reitzenstein 1901, 52–9; Jacoby, *FGH* IIIC 637 (Anonymus <von Hermupolis>); Gigli Piccardi 1990.

Bibliography: Cumont 1902; Crönert 1902–3, p. 350, n. 96; Bidez 1903; Reitzenstein 1904, 114–15; Keydell 1930, 1936b; Zielinski 1940, 1941; Seston 1946, 117; Kornemann 1948, II 265 ff.; Wyss 1949; Romanelli 1959, 502; Viljamaa 1968, 38, 65–7; Turner 1977, p. 116, nos. 316–17; Arce 1982, 360–2; Fowden 1986, 175; Vicario 1991, 157–60; Griffiths 1992; Dettori 1993; Fournet 1993; Agosti 1994; Worp 1998, 206; Malnati 1999; Radicke 1999, 254–7, no. 1084 (= 641); Livrea 2002; Derda – Janiszewski 2002, 60–5; Gonis 2003, 14, n. 3; Janiszewski 2006, 224–8, 235–9.

Author: 1 and 2 are the works of the same author (Reitzenstein 1904, Crönert 1902–3); Soterichus Oasites (Bidez 1903: *Encomium* + *Patria Oaseos*); a Hermoupolite (Keydell 1936b, 467); Gonis 2003, p. 14, n. 3: "There is no need to assume that the author of the Πάτρια Ἑρμουπόλεως (Heitsch XXIV) was a native of the city". Livrea 2002 reconstructs a long poem by Soterichus Oasites, partially known through *P.Argent.* 481, *P.Oxy.* 4352 and *P.Argent.* 480.

1. Radicke 1999, 256: it is not Soterichus.

2. Antimachus of Heliopolis (Wyss 1949); Andronicus of Hermoupolis? (Gigli Piccardi 1990, 60 ff.); Derda – Janiszewski 2002, 65: "Soterichos Oasites is the most probable author of the poem preserved on P. Strasb. inv. 480. Hence, if we were to accept the 'single author' hypothesis for both texts preserved on the pages of the codex of Strasbourg, then we would have to go back to the hypothesis of Bidez and to his reasoning; P. Strasb. inv. 481 would thus contain an introductory part of the *Patria Oaseos*, composed, let us add, under the influence of Hermetic scripts"; but cf. Janiszewski 2006, 226: "Since the identification of the text from the Strasburg papyrus with Soterichos' Πάτρια Ὀάσεως is uncertain, I shall deal with P. Strasburg 481… as a work written by an anonymous author from Hermopolis and entitled Πάτρια Ἑρμουπόλεως").

Provenance: The entry in Pack^2 says Gizeh is its place of provenance, but that is only the place of acquisition. Cf. Gigli Piccardi 1990, 10; Worp 1998, 206. Keydell 1936b does not make any reference to the codex origin: he just identifies *P.Argent.* 480 as some *Patria* of Hermoupolis and suggests that their author might be a Hermoupolite. Cf. also Malnati 1999, 103: "Il est donc possible de supposer que nos deux feuillets ont été trouvés à Hermoupolis même, qui, à la fin du siècle passé, bien avant les fouilles menées par O. Rubensohn (1903–1906), a livré au marché des antiquités un grand nombre de papyrus". This affords no definite information about the provenance of this codex, though the

fact that some *Patria* of Hermoupolis are included has driven some to think that it could come from that city. That is no real proof as Menander includes in the Πῶς δεῖ ἀπὸ γένους ἐγκωμιάζειν the *Patria* of Hermoupolis as an example (353.9–13) and, on the contrary, encomia for a teacher from Beryto come from Hermoupolis (*P.Berol*. 10559).

Dating of the codex: through palaeographic analysis, Gigli Piccardi 1990, 12–13, 5th c. (quoting Cavallo, second half); late 4th or early 5th c. (Fournet 1993); Malnati 1999, 102–3 probably second half of the 5th c.

Dating of the poems: Diocletian and Galerius' war against the Persians, dated from 297–8, is the *terminus post quem* for their encomium. Dating of the *Patria* of Hermoupolis: second half of the 4th c. (Keydell 1936b, due to the similarities of *P.Argent*. 481 with the stories about city origins in Nonn. *D.*; Viljamaa 1968, 65–7, for stylistic reasons); Gigli Piccardi 1990, 45–63, after a stylistic analysis, infers that the poem is later than Quintus of Smyrna and earlier than Nonnus.

Physical description: *P.Argent.* 480 is a sheet of a papyrus codex (five fragments, the first of which is bigger than the others) from which also *P.Argent.* 481 comes; both of them copied by the same hand (Gigli Piccardi 1990, 10: "scrittura corsiveggiante in cui si riscontrano molte legature… [11] scrittura informale, affrettata, un po'irregolare; la grandezza delle lettere varia… e tende ad aumentare in fondo al rigo"); it appears that *P.Argent.* 480 preceded 481 (Malnati 1999, 102). Only Fournet mentions a connection point between both poems that explains their being copied in the same codex: cf. Fournet 1993, 254 "On voit par ailleurs se dessiner un dénominateur commun pour le contenu de ce codex: le genre de l'*encomium* selon la typologie ménandréenne".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics:

1. On the genre of the composition, Gigli Piccardi 1990, 46: "per quello che rimane, classificabile sia in termini di epica storica, nella fattispecie di una descrizione di una guerra, che non esclude l'elemento mitologico sul tipo del *de Bello Gothico* e *Gildonico* di Claudiano o della *Blemyomachia*… ma anche di un encomium di qualche imperatore o generale romano, che non escluderebbe comunque l'elemento bellico, come si vede ad [47] esempio nell'encomium di Eraclio (Heitsch, 34) e nei panegirici latini di Claudiano e Sidonio Apollinare". Viljamaa 1968, 65, 112 ff. discusses the *ekphrasis* of a war as a common element of the encomiastic genre. Keydell 1936b, 467, rules out that it is an encomium. The fragment begins (1r.1 Heitsch) with a β]ού[λο]μαι which could be the ending of a speech or, better, an intervention of the poet (in the same way he later mentions 1r.7 ἐμοῖς βασιλεῦσ[ιν; cf. e.g. Triph. 664–7); subsequently (1r.1 ff.) the Persian soldiers arm themselves for the combat, not anticipating that they will not cross back over the sea, in spite of outnumbering those at Thermopylae. On 1v the tetrarchs' ὁμόνοια and σύγκρισις are dealt with. What follows seems to refer to the Gigantomachy. Acceptable construction and correct language. It does not show a direct relationship with Nonnus (cf. Viljamaa 1968, 38).

2. It is not a *Cosmogony*, as Reitzenstein first believed, but a cosmogonic fragment from some *Patria* of Hermoupolis (Bidez 1903; Keydell 1936). Cf. Gigli Piccardi 1990, 45 on the genre of the poem: "a) si tratta di un poemetto

del genere dei πάτρια, dedicato alla fondazione ed alla storia di Hermoupolis; b) il brano costituisce un excursus di un poema più vasto, sul tipo dei passi nonniani delle *Dionisiache*… se così fosse si porrebbe il problema del rapporto con i versi contenuti nell'altro foglio dello stesso codice (P. Argent. 480)". On style, cf. Gigli Piccardi 1990, 48–52: continual violations of Nonnian metric rules, particularly those regarding accentuation at line end and the use of spondees, from which it can be deduced that it precedes Nonnus, though it is later than Quintus and Triphiodorus; vocabulary characteristic of Late Antiquity (*ibid.* nn. to 24 and 26r), including 9r τετράζυξ and 36v λεχ]ωιάς, the first dating of which was attributed to the *Dionysiaca* (*ibid.* pp. 52–3); philosophic and religious colouring (e. g. l. 4 διακοσμήτειραν, *hapax*), typical of late antique times, with a correspondence in the knowledge and use of Plato's *Timaeus*, which combines with Homeric calques and variations and the influence from AR (*ibid.* pp. 53–4); narrative built using consecutive tableaux (p. 56).

Use: of **1.**, cf. Reitzenstein 1901, 51: "Eintagsgedicht". Of the *codex*, cf. Malnati 1999, 104: "le destinataire [du codex] n'était ni un 'scholar' ni un 'professor', dont les livres présentaient d'habitude des caractéristiques bien précises. Des textes similaires à notre codex sont néanmoins largement attestés dans la production libraire du Bas-Empire, hermopolite ou autre, destinée à des personnes de bon niveau culturel, qui apprèciaient les œuvres des 'wandering poets' connus". Derda – Janiszewski 2002, 64: "It is indeed surprising to find an *encomium* for Diocletian in a codex rewritten almost a century after the emperor's death, moreover rewritten despite its clearly pagan character. One of the possible reasons may be that the codex must have originated from a pagan milieu which at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries was still alive and intellectually productive".

To be compared with: *P.Oxy.* 63.4352 (3rd c., also attributed to Soterichus).

1. Other panegyrics dedicated to the tetrarchs: *Panegyrici Latini* 7–11.

2. Nonnus' *Patria* (cf. Gigli Piccardi 1990, 16–18: Beryto in *D.* 40, esp. ll. 77–96; to a lesser extent, Tyre, esp. 40.430–5); other poetic cosmogonies: [Hom.] *H.Herm.* 427–8 (cf. Agosti 1994, 31–2), AR 1.496 ff., Verg. *Ecl.* 6.31 ff., Ovid. *Met.* 1.10 ff., Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1.248, Greg. Naz. *P.G.* 37.526.58 ff. (cf. Gigli Piccardi 1990, 57–60); similar texts in papyrus, such as *P.Berol. inv.* 9564 (Heitsch 46: on the creation of the world, hymn to Urania; Hermoupolis, 4th c.; cf. analysis in Gigli Piccardi 1990, 18 ff.); *P.Oxy.* 37.2816 (Oxyrhynchus, 2nd / 3rd c.; Hellenistic hexameters beginning with an invocation to the Muses to help in the narration of a cosmogony).

42. Offerings to Athena?
(BKT 9.23 [*P.Berol. inv.* 21123] = MP^3 1984.3 = LDAB 2570)

Edition: partial *ed. pr.* Maehler 1970, 161–3 (no. 3). Later on there appeared a second fragment in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin which completed the right part and added some marginal notes. Complete edition: G. Ioannidou, BKT 9.23.

Provenance: Hermoupolis.

Dating: 5th c.

Physical description: lower part of a leaf of a papyrus codex; rather fine hand assignable to the 5th century; the ink is in very bad condition on the verso, which is almost illegible.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: cf. Maehler 1970, 161 "Zum Inhalt lässt sich nur sagen, dass von Opfern die Rede ist, vielleicht für Athene… Das Vokabular spricht nicht unbedingt für einen späten Author; allerdings ist zu wenig erhalten, als dass sich Hypothesen darauf bauen liessen. Einen gewissen Anhaltspunkt für die Datierung gibt das ὡς in A 4: lange Monosyllaba im 4. Biceps [162]… das lange Monosyllabon an dieser Versstelle spricht eher für frühe, 'homerische' Hexameter als für ein hellenistisches oder kaiserzeitliches Werk". L. 6]ϙιθ' ἱπποτροφϙ. Αργος proves that the poet tried to be innovative: cf. the Homeric formula Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον in *Il.* 3.75, 3.258, 15.30, *Od.* 15.239, 15.274 and ἴππιον Ἄργος ἐάσσας in Nonn. *D.* 47.527 and 713.

43. Farewell to a *Dux* of Thebes – encomium
(*P.Flor.* 2.114 = Page 143 = Heitsch 36 = MP^3 1849.2 = LDAB 5950)

Editions: *ed. pr.* Vitelli 1903, 149–58; reed. D. Comparetti, *P.Flor.* 2.114 (pp. 26–34).

Bibliography: Blass 1904–6, 266 (no. 193); Vitelli 1908; Viljamaa 1968, 38, 49–51, 105–7; Cameron 1970b, 255; Cavallo 1998, no. 74 (E. Crisci), pl. LX.

Author: *ed. pr.* an Egyptian poet (also Blass 1904–6, 266)

Provenance: Vitelli 1903, 149 "È propabile provenga o dai villaggi meridionali del Fayûm o dalle vicinanze di Aschmunên (Hermupolis), visto che quasi tutti gli altri papiri con esso acquistati provengono dall'una o dall'altra di quelle regioni".

Dating: 5th c. (Crisci *ap.* Cavallo 1998, no. 74); in the *ed. pr.* Vitelli proposed 5th c., but he was corrected by Comparetti (*P.Flor.* 2.114, p. 27), who points out to late 5th or already 6th c. (Vitelli 1908, 456 ff. accepted his dating with some reservations); 6th c. (Viljamaa 1968, 51).

Physical description: Crisci *ap.* Cavallo 1998, 155 "Frammento mutilo e gravemente danneggiato della parte superiore di un *bifolio* di codice papiraceo al centro del quale è visibile la piegatura… Non è possibile stabilire se all'interno del *bifolio*, e cioè tra le pp. 2 e 3, fossero inseriti altri fogli… La scrittura è una maiuscola informale, piuttosto rozza, di piccolo modulo, caratterizzata da asse verticale, forme corsiveggianti, tracciati spessi e uniformi… Nel complesso la scrittura sembra risentire dell'influenza di stilemi propri di certe scritture documentarie di IV e V secolo d.C.".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: cf. reconstruction of the plot of the story in Viljamaa 1968, 49–50: the eulogised person is a local hero from Arsinoe (Arcadia, to the north of the Thebaid), who helps out the inhabitants of the Thebaid, victims not of an outside attack but of internal disputes and of the civil servants' mischiefs and abuses. According to the *ed. pr.* (cf. col. 150), whereas the phraseology is clearly Nonnian, the metrics presents more violations than similarities with Nonnus: cf. metric analysis in Viljamaa 1968, 38. However, Viljamaa 1968, 51, 107 supports a direct relationship between the author of this poem and Nonnus, which was perhaps the result of a school influ-

ence. Cameron 1970b, 255 finds one single Greek parallel of the personified actions of Claudius' panegyrics in the Thebes speech (Virtus' speech in *Theb.* 10.632–82, Pietas and Tisiphone *Theb.* 11.457–96).

Use: προπεμπτικὸς λόγος.

To be compared with: the *petitiones* by Dioscorus of Aphrodito (1–16 Fournet), for its content and language. Other encomia on contemporaries on papyrus, such as **23.** Encomium on a contemporary (PSI 2.149), **27.** Encomium on Maximus, **39.** Panegyric on general Germanus, **46.** Encomium on Heraclius (PSI 3.253), **54.4** Encomium on Theagenes, **56.** Encomium on a Dux from the Thebaid, **60.** Encomium on Archelas (*P.Ant.* 3.115).

44. Hero
(*P.Berol. inv.* 17071 = MP^3 1800.2 = LDAB 5931)

Edition: Müller 1974, 397–8 (no. 4).

Bibliography: McNamee 1981; van Minnen – Worp 1993, [129].

Provenance: Hermoupolis.

Dating: *c.* 5th c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.* "Mittelgroße, etwas nach rechts geneigte, sorgfältige Buchschrift. Das Fragment stammt aus einem Papyruskodex, die Abfolge von Rekto und Verso ist unsicher… Auf dem rechten Freirand (Rekto) steht in sehr kleiner Schrift ein Scholion, das eine Textstelle in der Bedeutung von θεοειδής erklärt".

Stylistic and metric characteristics: *ed. pr.* "Vielleicht gehört das Bruchstück zu einem späten Epos". Hero is mentioned in l. 18.

45. The snake
(*P.Ant.* 2.58 = MP^3 1849.4 = LDAB 5827)

Edition: J. W. Barns, *P.Ant.* 2.58.

Bibliography: Latte 1962, 154; Cavallo 1967, pp. 85–7, 104, pl. 76a; Turner 1977, 117 (no. 322).

Provenance: Antinoopolis

Dating: *c.* mid 5th c. (Cavallo 1967, 86); *ed. pr.* and Turner 1977, 117, no. 322, 4th–5th c.

Physical description: bottom part of a good-quality parchment sheet; there are some lines on the recto to guide writing; Cavallo 1967, 85–7 biblical capitals, not too heavy. *P.Ant.* 2.58 belongs to the same Alexandrian-Egyptian graphic-cultural atmosphere as *P.Ant.* 19, *P.Oxy.* 848, *P.Oxy.* 1595, *P.Ant.* 65 and the Cotton *Genesis:* cf. synthesis in Cavallo 1967, 104.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: *ed. pr.*, 36 "The content of this side [recto] is somewhat uncertain; someone evidently goes to sleep, only to be rudely awakened (ll. 9–12). Lines 28 ff. contain a description of a serpent – a favourite theme of Nonnus of Panopolis… The text… contains a number of that poet's favourite words; but Professor Maas notes that the authorship of Nonnus or one of his imitators is ruled out by two features which the Nonnan school strictly avoided: the proparoxytone endings in ll. 11 and 14, and the eli-

sion in l. 12. Perhaps one of Nonnus's precursors is more likely to have been the author". Latte 1962, 154: "57 zeigt in der Wortwahl Anklänge an Nonnos… gehört aber keinesfalls der nonnischen Schule an (3 Spondeen hintereinander 15). Daneben gibt es etwas viel homerische Clichés, die ohne den Versuch einer Abwandlung übernommen sind".

To be compared with: **41.1** Diocletian and Galerius' war against the Persians (*P.Argent.* 480; cf. Latte 1962, 154). Descriptions of snakes in Nonnus: *D.* 1.185 ff., 2.30 ff. 5.144 ff., 6.155 ff., 7.328 ff., 12.319 ff., 25.402 ff., 35.209 ff., 38.354 ff., 40.476 ff., 44.106 ff., 45.137 ff., 310 ff. Also *P.Köln* 6.244 (Hexametric poem about serpents, 3rd c.); Nic. *Theriaca* 128–31, 209–34. Rhetorical model in Men. Rh. 441.15–29.

46. Encomium on Heraclius after his campaign in Egypt (PSI 3.253 = Page 144 = Heitsch 34 = MP^3 1850 = LDAB 5953)

Edition: Vitelli, PSI 3.253 (pp. 112–24).

Bibliography: Wifstrand 1933, 199–200; Keydell 1934a, 448; 1936a, 8–11; Viljamaa 1968, 59–60; Cameron 1970b, 293; Pintaudi 1998–9, 243.

Provenance: Hermoupolis (Pintaudi 1998–9, 243).

Dating: Heraclius was emperor Leo's general, who fought the Vandals and Persians in the 470s and died in combat in the same decade (cf. *FGH* IV 109 and 115; *PLRE* II, 541 ff., *s.v.* "Heraclius 4"; "Heraclius of Edessa", *BNP* 6, 180–1). The poem was probably composed during Heraclius' life time (he died in 471) or immediately afterwards; Viljamaa 1968, 60 dates it to the 5th or already the 6th c., on stylistic grounds.

Physical description: five fragments of a papyrus codex written by the same hand datable from the 5th c.; the corrections, quite numerous, can be attributed to the same hand, which is why it could be an autograph (cf. Vitelli *ed. pr.*, p. 112). What seems to be the encomium of Heraclius fills the *recto* and *verso* of fr. I, and Keydell 1936a, 9–11 believes that II-V (smaller and worse conserved) do not belong to it and that IV-V belong to a different composition, perhaps with II. Viljamaa 1968, 59 suggests that, since I *verso* begins with the mention of a new section (33 νῦν δὲ νέην στεί]χωμεν [ἐπ᾽] ἀτραπὸν εὐεπε[ιάων) the *verso* could be read first and then the *recto*.

Stylistic and metric characteristics: the metrics is perfectly Nonnian (cf. *ed. pr.*, pp. 112–13) save for trochaic two-syllable words in the clause of line (ll. 9, 15), and the same occurs regarding phraseology (cf. *ed. pr.* nn.). In the *recto* there is a description of a battle in terms similar to those used by Triphiodorus and Nonnus (Viljamaa 1968, 59). In I *verso* 38 ff. (cf. Wifstrand 1933, 200; Cameron 1970b, 293) the poet mentions the image, unique in all known Greek poetry, of a mountain which deceives travellers by going away when they try to reach it and chasing them when they try to get away (personalisation of nature that Wifstrand relates to **54.3** 'Song of the Day').

To be compared with: other encomia on contemporaries, such as **23.** Encomium on a contemporary (PSI 2.149), **27.** Encomium on Maximus, **39.** Panegyric on general Germanus, **43.** Farewell to a Dux of Thebes (*P.Flor.* 2.114), **54.4** En-

comium on Theagenes, **56.** Encomium on a Dux from the Thebaid, **60.** Encomium on Archelas (*P.Ant.* 3.115).

47. Antinous?
(*P.Berol. inv.* 17044 = MP^3 1835.1 = LDAB 3520)

Edition: Müller 1968, p. 121, no. 6, pl. 22.2.

Bibliography: Cavallo – Maehler 1987, no. 21b; J. Rea, *P.Oxy.* 63.4352 (p. 3); Gonis 2003.

Author: the *ed. pr.* attributes it to Pancrates because it mentions Antinous, but this is not a sufficient reason; possibly a local composition (Gonis 2003, 14).

Provenance: Hermoupolis.

Dating: Cavallo – Maehler 1987, no. 21b, 5th / 6th c.; *ed. pr.* c. 5th c.

Physical description: fragment of papyrus with blank *verso*, which is why it is thought to come from a roll or individual folios; *ed. pr.*, 121 "Sorgfältige Geschäftsschrift parallel zur Faser".

Content: Rea, *P.Oxy.* 63.4352, p. 3 "P. Berol. inv. P. 17044… could possibly be a scrap of a hexameter poem mentioning Antinous, but there must remain some doubt about the reading and the restoration of Ἀν]τινόου κ'[in line 2".

To be compared with: other compositions about Antinous, such as *P.Oxy.* 8.1085 (Heitsch 15.2); *P.Lit.Lond.* 36 (Heitsch 15.1), Pancrates ap. Athenaeus 15.677d-f (Heitsch 15.3); **17.** Antinous and Diocletian (*P. Oxy.* 63.4352); **26.2** Encomium on Antinous and Hermes (*P.Oxy.* 3537v); *P.Mil. Vogl.* 1.20, col. II 25 – III 25 (prose encomium on Antinous' flower, Tebtunis, 2nd/3rd c.); Mesomedes seems to have written an ἔπαινος in honour of Antinous (cf. *Suda s.v.* Μεσομήδης).

48. Asteria?
(BKT 9.40 [*P.Berol. Inv.* 21139 verso] = MP^3 1957.9 = LDAB 5932)

Editions: *ed. pr.* Vassiliadis 1981; *ed. alt.* G. Ioannidou, BKT 9.40.

Bibliography: Cavallo – Maehler 1987, p. 50, no. 21b.

Provenance: Hermoupolis (BKT 9.40).

Dating: Cavallo-Maehler 1987, 50 5th / 6th c.; Vassiliadis 1981, 5th c.

Physical description: narrow strip of papyrus, fluid hand, with ligatures; on the *recto* there is a prose text which looks like a letter, written by the same hand but more cursive.

Stylistic and metric characteristics: Vassiliadis 1981, 30 "Bemerkenswert ist, dass der Wortlaut der im Papyrus erhaltenen Hexameter mit dem bei Nonnos überlieferten Mythos übereinstimmt [*D.* 2.124 ff., 33.336 ff., 42.410]. Daraus könnte man die Folgerung ziehen, dass der Verfasser einer der 'Nonnianer' sein dürfte… Wortwahl, sprachliche Form und Stil weisen darauf hin, dass der Author Nonnos' Dionysiaka kannte. In den erhaltenen Versen werden sowohl die Regeln des Hexameters der späteren Zeit als auch die Wortakzentregeln des Nonnos beachtet".

To be compared with: Nonn. *D.* 2.124–5, 33.336–40, 42.410.

49. Epic exequies
(BKT 9.152 [*P.Berol. Inv.* 21248] = MP^3 1957.82 = LDAB 4247)

Edition: G. Ioannidou, BKT 9. 152.

Bibliography: Gonis 2003.

Author: Gonis 2003, 13 "There is a fair chance that this [14] and the other hexameter texts mentioned earlier [BKT 9.40, *P.Berol.* 17044] are the products of local poets".

Provenance: Hermoupolis.

Dating: Gonis 2003, late 5th / early 6th c. (p. 13: "Most of the verbal parallels noted in the commentary come from texts of the Imperial period, which may provide a clue to the composition date of the poem"); *ed. pr.* 3rd / 4th c.

Physical description: papyrus roll. The *ed. pr.* collected six fragments, the first of which, as Gonis 2003 demonstrated, does not come from the same manuscript as the other five (different hand). The *verso* of all fragments is blank.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: on the subject matter, cf. Gonis 2003, 13 "it may have been an epic poem in the traditional style. Death and burial figure prominently in the sections represented here. Fr. 5 may preserve a speech, possibly a monologue". On the style, cf. Gonis 2003, 13: "The vocabulary and metre show nothing exceptional. Only fr. 5.11 seems to end in a proparoxytone, but the sample is too small to allow certainty on whether the accent regulation at line-end was generally intended".

50. Eudorus?
(*P.Berol. inv.* 17050 = MP^3 1800.3 = LDAB 6082)

Edition: Müller 1974, 398–9, n. 6.

Bibliography: van Minnen – Worp 1993, [130].

Provenance: Hermoupolis.

Dating: 5th / 6th c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.* "Mittelgroße, nach rechts geneigte Buchschrift. Das Fragment stammt aus einem Papyruskodex, die Abfolge von Rekto und Verso ist unsicher".

Content: *ed. pr.* "Epische Dichtung". In l. 6 we read εὔδωρ[ο]ς which could be a proper name (cf. *Il.* 16.179, 186).

51.1 Bridegroom Nile and bride Egypt (*r*) + **2.** Song of the sea (*v*)
(PSI 7.845 = Page 147 = Heitsch 39 = MP^3 1835 = LDAB 566)

Edition: M. Norsa, PSI 7.845 (pp. 149–50).

Bibliography: Körte 1927, p. 255, no. 678; Keydell 1934b; Viljamaa 1968, 33 (n. 56), 130–1; Uebel 1976, 225 (*Adespota*); Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 314; Pintaudi 1998–9, 244.

Author: Keydell 1934b, 420 "die Unbeholfenheit des sprachlichen Ausdrucks… weist ihn in die Nähe von Kolluthos".

Provenance: Hermoupolis (cf. Pintaudi 1998–9, 244).

Dating: 5th / 6th c. (Norsa *ed. pr.*, Keydell 1934b).

Physical description: fragment of a papyrus codex.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: it was first published as an epithalamium (Norsa *ed. pr.*, 149; Körte 1927, 255), but Keydell 1934b, 420 defined 1. as "ein Gedicht auf die Nilschwelle", not mentioning the composition on the *verso*. Viljamaa 1968, 33, 130–1 thinks it is an epithalamium which occupies both *recto* and *verso*. On the nature of the codex, cf. Keydell 1934b, 420: "Nach den vorliegenden Resten scheint dieses Buch kleinere Gedichte in der Art der Carmina minora Claudians enthalten zu haben". Cf. *ed. pr.*, 149 and Keydell 1934b, 420 on some stylistic and metric trends shared with Nonnus. Keydell 1934b, 420 relates the anaphora of δεῦρο in the *verso* to Colluth. 127–42.

Use: Keydell 1934b, 421 "Der Beginn der Nilschwelle wurden in Ägypten durch das Nilfest, die Νειλῶα oder Νειλαῖα, gefeiert, und zwar noch in später christlicher Zeit. An einem solchen Nilfest mag das Gedicht vorgetragen sein. Zwar nicht von ἔπη, aber von Chorliedern, die bei dieser Gelegenheit dem Nil zu Ehren gesungen wurden, sprechen die Scholien zu Gregor von Nazianz, Migne, *P. Gr.* 36, 1052 Nr. 32 und 38, 507". According to Viljamaa 1968, 130–1 it is an epithalamium.

To be compared with epithalamia on papyrus and similar compositions: **7.** Hermes and the Nile (*P.Oxy.* 3.423), **8.** Galatea and Apollo (*P.Lit.Lond.* 38), **31.** Heracles and Penelope (*P.Hal.* 2), **34.** Epithalamium (*P.Ryl.* 1.17). For the comparison of the union of the couple with that of water/river and earth/land, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 366a; Heliod. *Aethiop.* 9.9 (this passage deals with the Neiloa); *AP* 9.362; Nonn. *D.* 3.275–8, 6.339–66, 8.244–6, 26.222–35, 40.324–6, 558–62, 41.28–37. Rhetorical models in Men. Rh. 399.11–412.2, [DH] *Rhet.* ch. 2 and 4 Usener-Radermacher.

52. Anthology of ethopoeae
(TCD Pap. inv. D 6 = Heitsch 26 = MP^3 1844 = LDAB 6151)

Edition: *ed. pr.* Graves 1885. It will be referred to as Heitsch 26.

Bibliography: Ludwich 1897a, 3–8; Reitzenstein 1900, 102–5; Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 315; McNamee 1981; Fournet 1992, 257–8 (no. 5); Fernández Delgado 1994; Jarcho 1999, 187–8 (no. III); Ureña Bracero 1999, 328, 329, 332; Carvounis 2004.

Dating: 5th / 6th c. (Turner 1977, 116); 4th c. (*ed. pr.*; Jarcho 1999, 187–8).

Physical description: opistograph; papyrus codex, literary hand.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: unknown number of ethopoeae, of which only some titles are extant, which Reitzenstein 1900, 102–5 tried to reconstruct with *AP* 9.457–79 as a model: 1. (Ir.1–8) mentions Aphrodite, the Erinyes and Hermes; 2. (Ir.9–16) [Καλλιόπ]η παραμυθουμέ(νη) τὴν Θέτι[δα]: cf. QS 3.633–54 (Homeric models: *Il.* 18.95, 24.540); 3. (Iv.1–11) Helen?; 4. (IIr.1–2); 5. (IIr.3–5) [Ὀδυσσεὺς Μ]ενελάου κελεύσαντο[ς μὴ θάψαι Αἴαντα] (cf. Soph. *Aiax* 1332 ff.); 6. (IIr.6–11?) [Τριόπας Ἐρ]υσίχθονος ἀν[α]λίσκοντο[ς πᾶσαν] // [τὴν αὐτοῦ] οὐσίαν καὶ μὴ κόρον ἐσχ[ηκότος] (no parallels with Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*); 7. (IIv.1–7) mentions Patroclus and Hippolytus; 8. (IIv.8–12)]νε[.]εσιν τῶν παίδων τῆς Νιό[βης. Cf. Fernández Delgado 1994, 300, n. 11; Fournet 1992, 259–60.

Use: Fernández Delgado 1994, 303 "eindeutig *êthopoiíai*-Anthologien… Die Buchschrift, die… für einen professionellen Schreiber charackteristisch ist, und die breiten Ränder des Codex des *P. Graves* lassen noch eher an ein richtiges Handbuch denken, im Sinne einer Sammlung von Übungen dieser Art, die als Versdichtungen die Entsprechung z. B. des Prosarepertoires, das Libanios zugeschrieben wird, darstellen"; also Carvounis 2004, 82.

To be compared with: *AP* 9.457–79 (cf. Fernández Delgado 1994, 303).

53. Achilles claims his γέρας – eidolopoea (Heitsch 38 = MP^3 1341 + 1857.3 = Cribiore 159 = LDAB 3534)

Editions: *ed. pr.* H. Weil in Jouguet – Lefebvre 1904, 208–9; Fernández Delgado – Ureña Bracero 1991, 22, 60–1 (edition and Spanish translation). It will be referred to as Heitsch 38.

Bibliography: Crusius 1905; Blass 1904–6, 480 (no. 311); Beudel 1911, 62–4; Ziebarth 1913, 19 (no. 42); Nachtergael 1980, 24 ff.; Fernández Delgado 1994; Jarcho 1999; Ureña Bracero 1999, 328; Amato – Ventrella 2005, 224.

Dating: *c.* 500 (Heitsch); Byzantine (Cribiore).

Physical description: wood diptych from Cairo which, on one side, presents a maxim by Menander copied four times (ὀργῆς ἕκατι κρυπτὰ μὴ ᾽κφάνῃς φίλου) and, on the other, the eidolopoea itself. In the left margin of line 4 of the eidolopoea ΛΟΓΟ can be read. After the composition there is a line in cursive difficult to decipher, which could be the title (cf. Crusius 1905, 146). Cribiore (no. 159), on the hand, "not described, but considered a student's hand".

Stylistic and metric characteristics: Amato-Ventrella 2005, 224 suggest as possible title Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ἀχιλλεὺς προφαινόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάφου; content similar to Eur. *Hec.* 109–15 (cf. Jarcho 1999); attempts at assonances and rhymes, feminine caesurae, no line ends in a proparoxytone word.

Use: Fernández Delgado 1994, 304 "Da die Herausgeber nicht angeben, daß wir es mit zwei verschiedenen Händen zu tun haben, scheint es vernünftig, anzunehmen, daß auch die *êthopoiía* als Schreibübung in etwas, das ein Schulheft gewesen sein könnte, kopiert worden ist".

To be compared with: subject matter dealt with by Euripides (*Hec.* 109–15), Ovid (*Met.* 13.443–6) and QS (14.185–222: Achilles appears to Neoptolemus in a dream). Sophocles and Simonides seem to have treated it too: π. ὕψους 15.7. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 42.3001 (hexametric composition: the ghost of Patroclos appears to Achilles; Oxyrhynchus, 2nd c. AD).

54. Papyrus Codex attributed to Pamprepius (*P.Vindob. gr.* 29788 A-C = Page 140 = Heitsch 35 = MP^3 1334 = LDAB 3517): **1.** Encomium on an emperor, **2.** Hexametric text, **3.** 'Song of the Day', **4.** Encomium on the Patrician Theagenes

Editions: *ed. pr.* Gerstinger 1928; Livrea 1979b.

Bibliography: Horna 1929; Graindor 1929; Schissel 1929; Maas 1929; Keydell 1929–30; 1930, 122–3; Körte 1932, 25–8 (no. 709); Wifstrand 1933, 190–3; Bernardini Marzolla 1955; Cameron 1965, 481, 486; Viljamaa 1968; Cameron

1970b, 292–6; Griffiths 1972, p. 17, n. 29; Livrea 1975b, 1977; Turner 1977, p. 113, no. 240; McCail 1978; Livrea 1978a, 1978c; Cameron 1982, 232, 236–7; Livrea 1993; Calderón Dorda 1995; Feld 2002; Zumbo 2007.

Author: very controversial since Gerstinger claimed in the *ed. pr.* that its author was Pamprepius. Later opinions range from those who do not think it clear to be Pamprepius (Schissel 1929, 1079; Körte 1932, 26–7; Page, 564–5) to those who reject that attribution (Graindor 1929, 469; Viljamaa 1928, 55–7, suggests Christodorus of Coptos). Keydell 1930, 123 and 1929–30, 291 pointed out that Pamprepius' authorship was not secure, and that, given the much better quality of the idyll, it might not be by the same author as the encomium. McCail 1978, 38–40 shows the same doubt and considers it possible that the encomium is Pamprepius' because he and Theagenes coincided in Athens, but that the idyll could be by another author; the encomium of the emperor, as it is dated from 489/490, cannot be his. Cf. also Cameron 1982, pp. 236–7, n. 82: "I am still inclined to accept that the items 3 and 4 in E. Heitsch… xxxv are by Pamprepius… If I had to guess, I should try Colluthus' for xxxv.1 (known by title only, from *Suda s.v.*)". According to Livrea (1977, 121–3) all the fragments are ascribable to Pamprepius, because they belong to the same codex and none of them is introduced by a *titulus* that shows a change of author; the difference in quality between 3 and 4 is due to 3 being written in a less rigid literary genre than 4; the encomium by Theagenes would have been composed *c.* 473 and the epyllion, judging by the mention of a trip to Egypt in l. 195, would be immediately earlier than his political mission in Alexandria (*c.* 483–4), allowing time for the poet to mature between them.

Dating of the codex: Gerstinger 1928, *c.* 500; Livrea 1979b, 6th c. Dating of the text: Anastasius' time (Viljamaa 1968, 56); McCail 1978, 39–40 suggests 489/490 for 1.

Physical description: papyrus codex. 2, 3 and 4 form a binion, and a separate sheet of the same codex which contains 1 is extant. The *recto* of the last folio in the book (Van Haelst 652) contains some fragments of letters 80 and 90 of Gregory of Nazianzus (*PG* 37.153,164); the *verso* is blank. Uncial hand (Livrea 1979b, v: "librarius… litteris quas dicunt quadratis usus obsoleto quodam colore totum librum ita artificiose fucavit, ut similis ductus exempla eiusdem aetatis difficillimum proferre compertum habeas; ad annos attamen fere 500–525 spectant et paginae… et scriptae columnae amplitudo").

Stylistic and metric characteristics: the metrics is 'Nonnian' on the whole (cf. Maas 1929, 250–1; Keydell 1929–30, 291; Livrea 1979b, vii-viii, n. 2; Calderón Dorda 1995).

1. The *Encomium on an emperor* is a βασιλικὸς λόγος comparable to Menander Rhetor's precepts: cf. Viljamaa's analysis 1968, 101–4; McCail 1978. Gerstinger 1928, 84 believes that it is an encomium on Emperor Zeno; Heitsch, p. 109: "fr. 1 et 2, quae vel generis epici historici vel encomii sunt, fortasse pertinent ad Isaurica, quod opus Pamprepii esse Suda tradit"; Viljamaa 1968, 56–7, 101–4 thinks that Anastasius is the emperor and that the poem, like the others, is the work of Christodorus of Coptos, the author of some *Isaurica* in honour of the Emperador Anastasius; McCail refutes Viljamaa's thesis and suggests 489/490 and Zeno as the emperor.

2. For the *Hexametric text*, cf. McCail 1978, 63: it might seem to be the ending of 1, but it is the conclusion of a different poem or of an independent hexametric epigram.

3. *Song of the day* is made of 6 iambi + 192 hexameters. It is an ἔκφρασις συνεζευγμένη (Aphth. 37.17): cf. Schissel 1929, 1078; Körte 1932, 27–8; Page, p. 563; Livrea 1977, 124. Cf. Keydell 1929–30, 291: "Es läßt innerhalb der nonnianischen Diktion einen eigenen Stil erkennen, der von der Überladenheit des Nonnos wie von der Dunkelheit des Johannes von Gaza, mit dem es sich bisweilen berührt, gleich weit entfernt ist… Zwar die Szenen zwischen Baum- und Wassernymphen zeigen in der gewollten Vermischung von Sache und Person eine in der späten Poesie nicht seltene Bizarrerie". Livrea 1993 thinks it is influenced by Terpander. Gerstinger 1928, 10 believes that it is a spring day and reconstructs the title ὧραι καὶ πράγματα from l. 5 (cf. doubts in Schissel 1929, 1074). According to Maas 1929, 76, however, it is November; Wifstrand 1933, 191–2 thinks that it is an Autumn day, November precisely, which is why Heitsch gives it the title *Descriptio diei autumnalis*. Livrea 1977, 124–6 considers the epyllion in the tradition of Hesiod's Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, particularly the description of Winter (ll. 504–63) and also thinks that it is an Autumn day because of the mention of Demeter's festival, which was celebrated in November, following a Neoplatonic line (pp. 127–31), the result of the author's philosophical education (pp. 131–2); Cameron 1982, 232 speaks again of *Description of a Spring Day*.

4. On the *Encomium on the Patrician Theagenes*, cf. Körte 1932, 28: "Die erhaltenen 58 Hexameter reichen nur für den Preis des γένος aus, die weiteren enkomiastischen Topoi ἀνατροφή, πράξεις, σύγκρισις fehlen"; cf. Keydell 1929–30, 291: "Das Enkomion ist von sehr geringer Qualität, ohne originale Note, arm an Ausdrucksvermögen; die häufige Wiederholung derselben Worte fällt auf. Der Inhalt, im wesentlichen eine Aufzählung von erfundenen Ahnen des Theagenes, läßt gleichgültig".

Use: for **3.** cf. Keydell 1929–30, 292, who calls it "Vortragspoesie" because of the mention of the audience which is made in the proem; **4.** is an encomium probably written on commission.

To be compared with: **3.** with *AP* 9.136 and 363.

4. With other encomia on contemporaries on papyrus, such as **23.** Encomium on a contemporary (PSI 2.149), **27.** Encomium on Maximus, **39.** Panegyric on general Germanus, **43.** Farewell to a Dux of Thebes (*P.Flor.* 2.114), **46.** Encomium on Heraclius (PSI 3.253), **56.** Encomium on a Dux from the Thebaid, **60.** Encomium on Archelas (*P.Ant.* 3.115).

55. Anthology of six ethopoeae (*P.Heid. inv.* 1271 verso = MP^3 1611 = Cribiore 355 = LDAB 6202): **1.** Phoenix tries to persuade Achilles to give up his anger; **2.** A Greek woman meets Helen on her return from Troy; **3.** A Greek man addresses Hector, who has killed Patroclus and carries his arms; **4.** Zeus to Aphrodite, hurt by Diomedes; **5.** Aphrodite talks to Diomedes, rejected

by his wife, Egialea; **6.** Agamemnon's shadow reproaches Menelaus for not helping Orestes (eidolopoea)

Editions: Gerhard – Crusius 1905, 615–24; Fernández Delgado – Ureña Bracero 1991, 59–60 (edition and Spanish translation of the first three ethopoeae).

Bibliography: Beudel 1911, 64–6; Collart 1936; Keydell 1941, 49; Morel 1959; Seider 1970, 162–4, no. 63 (pl. xxxiv); Turner 1977, p. 115, no. 287; Nachtergael 1980, no. 28; Fournet 1992, 258 (no. 6); Fernández Delgado 1994, 300; Jarcho 1999, 188–9 (no. VI); Ureña Bracero 1999, 325–6, 329–30, 332, 335–6; Carvounis 2004; Agosti 2005a.

Dating: *c.* 6th c. (Gerhard – Crusius 1905, 616); Cribiore, 5th / 6th c.

Physical description: papyrus codex; on the *recto* there is a text not yet deciphered (Agosti 2005, p. 38, n. 19 thinks that they are different epigrams). As for the hand, cf. Cribiore's description: "Evolving, careless capitals occasionally ligatured, varying lignment and line spacing". Each ethopoea is separated by a long *paragraphos* and another *paragraphos* separates the prose title form the body on the *verso*.

Stylistic and metric characteristics: ethopoeae on the most basic mythology, with continuous Homeric uses (cf. Gerhard – Crusius 1905, 623) and completely Nonnian metrics (cf. Collart 1936, 437; Keydell 1941, 49).

1. *Phoenix tries to persuade Achilles to give up his anger* (l-7): the Homeric model is *Il.* 9.434–605 (cf. Gerhard – Crusius 1905, 619); cf. Quint. 10.1.47 ("Nam ut de laudibus, exhortationibus, consolationibus taceam, nonne nonus liber, quo missa ad Achillem legatio continetur… omnis litium atque consiliorum explicant artes?").

2. *A Greek woman meets Helen on her return from Troy* (8–15): cf. Helen's speech before the *Teichoskopia* (*Il.* 3.172 ff.). To be compared with *AP* 9.474 (Eidothea's words on seeing Helen in Pharos). Other testimonies: *AP* 9.475 (Helen's words on seeing Menelaus and Paris begin a singular combat). Cf. also the lyric poem in which Helen complains about Menelaus' neglect of her on their return from Troy in *P.Tebt.* 1.1–2. Cf. Pordomingo 2001a.

3. *A Greek man adresses Hector who has killed Patroclos and is carrying his arms* (16–18): the death of Patroclus finishes *Il.* 16, Hector strips him of his armour (17.125) and puts it on (17.192–7); Zeus is the one who then addresses him (17.201–8); cf. Ureña Bracero 1999, 335: the poem is especially under the influence of *Il.* 16.844–54, but also 18.269, 20.2, 22.331 ff.

4. *Zeus to Aphrodite, hurt by Diomedes* (19–29): the starting point is *Il.* 5.428–30 (Diomedes hurts Aphrodite in 5.334–43).

5. *Aphrodite talks to Diomedes, rejected by his wife Egialea* (30–3): cf. Gerhard – Crusius 1905, 621 "Ein Posthomericum, das mit *Il.*, E. 510 kaum zu vereinen ist; der Verfasser kann es in mythographischen Scholien zu der Stelle gelesen haben".

6. *Agamemnon's shadow reproaches Menelaos for not helping Orestes* (34–45): cf. *Od.* 4.543–7. Compare, e.g., with *Il.* 23.69–92; Eur. *Or.* 650–63, 674–7.

Use: Fernández Delgado 1994, 303, suggests that it may be a school drill or a dictated manual (p. 305, n. 37); Carvounis 2004, 83 holds the same opinion.

To be compared with: other 'Homeric' reworkings, such as **12.** Achilles and Hector – Priam's ethopoea (PSI 6.722); **29.** Athena's words to Achilles (*P.Oxy.* 42.3002), **53.** Achilles claims his γέρας. Also with other anthologies of ethopoeae: **19.** Odysseus' Ethopoea (*P.Ryl.* 3.487), **52.** Anthology of ethopoeae (Heitsch 26).

56. Encomium (of arrival?) on a *Dux* from the Thebaid (*P.Berol. inv.* 9799 [= Page 141 = Heitsch S10 = MP^3 0349] + 21154 [BKT 9.56] = LDAB 5774)

Edition: *P.Berol.* 9799: W. Schubart – U. von Wilamowitz, BKT V.2, pp. 114–17. *P.Berol.* 21154: *ed. pr.* Maehler 1970, 152–9 (no. 1); reed. G. Ioannidou, BKT 9.56.

Bibliography: Ludwich 1907, 495–6; Dräseke 1916, 319; Körte 1913, 540 (no. 381); Parker 1962, 50; Viljamaa 1968, 39, 42–3, 51–4; Turner 1977, p. 104, no. 62; McNamee 1981, 1982a; MacCoull 1988, 131–4; Fournet 1999, 268.

Author: not by Dioscorus, though it resembles his style of composition (Fournet 1999, 268 and nn. 151, 156; Viljamaa 1968, 52); *contra* Turner 1977, 104 and MacCoull 1988, 131–4; Parker 1962, 50 has some doubts. Cf. Viljamaa 1968, 144 "The Enc. Theb. was doubtless written by an imitator of Nonnus".

Provenance: Theadelphia (Fayum).

Dating: Viljamaa 1968, 51–2, 6th c. because of its similarity to Dioscorus (cf. also Fournet 1999, 268); BKT V.1, 114: palaeographically *c.* 5th c. (p. 117: "Das Gedicht wird nicht viel älter sein als die Handschrift"); BKT 9.56, p. 71, 4th/5th c.

Physical description: BKT V.1, 114 "Blatt, wohl Schlußblatt aus einem Papyrusbuche; mitten hindurch geht eine Klebung, und zwar ist Rekto an Verso geklebt. Der obere und der untere Rand sind verloren, jedoch dürfte das Blatt an beiden Enden nur wenig eingebüßt haben. Sehr verloschene und abgeriebene Buchschrift, etwa 5. Jahrhundert, so daß viele Buchstabenreste eine Umschrift nicht gestatten, ehe die Deutung des ganzen Wortes gefunden ist". Maehler 1970, 152–3 did not know if it was the remnants of a roll or a codex (also BKT 9, p. 71) and described the hand as "leicht nach rechts geneigte, etwas unregelmässige Schrift". Fournet 1999, p. 268, n. 151 did the *collatio* of the two fragments and realised that they were part of the same papyrus. The collection has not been reedited yet.

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: reconstruction of the thread of the story in Viljamaa 1968, 52–4. The eulogised general could be Narses. Cf. Viljamaa's analysis 1968, 39, 42–3: the metrics is Nonnian except in l. 45, where a Homeric expression is imitated; the phraseology is also Nonnian (l. 5 antithetical, l. 11 γηραλέοιο, choriambic epithets before a monosyllabic word at the end of line, l. 41 τὸ δεύτερον). Viljamaa 1968, 51–2: comparison to Dioscorus. Cf. Maehler 1970, 154: "Wortwahl und Stil weisen auf späte Zeit, der Verfasser wird nicht viel älter als Nonnos gewesen sein… Vermeidung von Epitheta am Versende… Auch die Metrik deutet auf einen Author der späten Kaiserzeit: die Verse zeigen eine Aneigung gegen Spondeen, eine Vorliebe für die 'weibliche' Mittelzäsur, und sie entsprechen konsequent den Regeln des kaiserzeitlichen Hexameters… aber nocht nicht den Akzentregeln des Nonnos". Fournet 1992, 268: "Comme chez Dioscore, le poète s'adresse à Thèbes… La suite est

fort endommagée, mais il est clair qu'il s'agit d'une scène de bataille, ce qui incite à classer ce poème dans les *enkômia* historiques thébains. Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que l'auteur donne à la première partie une tonalité d'*epibatêrios logos*. Le rapprochement avec les *enkômia* d'*adventus* de Dioscore se justifie en outre par de saisissantes similarités dans la formulation".

Use: encomium of arrival (Ἐπιβατήριος λόγος)?

To be compared with: Dioscorus' poems (especially 17–20 Fournet). Other encomia on contemporaries on papyrus, such as **23.** Encomium on a contemporary (PSI 2.149), **27.** Encomium on Maximus, **39.** Panegyric on general Germanus, **43.** Farewell to a Dux of Thebes (*P.Flor.* 2.114), **46.** Encomium on Heraclius (PSI 3.253), **54.4** Encomium on Theagenes, **60.** Encomium on Archelas (*P.Ant.* 3.115).

57. Hecate
(*P.Rain.* 3.13 [*P.Vindob. gr.* 29479] = MP^3 1826 = LDAB 6384)

Edition: H. Oellacher, MPER 3.13, pp. 20–1.

Bibliography: Körte 1941, 108–9, no. 944; Turner 1977, p. 116, no. 312.

Dating: 6th c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.*, 20 "Buchfragment 7 cm hoch, 3 cm breit; Material graubraun, Tinte rötlich. Typische Buchschrift des VI. Jahrh., vgl. Schubart, Pal. S. 140".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: remains of ten lines in the *recto* and *verso* of the same fragment. In *recto* 2 some people feel awe (σέβοντ̣ο), maybe towards Hecate, who is mentioned in the following line. A helmet is mentioned in *verso* line 3 (κυνέην).

58. Encomium on Apion?
(*P.Harr.* 2.175 = MP^3 1847.01 = LDAB 6236)

Edition: V. Baroncelli, *P.Harr.* 2.175 (pp. 33–4).

Dating: 6th c.

Physical description: *ed. pr.*, 33 "Frammento di foglio papiraceo piuttosto ruvido e chiaro, di provenienza ignota, con margine superiore molto piccolo e margine destro di 1.8 cm.; il *verso* è bianco… La scrittura è una maiuscola inclinata informale, con alternanza di lettere grandi e piccole, con qualche legatura… È lo stesso tipo di scrittura di PSI 27 (atti del martirio di S. Cristina, V-VI^p), di P. Cairo Masp. I 67097 (autografo del notaio Dioscoro di Afroditopoli, VI^p), e consiglia di assegnare al VI^p questo piccolo frammento".

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: *ed. pr.*, 33 "Sul *recto* un testo letterario che, nonostante le suggestioni dei primi due righi (Ἀπίων (?) al r. 1;]ννου ποιητο[ῦ al r. 2), non è stato possibile identificare in maniera altro che generica. Vi si leggono finali di esametri; si tratta dunque di poesia, che la possibile menzione di un appartenente alla potente famiglia degli Apioni indurrebbe a definire panegirica." Two of the topics can however be recovered: the contribution to order is suggested in 4 κόσμου (cf. Diosc. Aphr. 15.1–2, 17.9–10, 26.8–10

Fournet) and beauty is praised afterwards (cf. 7 μορφῆς, cf. Diosc. 4.35–6), with a possible comparison with the gods in the Olympus (8 Ὀ]λύμπου).

To be compared with: the encomia by Dioscorus of Aphrodito. Other encomia on contemporaries on papyrus, such as **23.** Encomium on a contemporary (PSI 2.149), **27.** Encomium on Maximus, **39.** Panegyric on general Germanus, **46.** Encomium on Heraclius (PSI 3.253), **54.4** Encomium on Theagenes, **56.** Encomium on a Dux from the Thebaid, **60.** Encomium on Archelas (*P.Ant.* 3.115). Also PSI 14.1399, a possible prose encomium on Apion (6th c.).

59. Wasted Land
(*P.Ant.* 2.59 = MP^3 1849.5 = LDAB 6331)

Edition: J. W. Barns – H. Zilliacus, *P.Ant.* 2.59.

Bibliography: Turner 1977, p. 117, no. 323.

Provenance: Antinoopolis.

Dating: 6th c.

Physical description: fragment of a thick parchment; very slanted, semiliterary hand, similar to the one on the Nonnus' only surviving papyrus (*P.Berol.* 10567).

Content, stylistic and metric characteristics: *ed. pr.*, 38 "side i might be from a description of a wild uncultivated land. The language might be not out of place in an imitator of Nonnus; but nothing, of course, can be concluded from such a small fragment".

60. Encomium on Archelas
(*P.Ant.* 3.115 = MP^3 1850.1 = LDAB 6325)

Edition: J. W. Barns – H. Zilliacus, *P.Ant.* 3.115.

Bibliography: Viljamaa 1968, 54, 111–12; Cameron 1970a.

Author: Cameron 1970a, 128 "Our poem was found at Antinoopolis, and since it is only an author's draft it was presumably both written and recited (if it ever was recited) in Antinoopolis".

Provenance: Antinoopolis.

Dating: 6th c.

Physical description: a poor-quality papyrus sheet written on both sides by a semiliterary hand, slanted, not very skilful; the corrections suggest that it is an autograph draft.

Content and stylistic and metric characteristics: a iambic proem of a welcome encomium to Archelas (Cameron 1970a, 127–8), of which the main hexametric body is not extant (Viljamaa 1968, 111–12; Cameron 1970a, 119). It develops topics characteristic of the ἐπιβατήριος λόγος (Viljamaa 1968, 112). *Ed. pr.*, 20: "The language of the encomium is somewhat bombastic, but on the whole correct. The same can be said of the writer's use of the iambic trimeter, which shows very few departures from established rules, at any rate in lines in which the reading is not in question… His use of the caesura shows more than fifteen *penthemimeres* against only a couple of *hephthemimeres*. The writer is careful in his avoidance of hiatus and false quantity".

Use: composed to be recited at a festival (Viljamaa 1968, 54).

To be compared with: other encomia on contemporaries on papyrus, such as **23.** Encomium on a contemporary (PSI 2.149), **27.** Encomium on Maximus, **39.** Panegyric on general Germanus, **43.** Farewell to a Dux of Thebes (*P.Flor.* 2.114), **46.** Encomium on Heraclius (PSI 3.253), **54.4** Encomium on Theagenes, **56.** Encomium on a Dux from the Thebaid.

3.3. Authors known only through references

Once the poetry transmitted through handwritten copies and papyri has been dealt with, I shall explore Libanius, Sinesius, Julian, Procopius of Gaza, the *History* by Socrates, Photius and the *Suda* in search of the names of other poets of whom only brief mentions remain. This will allow us to enlarge a little further the list of the poets who lived in these centuries. Many of them must have been mere amateurs, probably authors of some sort of encomia,[230] but this overview would be incomplete without them.

3.3.1. Photius' *codex*

Codex 279 in Photius' *Library*[231] groups works from several authors. Photius focuses on the summary and comments on only one of these works, but gives us precious facts about the others. Hammerstaedt[232] believes that the pieces were gathered together in the same *codex* because they were written by several authors who came from the same area (Middle and Upper Egypt) and time (second half of the 4th c. AD). Crisci does not mention it in his study on the origins of the miscellaneous *codex*,[233] but we might compare it with the so-called *Codex Thebanus deperditus* (MP^3 244) and *P.Amh.* 2.160,[234] both datable from the turn of the 7th century, as well as the so-called Menander of Cairo.[235] According to Crisci (*op.cit.* p. 140), the first two would prove that miscellaneous codices des-

230 Cf. Viljamaa 1968, 29.

231 Greek text from Henry 1977. Horapollon (Cod. 279, 535b.15–17) has already been studied in 1.2 Only poetry, so I will focus on the others. On him cf. Janiszewski 2006, 315–24.

232 Hammerstaedt 1997, 116.

233 Crisci 2004, 139–41.

234 Cf. Gronewald 1979.

235 *P.Cairo* inv. JE 43227 = MP^3 1301 + 0375 = LDAB 2745.

tined for learned readers circulated in late antique times. Perhaps the *codex* that Photius refers to had characteristics similar to these.

Helladius of Antinoopolis

Judging by the the facts supplied by Photius,[236] Helladius was a pagan, came from Antinoopolis, and was born during the reign of Licinius and Maximianus (late 308 – mid 311). His iambic *Chrestomathies* is the work on which the most facts survive, because Photius comments on some parts (*Bibl.* Cod. 279 [8.170–88 Henry]), but apparently he also composed eight iambic λόγοι (Ἀθῆναι, Νεῖλος, Αἰγύπτιος, Προπρεπτικός, Ῥώμη, Φήμη, Νίκη, Πόλις Ἀντινόου), the contents of which are already defined in their titles, according to Photius.

Hermias of Hermoupolis

The Πάτρια of Hermoupolis and other iambic poems by Hermias[237] could be read in the same codex.[238] He could be the same Hermias γραμματικός to whom Isidorus of Pelusius addresses one of his letters (3.350) or even one of the witnesses of a tenancy agreement from Hermoupolis dated from the latter part of the fifth century.[239]

Serenus

Serenus is known through one single mention by Photius:[240] he was a γραμματικός and wrote δράματα in several meters,[241] there Photius saw in the *codex* which contained works of several Egyptian authors from

236 Phot. *Bibl.* Cod. 279 (8.170 Henry). Cf. Hammerstaedt 1997, 105–8; A. Gudeman, art. "Helladios 2)", *RE* VIIII.1 (1912), cols. 98 ff.; *PLRE* I, *s.v.* "Helladius 1, grammaticus (at Antinoopolis), E IV", p. 412; Kaster 1988, no. 227, pp. 411–12; Janiszewski 2006, 253–8.

237 *PLRE* II 547, *s.v.* "Hermias 2"; Kaster 1988, no. 71 (p. 291); Janiszewski 2006, 312–15.

238 Phot. *Bibl.* Cod. 279 (8.187.8–10 Henry).

239 *BGU* XII. 2152. Cf. Kaster 1988, no. 68 (pp. 289–90).

240 Phot. *Bibl.* Cod. 279 (8.187 Henry): καὶ μὴν καὶ Σερήνου γραμματικοῦ ἐν διαφόροις μέτροις δράματα διάφορα; *PLRE* 1, *s.v.* "Serenus 2, grammaticus, IV/VI", 826; Kaster 1988, no. 134 (pp. 354–5).

241 In Photius δρᾶμα is not synonymous with dramatic play but it refers to the novelistic character of a literary composition, a plausible invention (cf. Hammerstaedt 1997, 109), but also (as seems to be the case now) dialogue compositions with made up but plausible contents (*ibid.*, 110–11).

the Thebaid from the 4th and 5th centuries. This suggests that he can be located in the same area and time.[242]

Andronicus of Hermoupolis

According to Photius,[243] Andronicus was a curial from Hermoupolis[244] and wrote a δρᾶμα "πρὸς τὸν κόμητα Φοιβάμμωνα τὸν κυνοπολίτην", a dialogue with an invented but plausible plot,[245] perhaps a speech, which Andronicus recited before the *comes* Phoebamon the Cynopolite.[246] The next thing we know about him is that while still young, he was involved in a trial for treason in Scythopolis in the year 359,[247] from which he came out victorious thanks to the aid of his friend Libanius. Libanius advised him to take up a public office which would allow him to cultivate poetry in his spare time, but he preferred to study with the philosopher and rhetor Themistius. The Antiochene rhetor wrote a reference letter for him saying that Andronicus was so famous that even the Ethiopians knew about him, but that the misfortune of his city had until then stopped him from showing all his soul's treasures.[248]

Later he must have come into contact with Aur. Simmacus,[249] perhaps also through Libanius, who knew him and his father.[250] In 378 Andronicus returned to Antioch, after the battle of Hadrianopolis, and refused to write a panegyric to Hypatius, who had been recently appointed prefect of the city in Rome. Nevertheless, a little later Hypatius had problems when taking up office in Antioch, not in Rome, to the extent that he was temporarily accused of treason.[251]

242 Cf. Hammerstaedt 1997, p. 109, n. 34.
243 Phot. *Bibl.* Cod. 279 (8.187.8–15 Henry).
244 Hammerstaedt 1997, p. 108, n. 33.
245 Photius does not supply more facts about the characteristics of that work: Hammerstaedt 1997, 111.
246 Cf. Hammerstaedt 1997, 111–12; Gonis 2005, 87–8.
247 Am. Marc. 19.12.11. Cf. Cameron 1965, 487–9, 500.
248 Lib. *Ep.* 77.1. Themistius (*Or.* 19, 347a) mentions an Egyptian youth (Αἰγύπτιος νεανίσκος) who had been in Constantinople and was skilful at ξυντιθέναι τραγῳδίαν καὶ ἔπη καὶ διθυράμβους. Photius (Cod. 279 *ad fin.*) says that, besides composing panegyrics, Andronicus δραμάτων ἐστι ποιητής, διαφόροις μέτροις τοὺς λόγους ἐντείνων. As there were few playrights at the time it has been supposed that it is Andronicus, but it all depends on the dating of the speech. Cf. Keydell 1941, 69 ff.
249 Simm. *Ep.* 8.22.
250 Lib. *Ep.* 1004.
251 Lib. *Or.* 1.180–1.

Cyrus of Antaeopolis

Photius[252] also mentions a certain Κῦρος Ἀντιοπολίτης, i.e. of Antaeopolis,[253] author of a iambic poem to the *dux* Maurice, letters to different addressees and other encomia. Several identities have been proposed for the mentioned Maurice:[254]

a) emperor Maurice (562–602): he does not coincide with the dating of the rest of the works in the codex (Photius 536a.1 says that Helladius lived in Licinius and Maximianus' time).
b) Viljamaa[255] proposes a tribune Maurice from Jovianus' time, mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (35.8.7).
c) As Maurice was a δοῦκα καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα, he would be someone taking the double office of *dux et augustalis Thebaidos*, which only occurs after 538/9.[256]

A solution to the problem has been proposed by Hammerstaedt through a careful reading of the text: εἰς Μαυρίκιον δοῦκα καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα παρόντα τῇ ἀκροάσει would refer to two different persons, *dux* Maurice whom the eulogy is addressed to, and the *praeses* whose presence is mentioned in the proem, which makes sense in the institutional context of the fourth century.[257] He could be a certain *Fl. Mauricius v(ir) c(larissimus), com(es) et dux*, known by an inscription of Syene, written under Valentinianus Valens and Gratianus (between 367 and 375).[258] This could be the same person who Ammianus Marcellinus (35.8.7) locates in Jovianus' time (363) and who Viljamaa proposed as candidate. In fact, this Fl. Mauricius seems to be the same one that pronounced *P.Oxy.* 63.4381, a judicial decree of 3 August, 375, in the capacity of *comes rei militaris Aegypti* (i.e. *dux Aegypti*).[259]

This dating rules out the possibility that this *Kyros* may be the same as the Flavius Cyrus, *politeuomenos* of Antaeopolis, who appears in PSI

252 Phot. *Bibl.* Cod. 279 (8.187.8–185.5 Henry).
253 O. Seeck, *RE* XII (1924), *s.v.* "Kyros 11)", 188, thought that Photius had made a mistake and actually meant Cyrus of Panopolis.
254 Cf. outline and assessment in Hammerstaedt 1997, 113 ff.
255 Viljamaa 1968, 30.
256 *PLRE* IIIB, p. 861 *s.v.* "Mauricius 5".
257 Hammerstaedt 1997, 114–16.
258 *PLRE* I s.v. "Fl. Mauricius 2", p. 570. Cf. Baldwin 1982b, 104 ff.
259 Cf. Henry 1977, 81, where the reading of Photius' text is the same as the one presented by Hammerstaedt. Also in this same line, cf. Fournet 1999, pp. 286–7, n. 282; Gascou 1998.

8.935, *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67134, 67135.1, 67139.vi.v.4 and 3.67327.5–12.[260] This also excludes a certain grammarian *Kyros* whose heirs appear in the 6th-c. cadastre of Aphrodito (SB XX 14669. IV. 109) and in *P.Cair.-Masp.* III 67326.1–2 and who had been put in contact with the *politeuomenos* of Antaeopolis.[261]

3.3.2. Other sources

Apollon of Panopolis

Apollon was the nephew of Aur. Ammon, the 4th-century Panopolite whose archive survives (*P.Ammon* 1–2). Ammon mentions in some documents[262] that Apollon was a poet and had managed to be heard by Flavius Sisinnius, καθολικός of the Thebaid.[263]

Christodorus of Thebes

On Christodorus of Thebes, if he is a different person from the author of the *Ekphrasis* of the statues of the thermae, we have only the corresponding entry in the *Suda* (X 526 Adler): he was a *vir illustrius* and wrote *Ixeutica* in hexameters, as well as *Miracles of the saints Anargyros, Cosmas and Damian.*

Pamprepius of Panopolis

Pamprepius[264] was born in Panopolis on 29 September, 440, as is known from his horoscope.[265] He was educated in Alexandria, where he mixed in Neoplatonic circles. The sources that mention this stage in his life-

260 Cf. Keenan 1985, 151–4.

261 Cf. Gascou – MacCoull 1986, 139 (IV.109).

262 *P.Ammon* 1.6.5, 1.7.42–58. The second text is an intercolumnary insertion marked: cf. n. to 42–59 in *ed. pr.,* p. 90. Reconstruction and translation in *P.Ammon* 1, p. 140; *P.Ammon* 2.38.42a-59, 2.41.56–8.

263 About the figure of the καθολικός (*rationalis*), his function and status, cf. *P.Ammon* 1, pp. 61–2, n. 4.

264 Suda Π 137 Adler, p. 15, ll. 2–4. Testimonies in Livrea 1979b, 1–9. Cf. Asmus 1913; Grégoire 1929; Keydell 1949; Cameron 1965, 473, 499; von Haehling 1980, 92–4; M. Krause, "Pamprepios of Panopolis", *Coptic Encyclopedia* 6 (1991), 1879–80; *PLRE* II, *s.v.* "Pamprepius, QSP (East) 479; consul; patricius", 825–8.

265 Cf. Delatte – Stroobant 1923.

time,[266] ill-disposed against him because of later events, say that he was a charlatan who had acquired only superficial knowledge of mantics and theurgy and that he was no real philosopher.

When he was about 30 years old he left Alexandria for Athens, where he studied with Proclus. Besides, he was teaching as a valued γραμματικός[267] and Theagenes was his patron,[268] which is why is usually to be considered as the author of the Encomium of Theagenes (**54.4**).

For some reason he fell from the favour of his patron and moved to Constantinople, where he arrived when he was 35 (476). There Leo I[269] had ordered the death of Alan Aspar in 471 to suppress his people's excessive influence and had relied on the Isaurians, to whose chieftain Zeno[270] he had given his daughter Ariadna in marriage (467). The son of both, Leo II, inherited the throne on the death of his grandfather in 474. Then, due to Leo II's minority, Zeno became regent and on the death of his son, soon afterwards, he was crowned emperor. The revolt of Basiliscus, brother of Verina, Leo I's wife, in 475 caused Zeno to flee to Isauria, but because he was a monophysite, the usurper lost support immediately. Zeno recovered the throne in late 476 with the aid of his fellow Isaurian Illus,[271] whom he awarded by appointing him *magister officiorum* and *patricius*.

This was the situation in 476 when Pamprepius arrived in Constantinople. He seems to have taken advantage of his opportunities, for when the Isaurian officer Marsus[272] introduced him to Illus, he won his favour by reciting a panegyric in public.[273] Under the protection of the court's strong man, he obtained a *cathedra* of Greek and started his polit-

266 Cf. frs. 288–9 of the *V.Isid.* of Damascius, who describes him (178–9) as a dark-complexioned, cloying and disgusting Egyptian, so talented for literature and diplomacy that he had been able to ingratiate himself with Illus. Cf. Damascius *Hist. Phil.* frs. 77, 112, 113 Athanassiadi.

267 Suda (Π 137 Adler), s.v. "Παμπρέπιος", ll. 15–6.

268 W. Enßlin, "Theagenes 7)", *RE* V.A.2 (1934), 1346–7; *PLRE* II, 1063 ff.; H. Leppin, "Theagenes [6]", *DNP* 12.1, 249. Theagenes, apparently a pagan, was an archon a little before 450 AD., and also a member of the Senate, patrician and perhaps the prefect of the praetorium of Illyria. His fortune allowed him to promote philosophy schools.

269 *PLRE* II, 663 ff.; "Leo I [4]", *BNP* 7, 390–1.

270 *PLRE* II, 1200–2; F. Tinnefeld, "[18] Flavius Z[enon]", *DNP* 12.2, 755.

271 *PLRE* II, 586–90; F. Tinnefeld, "Illus", *BNP* 6, 726–30.

272 W. Enßlin, "Marsus 1)", *RE* XIV.2 (1930), 1983.

273 *Suda* Π 137 Adler, ll. 9–12. Rhetorius (*CCAG* viii. 4. 222) says that Pamprepius wrote a lot of ἐγκώμια on powerful people.

ical career: he was *quaestor* of the Palace and honorary consul in 479, and a patrician a little later. The Emperor did not like him for his open paganism, among other reasons, so he banished him when Illus was on military campaign away from Constantinople. According to Malchus of Philadelphia, Pamprepius did not bother to hide his paganism and was even suspected of carrying out magic practices.[274]

On his return, Illus called him back and in 482 he commissioned him to go to Alexandria to win over both the pagan and Chalcedonian circles[275] for the revolt which he plotted with the Empress Verina's support and the patrician Leontius as his candidate to become Emperor.[276] This revolt took place in 484, in spite of the failure of Pampreprius' mission. In November of the same year, Illus ordered Pampreprius to be beheaded and his body to be thrown from the walls of the fortress of Isauria, where they had sheltered.

The *Suda*[277] attributes to him some Ἰσαυρικά, probably related to Zeno's restoration to the throne (476) or to Illus, and one *On Etymologies*, which suggests a poet-grammarian.

4. Who were they?

This concentration of epic poets in Panopolis and its surroundings is surprising, even the more so if their stylistic and metric similarities are taken into consideration. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that they knew each other: some of them are too chronologically distant to have met and of those who could have done so we lack concrete biographical data. In later authors we find only vague references to the abundant Egyptian epic production, quoted in contemporary literary criticism.

Thus, Eunapius of Sardes, in his *Lives of the Sophists*,[278] recounts that the Romans asked Prohaeresius to send them one of his pupils to teach in

274 *Suda* Π 137 Adler, ll. 5–9.

275 Athanassiadi 1993, 19: Damascius' vision was negatively influenced by the purges that the Neoplatonic *intelligentsia* went through when the revolt failed.

276 *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* VIII iv, 224. Cf. Athanassiadi 1993, 19.

277 Suda Π 136 Adler, ll. 1–2: Παμπρέπιος, Πανοπολίτης, ἐπῶν ποιητής, ἀκμάσας κατὰ Ζήνωνα τὸν βασιλέα. ἔγραψεν Ἐτυμολογιῶν ἀπόδοσιν, Ἰσαυρικὰ καταλογάδην. Cf. Cameron 1965, 481, n. 64.

278 *VS* 493. On the lack of balance of Eunapius as a biographer, cf. Swain 2004, 373–9.

Rome. He sent an Alexandrian called Eusebius,[279] who seemed particularly suitable because he knew how to cajole powerful people (ἐναρμόσειν δὲ ἄλλως ἐδόκει τῇ πόλει, κολακεύειν τε εἰδὼς καὶ σαίνειν τὸ ὑπερέχον) and used questionable forensic practices (πολιτικῆς κακοτεχνίας). Eunapius says that the best account of his rhetorical aptitude is to remember that he was Egyptian (ἐπεὶ τά γε κατὰ ῥητορικὴν ἐξαρκεῖ τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἦν Αἰγύπτιος) and then he explains it further:

> τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ μὲν σφόδρα μαίνονται, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος Ἑρμῆς αὐτῶν ἀποκεχώρηκεν ("for this race passionately loves the poetic arts, whereas the Hermes who inspires serious study has departed from them").[280]

Unfortunately many authors have just cited the first part of the sentence, not considering the second or the explanation of his statement that Eunapius presents subsequently:

> ἐπανέστη δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Μουσώνιος, εἰς σοφιστικὴν ὁμιλητὴς ὢν αὐτοῦ… καὶ ὅτε γε ἀντῆρε, καταμαθὼν πρὸς τίνα ἔχει τὸν ἀγῶνα, ταχὺ μάλα ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν κατεπήδησεν ("He had for an adversary Musonius, who had been his pupil in the sophistic art… When Musonius reared his head to oppose him, Eusebius knew very well against what sort of man he had to contend, so he very speedily deserted to take up political oratory").

In order to understand the passage fully we should consider several points.[281] Firstly, in Antiquity ethnic stereotypes were clearly defined, and αἰγυπτιάζω (cf. LSJ *s.v.*) meant *to be like an Egyptian*, i.e. *to be sly and crafty.*[282] To this we should add that it was common from the school level to ascribe certain forms of expression and rhetorical usages to certain peoples.[283]

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279 It is possible that he was the brother of the sophist Alexander, who had studied with Julian (Suda A 1128). Cf. Penella 1990, 89.

280 Eng. transl.: Wright 1921.

281 For the interpretation of this passage I am particularly indebted to J. Ureña.

282 Cracco Ruggini 1971, p. 418, n. 57: "Zosimo, al tempo di Anastasio (verso il 498–518), sembra… usare il termine Αἰγύπτιος nel senso spregiativo di "ciarlatano", quando così definisce Ossio di Cordova, che convertì Costantino al cristianesimo (II, 29…); è del resto nota ad es. anche in Occidente, l'aspra ostilità della *Historia Augusta* verso gli *Aegyptii*, *viri ventosi, furibundi, iactantes, iniuriosi atque adeo vani, novarum rerum usque ad cantilenas publicas cupientes, versificatores, epigrammatarii, mathematici, haruspices, medici* (cfr. SS. H.Aug., *Quad. tyr.* 7,4)". Cf. also the allusions to familiar knowledge in the novel as regarded in Morgan 1982, 236.

283 Cf. Theon's statement (116.5–7) that on the construction of character in an ethopoea the speaker's origin must be taken into account.

Secondly, the interpretation of ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ as opposed to ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος Ἑρμῆς is key. If we read two passages of Choricius of Gaza:

> Chor. Gaz. *Or.* 2 (*Laudatio Marc. II*) § 7 (pp. 29–30 Förster – Richtsteig): τεκοῦσα τοίνυν ἡ πόλις… παρὰ θύρας ἦγε ποιητικὰς καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐμφορηθέντα σε Μούσης τῷ κορυφαίῳ παρεδίδου τῶν Ἑρμοῦ χορευτῶν πλήθει τε λόγων καὶ τρόπῳ καθεστηκότι τᾶ πρῶτα φέροντι τῶν ὁμοτέχνων.
> Chor. Gaz. *Or.* 7 (*Or. funebr. in Procop.*) § 7 (p. 111 Förster – Richtsteig): τοιγαροῦν ἐπὶ μὲν θύρας ἦκε ποιητικὰς ἡλικίαν ἔχων ἣν οἱ τὰ πρῶτα παιδευόμενοι γράμματα, εἰς Ἑρμοῦ δὲ παλαίστραν ἐφοίτησε χρόνον ἄγων τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἱ τὰ ῥητόρων τελουμένοις ὁμήλικα, καὶ ἦν παράδοξον θέαμα καὶ τερπνὸν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἡλικιώτης διδάσκαλος.

we see that in both cases the Muse personifies the primary stage when a pupil works on reading and commenting on poets and perhaps also in poem composition, as opposed to a higher level in serious prose oratory, under the aegis of Hermes.[284]

On the one hand, Eunapius criticises any good sophist who wastes his time in poetry or similar superficial matters.[285] On the other, it can be deduced that Eunapius complains that the Egyptians, instead of moving on to the oratory of Hermes (identified with adult λόγος), remain on the lower phase of the study of poetry under the patronage of the Muses, properly the subject of children still under the γραμματικός. The aforesaid Eusebius has taken the step of devoting himself to oratory but only in theory, as in practice he is incapable of facing a serious orator such as Musonius. Such criticism, therefore, is aimed at a sort of oratory that he associated with Egyptian schools, allegedly prone to poetic forms and suitable for epideictic rhetoric, but easily defeated by any serious orator as far as content is concerned.

We can compare Eunapius' assertion with the letter 57 (Garzya-Loenertz) of Procopius of Gaza:

> ἔτι παρὰ τὸν Νεῖλον οἰκεῖς; … εἰ δὲ σε τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἡ πόλις ἐφέλκεται χαρίτων ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἤδη τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, ζήλου τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ παρελθὼν τὰς Σειρῆνας μέμνησο τῆς Ἰθάκης.

Maybe it was a general practice to link time-consuming poetry with Alexandria in particular and Egypt in general: both poetry and Egypt should be avoided by those pursuing a more serious objective.

Thirdly, the reader of Eunapius' texts wonders whether ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος Ἑρμῆς αὐτῶν ἀποκεχώρηκεν refers to a possible incompetence of

284 On Hermes *Logios* and Demosthenes, cf. Pernot 2006, 129–75.
285 Cf. Agosti 2006a, 37.

the Egyptians in writing serious philosophical prose. It may be true that the best-known Egyptian men of letters at this time came from the field of poetry, but Alexandria still appealed to many as a centre for philosophy. The reason for the disapproval is perhaps that Eunapius preferred Athenian to Alexandrian Platonism.[286]

Finally, we are left with the only direct mention of Nonnus by an ancient author. In *Histories* 4.23 Agathias compares the punishment that the Persian Emperor Chosroes had inflicted upon his general Nacoragan to that which Apollo inflicted upon the Phrygian Marsias, and cites Nonnus (4.23.5–6):

> ταῦτα γὰρ οἵ τε πρότερον ποιηταὶ ᾄδουσι καὶ οἱ νέοι παραλαβόντες ξυνᾴδουσιν. ὧν δὴ καὶ Νόννος, ὁ ἐκ τῆς Πανὸς τῆς Αἰγυπτίας γεγενημένος, ἔν τινι τῶν οἰκείων ποιημάτων, ἅπερ αὐτῷ Διονυσιακὰ ἐπωνόμασται, οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ ὀλίγα ἄττα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος πέρι ἀφηγησάμενος (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν προηγουμένων ἐπῶν ἐπιμέμνεμαι) εἶτα ἐπάγει… ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸ μίασμα τοῦτο οὔπω τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ γένει διέγνωστο, σαφῆ τὰ τεκμήρια καὶ ἀποχρῶντα παρὰ τοῖς ὀρθῶς ἀναθεωρεῖν καὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι τὰ παλαίτατα πεφυκόσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ποιητικῇ θεολογίᾳ παρακρουομένοις.[287]

It is a rather neutral reference, and the criticism of the poet's scarce truthfulness is not a specific attack against Nonnus, since Agathias used similar terms to write about poets in general at 4.23.4, after mentioning the story of Marsias.[288] If Agathias quotes Nonnus, it is because he knows his *Dionysiaca* well, and due to its length, it is pardonable that he does not remember the exact origin of his quotation.[289]

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286 Agosti 2006a, 37.

287 "All events of this theme, which is handled by the poets of old, have been taken over and exploited also by modern poets, one of whom Nonnus of Panopolis in Egypt, after having made some mention of Apollo (I cannot say in what precise connection because I do not recall the preceeding verses) in a poem of his called the Dionysiaca, goes on to say [*D.* 1.42–3]… That this abomination was at the time still unknown to man should be sufficiently obvious to anyone who is capable of viewing the distant past with the right degree of critical detachment and who does not allow himself to be misled by the tales the poets tell about the gods". Greek text: Keydell 1967; English translation: Frendo 1975.

288 Agathias' opinions on poetry can be read at *Hist.* Praef. 7–11.

289 Cf. Gonnelli 2003, 10. In fact, something similar happens to Eustath. in his *Commentary on the Iliad*, where he quotes Nonnus several times (ad 3.231, p. 409, 44–6; ad 4.492, p. 499, 22–4; ad 6.429, p. 653, 31–2; ad 8.84, p. 700, 59–60; ad 8.84, p. 701, 2–3), though he always refers to *D.* 1.7–10 and not always accurately. Van der Valk 1971–87, vol. 2, p. 537, n. to 700, 59 thinks that he is quoting *e memoria.*

Besides this, it is advisable to discuss the division of poets in οἱ πρότερον ποιηταί and οἱ νέοι ποιηταί, which he had already used in the proem of his *Cycle* (*AP* 4.3.113–17):

> Πρῶτα δέ σοι λέξαιμι, παλαιγενέεσσιν ἐρίζων,
> ὅσσαπερ ἐγράψαντο νέης γενετῆρες ἀοιδῆς
> ὡς προτέροις μακάρεσσιν ἀνειμένα· καὶ γὰρ ἐῴκει
> γράμματος ἀρχαίοιο σοφὸν μίμημα φυλάξαι.
> "I will first select for you, competing with men of old time, all that the parents of the new song wrote as an offering to the old gods. For it was meet to adhere to the wise model of the ancient writers" (Transl. Paton 1916).

In the poetry of recent authors Agathias values intelligent imitation, that is, the rival imitation of ancient poets. These terms prompt several questions. In the first place, whether Nonnus, whom he has placed among the νέοι ποιηταί in the episode of Marsias, is one of the νέης γενετῆρες ἀοιδῆς. Secondly, it is questionable whether the opposition between παλαιγενέεσσιν and νέης γενετῆρες ἀοιδῆς here bears a mere chronological sense (recent poets against ancient ones)[290] and whether the allusion to that μίμησις is a mere literary cliché or is used to make a chronological distinction on a stylistic basis.[291]

The opposition between παλαιγενέεσσιν and νέης γενετῆρες ἀοιδῆς goes back to the second proem of the *Dionysiaca*[292] and Agathias rereads this prologue in the preface to his *Histories*,[293] which suggests that this is a programmatic declaration. Namely, the poets gathered in the *Cycle* in some way 'improve' the ancient ones: but how or what stylistic criteria are to be applied? Is he, perhaps, implying that the stylistic features typical of Late Antiquity, which reached their peak in Nonnus, should be ap-

290 Cf. Baldwin 1986.

291 Cf. Fournet's daring statement (1999, II 678) about the "nouveaux poètes" in the prologue to Agathias' *Histories:* "C'est ainsi qu'Agathias dénomme la floraison de poètes, la plupart originaires d'Égypte et plus particulièrement de la Thébaïde, que connut sourtout le V^{e} siècle".

292 Nonn *D.* 25.27–8 Ἀλλὰ νέοισι καὶ ἀρχεγόνοισιν ἐρίζων, / εὐκαμάτους ἱδρῶτας ἀναστήσω Διονύσου ("But I will set up the toils and sweat of Dionysos in rivalry with both new and old"). Translation from Rouse 1940.

293 Agath. *Hist.* praef. 8: ἔδοξε δέ μοι πρότερον κἀκεῖνο ἀλιέπαινόν τι εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἄχαρι, εἴ γε τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων τὰ ἀρτιγενῆ καὶ νεώτερα, διαλανθάνοντα ἔτι καὶ χύδην οὑτωσὶ πας᾽ ἐνίοις ὑποψιθυριζόμενα, ἀγείραιμί τε ὡς οἷον τε εἰς ταυτὸ καὶ ἀναγράψαιμι ἕκαστα ἐν κόσμῳ ἀποκεκριμένα. Nonnus and the *Cycle* poets make up a group with common characteristics, opposed to the classics. Cf. Gonnelli 2003, 10.

plied to epigrams?[294] Would the learned Byzantines understand these innovations of a previous tradition as 'improvements'?[295] Unfortunately, Agathias does not reflect in any passage of his work on his relationship with Nonnus and postnonnian epic poets or on the features which differentiate the *Cycle* from the previous poetry. Nor should we expect him to do so, since he was not trying to be innovative, but that prevents us from moving from mere theories to certainties. What provides us with a standpoint to progress from is that Nonnus' influence goes beyond the frontiers of his native province and appears in Agathias' *Cycle* and also in other poems from the *Palatine Anthology* and in authors belonging to the "School of Gaza".[296]

Many epigrams from the *Palatine Anthology* (not only Christodorus' poem in book 2) share distinctive traits with Nonnus' poems.[297] The origins of this development (apart from a possible Latin influence)[298] may be in the overwhelming presence of Homeric epic at school,[299] and also in contemporary stylistics, no longer interested in the compact form of ancient epigram.[300] Besides, those of the *Palatine Anthology* allow us to study the evolution of style, form and contents in complete poems, although the doubts about their authorship and dating may cause further problems in some cases.

In the *Anthology* book 9 is of special interest,[301] as it contains several epigrams (449–80) classifiable as type-C ethopoeae (τὶ ἂν εἴποι),[302] which show some similarities with the literary and/or school papyri as well as with Nonnus and his imitators.[303] Such relationship has been accounted

294 Cameron 1970, 18; Garzya 1984, 34.
295 Cameron 1970, 28.
296 Cf. Humbert 2000, 73–7; Ciccolella 2000, 118–263; Bitton-Ashkelony – Kofsky 2004, papers by N. Belayche, L. Regnault, Y. Ashkenazi and R. Talgan.
297 The evolution of the epigram in this direction was studied in Wifstrand 1933, ch. 3.
298 Wifstrand 1933, 159, 174.
299 Wifstrand 1933, 174.
300 Wifstrand 1933, 175–6.
301 Edition: Waltz – Soury 1957, 1974. On book 9, cf. Rossi 2002, 151–5; Lauxtermann 1998, 526–7; Waltz – Soury 1957, xxxi-xlviii; Wifstrand 1933, 76–86.
302 Fournet 1992, 255. To these Wifstrand 1933, 163, 164, 170, 172 added *AP* 9.116, 126 and 495 and *A. Plan.* 4. About other poems to take into account, cf. Wifstrand 1933, 163–73.
303 Cf. Crusius 1905; Wifstrand 1933, 170; Lauxtermann 2005.

for on the basis that they possibly belonged to the same poetic school or because their features were typical of school compositions.[304]

The Cycle of Agathias

Agathias of Myrina (Asia Minor, *c.* 532 – post 580)[305] studied in Alexandria and Constantinople, where he worked as a σχολαστικός and took part in literary life. During his youth he wrote nine hexameter books entitled Δαφνιακά now lost, and the *Histories* in five books, designed as a sequel to Procopius' work (years 552–9). His most important contribution is the Κυκλός, a συλλογή of recent epigrams, characterised by their refinement in style and form. They are preserved in the *Greek Anthology*, though in a different order:[306] *AP* 5.216–302, 6.54–86 and 7.551–614 are epigram series from the *Cycle*. The main authors are Agathias himself and Paul the Silentiary, but Damocharis of Cos, John Barbucallus, Julian the Egyptian, Leontius *Scholasticos* and Macedonius are also included.[307]

His relationship with Nonnus[308] is perceived in metrics (dactylic rhythm, line structure, preference for feminine caesurae, restricted elision and hiatus), style (imitation of expressions and segments of lines, lexical choices, omnipresence of epithets, periphrastic expressions)[309] and concentration on erotic epigrams.[310] Perhaps Agathias' training has not been given the value it deserves, since the so-called 'Nonnian' style and metrics cannot have been easy to put in practice.

In the authors of the *Cycle* we perceive too the influence of the epigrams which have survived through epigraphic transmission, those of the previous anthologies and non-epigrammatic poetry.[311] Further more, judging by the chronological distance and the generalisation of the so-called Nonnian features, those present in the *Cycle* must have become rather conventional and were not attributed only to the author of the *Dionysiaca*,[312] though his work was of the utmost importance.

304 Cameron 1967; Fernández Delgado 1994, 305, n. 38.
305 Cf. Cameron 1970, 1–11; Hunger 1978, I 303–9, II 166–7.
306 Cf. Cameron 1970, esp. 12–29; Mattsson 1942, 1–16.
307 Cf. Cameron – Cameron 1966, 8–20.
308 Cf. Cameron 1970, 24–6, 155–6; Mattsson 1942, 112–71, 176.
309 Viljamaa 1968, 60–2.
310 Cameron 1970, 24.
311 Cf. Mattsson 1942, 17–111.
312 Cameron 1970, 24.

Paul, called the Silentiary because of the office he held in the Byzantine court,[313] was a close friend of Agathias, who included in the *Cycle* about 80 of his epigrams, most of them erotic.[314] He also composed a *Description of St. Sophia* (Ἔκφρασις τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἁγιας Σοφίας),[315] recited before the Emperor Justinian I and the Patriarch Eutimius at the reopening of the temple on 24 December, 562. It consists of two iambic prologues addressed to Justinian and Eutimius (80 and 54 lines), an interlude of 6 iambi introduced later and a central body of 1023 hexameters. Paul also composed an ἔκφρασις of the ambo of St. Sophia to be read in public on 6 January, 563. Again, it consists of a iambic prologue (29 lines) and a central body in hexameters (275 lines). In Paul we perceive the influence of both Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* and *Paraphrase*,[316] which does not rule out other influences such as Homer, Callimachus, Triphiodorus, Colluthus, Christodorus of Coptos, Musaeus, John of Gaza and the epigramatists.[317]

The boundary of the late antique world

Nonnus' formal influence reaches 6th-century epigrams,[318] the *De Vita Humana* by George of Pisidia,[319] the hexametric poem attributed to Theodorus Studita,[320] an epitaph from the early 10th century found on a sarcophagus near Galacrenai[321] and well into Byzantine times.[322]

Though his work is of poor quality, the case of Dioscorus of Aphrodito is also interesting.[323] Known as "the worst poet of Antiquity",[324] a

313 Cf. Cameron – Cameron 1966, 17–19.
314 Viansino 1963.
315 Friedländer 1912b; Fayant – Chuvin 1997.
316 Cameron 1970, 22; Friedländer 1912b, 112; Fayant 2003, 584. About his metrics, cf. Fayant 2003; Caiazzo 1982. Cf. also De Stefani 2006.
317 Fayant 2003, 591.
318 Roueché 1989, nos. 38, 73, 74, 100, 156. Cf. Agosti 2005a, 2007.
319 De Stefani 2002, 30; Gonnelli 1991; Whitby 2003b, 176–7.
320 [Theod. Stud.] *Epigr.* 124 Speck = 129 Garzya. Cf. Mercati 1953.
321 Ševčenko 1987; Lauxtermann 2003, 120.
322 Hernández de la Fuente 2002/3; Gonnelli 2003, 20–1. Cf. Eudociae Augustae *Violarium* 725 Περὶ Νόννου. Νόννος Πανοπολίτης ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, λογιώτατος, ὁ καὶ τὸν παρθένον Ἰωάννην παραφράσας δι' ἐπῶν. On Nonnus' influence on later authors, cf. Lind 1978.
323 Concerning his biography cf. *PLRE* IIIA, 404–6, *s.v.* "Fl. Dioscorus 5, ?v.c. (Egypt); scholasticus and poet, M VI"; Ch. Selzer, "Dioscorus [2]", *BNP* 3, 518; "Dioscorus of Aphrodito", *Coptic Encyclopedia* 3, 916; MacCoull 1988; Kuehn 1995, 52–76.
324 Baldwin 1984.

landowner, πρωτοκωμήτης in his home city Aphrodito and a notary in Antinoopolis, he wrote poems which show the decadence of Greek culture in the area:[325] requests and encomia of request (1–16 Fournet), encomia of *adventus* (17–20), encomia for anniversaries (21–4), epithalamia (32–7, 50), a thanksgiving encomium (25), a letter in verse (38), an Anacreontic poem (39), ethopoeae (41–6), a narrative or χρεία (47) and an encomium (48). We are therefore dealing with circumstance poetry, dedicated to his contemporaries, with a strong progymnasmatic inheritance. It is also useful to remark that he composed not only hexameters but also some iambic trimeters and an Anacreontic poem.

Besides Nonnus, the most influential authors on Dioscorus are Homer (the so-called *Iliad* of Cairo and the complementary codex with the *Scholia Minora* were his) and Apollinaris of Laodicea.[326] Dioscorus' verses are a clear proof of Nonnus' success and how Nonnus might have influenced less talented poets.[327] It is surprising that no trace of late antique epic has been found in his library.

Modern literary criticism

As early as the 18th century, the relationship between the poets of Panopolis and its vicinity was accounted for with the assumption that they were members of a school, named "School of Nonnus", as he seemed to precede the rest chronologically and stylistically, the others being his disciples and imitators. There has never been a clear idea of what features are necessary for an author to be considered a member of this school, and so the implication of calling an author, work or style 'Nonnian' has not been fully clarified.[328] Only metric rules have a clear definition, but not even Nonnus complies with these consistently.[329]

325 Fournet 1999, I 239–458 (introduction, edition of the Greek text and French translation), II 459–665 (commentary). Dioscorus will only be referred to for comparative purposes.

326 Cf. Fournet 1999, I 299–301, II 673–6, 678–9.

327 Viljamaa 1968, 44–5, n. 10 (addiction to words beginning with παν-, πολυ-, φιλο-, θεο- and χρυσο-, and ending with -συνη, -ήρ, -ίη). Cf. also later poems such as *P.Berol.* 5226 *verso* (on the *verso* of a document, a poem about Thebes; BKT V.2, p. 147, n. 7 = Heitsch 40 = MP^3 1797 = LDAB 6551); *P.Berol.* 5227 *recto* (a documentary text is copied on the *verso:* BKT V. 2, p. 147, n. 8 = Heitsch 41 = MP^3 1799 = LDAB 6552).

328 Which prompts partial explanations, like those of Viljamaa 1968, 12: "The 'Nonnian style', however, lay less in the contents of the work than in the outer form, the metre and vocabulary… Some outstanding features of Nonnus' style are his

Although the connections between some of the late epics had already been pointed out, it seems that G. Hermann was the first to carry out a clearer study of them. In his edition of the Orphic poems, he devoted a few pages to the ages of Greek epic poetry, touching on topics of style and especially metrics.[330] He then discussed Nonnus' grand role as the new Homer, followed by everybody:

> "[689] Quae mutatio, etsi, quo auctore et duce facta sit, non potest certo definiri, non dubitem tamen [690] eam ab Nonno repetere. Magno enim et illustri carmine viam praeire debuit is, quem omnes, veluti novum quendam Homerum, exprimendum sibi ducerent. Ac tam manifesta est in his poetis, qui noua illa heroici versus forma usi sunt, Nonni imitatio, ut hunc illis priorem fuisse certissimum videatur. Et, nisi fallor, huius Dionysiaca breui tantam consequuta sunt celebritatem ut iam aequales eius carmina sua ad horum exemplum conformare studerent. Cuius rei nescio an documentum sit Proclus, quem numeri, quibus est in hymnis usus, attigisse Nonni aetatem, et legisse Dionysiaca arguunt. Neque epici tantum, sed etiam epigrammatum scriptores Nonni hexametrum adsciuerunt, veluti Paulus Silentiarius, Leontius, Macedonius. Huius igitur sectae sunt Musaeus, Tryphiodorus, Coluthus, Christodorus, Ioannes Gazaeus, ab Rutgersio in Var. Lectt. II. 7 editus, Apollinaris. Neque enim, ut Iacobsius, Nonnum ex isto poeta profecisse, sed versus istos ad Nonni exemplum factos existimo."

Later Hermann published his most successful work, the *Elementa doctrinae metricae*, which was circulated all over the universities in the nineteenth century and of which several epitomised editions were made.[331] His extensive treatment of the Nonnian hexameter in his *Elementa* became *communis opinio* among later scholars.[332]

No mention of Nonnus' rapport with other authors is made in Koechly's 1857–8 edition of the *Dionysiaca*, nor in Ludwich's in 1906,[333] but at the beginning of the twentieth century, the school of Nonnus was a fact among specialised authors[334] and in history and in literature handbooks.[335]

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precisely defined metre, the recurrence of similar expressions at verse-endings, and numerous new words and expressions. This style was not invented by Nonnus; it was a fruit of the development originating in Alexandrian poetry, and some features of it appear before Nonnus, in the Oppians and in Quintus of Smyrna".

329 Viljamaa 1968, 40; Weinberger 1896, 179.

330 Hermann 1805, 687–92 (*De sectis poetarum epicorum*).

331 Cf. Hermann 1816, 1844.

332 E.g. Ludwich 1873, 4.; Rohde 1876, 473.

333 Though cf. Ludwich 1874.

334 Weinberger 1896, 116.

335 Bury 1923, II 431–3; von Christ 1924, p. 966, n. 5; Croiset – Croiset 1928, 994–1004.

In his *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos*, Wifstrand studied the evolution of style and metrics from Callimachus to Nonnus and beyond, reaching two main conclusions: Nonnus invented nothing new, but was one more link in the evolution of the hexameter, and Triphiodorus was metrically prior to Nonnus.[336] Nevertheless, at no point did he explicitly mention the purported 'school' and he treated each author separately. Neither did Keydell, author of numerous studies and editions about the late epics, mention the 'school', though he did try to define 'Nonnian'.[337]

The only discordant voice in this series of studies was String's, who, in his thesis,[338] inverted the relationship between the so-called Nonnian characteristics and the milieu where they occur: he argued that the lexical, stylistic and thematic peculiarities in the poetry of the fifth and sixth centuries were due to a common rhetorical and poetic background which was already in the making in Oppian's times. Proof of this would be that when Agathias (*Hist*. 4.23) included the only direct reference to Nonnus in his entire work, he could not remember its exact context or passage.[339]

From the 1960s onwards, Alan Cameron carried out several studies on this group of poets attempting to identify their shared characteristics. In the first of them,[340] he reconstructed an Egyptian school characterised by its paganism, professionalism, mobility (both geographical and social), deep knowledge of the Greek language and literature (and in many cases the Latin ones)[341] and participation in public life. At first he thought that the disappearance of this type of poet could have been accounted for by

336 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 54, 75.

337 Keydell 1936c, 904: "Wir nennen die Dichter des 5. und 6. Jhdts., die in der auch in den Dionysiaka verwendeten Form des Hexameters schreiben, Nonnianer, worin liegt, daß der sie alle überragende N., nicht irgendein Unbekannter, als Begründer der Schule bezeichnet werden soll". In his critical articles on the bibliography of Imperial time poetry (Keydell 1930, 99 ff.; 1941, 31 ff.), includes the section "Nonnos und die Nonnianer", but does not offer an explicit analysis of the formation and members of the purported school. However, cf. passages like 1930, 110: "kein Dichter der Schule, dessen Lebenszeit überliefert ist, vor Anastasius lebte. Jedoch gehören Triphiodor und Musaios vor den unter diesem Kaiser schreibenden Kolluthos… und man wird daher näher an 440 als an 490 herangehen müssen. Zu den äußeren Gründen kommen Kriterien der Verstechnik und des Stiles".

338 String 1966, 115–22.

339 *Contra* Vian 1976, lviii-lix. I could not have access to String's thesis, so I refer to it through Vian's summary.

340 Cameron 1965, 471.

341 This prompts looking for the influence of Latin poetry on the Egyptian in Greek. Cf. Cameron 1965, 494–7; Cameron 1970b, 19–21; De Stefani 2006.

the christianisation of the area from which they came,[342] but later he revised his theories to conclude that this poetic renaissance could not be understood as "paganism's last fling".[343] The main reason for this shift of opinion was that the pagan imagery found in the works of these authors is literary, an indispensable component of ancient education, independent of their religious beliefs. In fact, on comparing Nonnus' and Claudian's stylistic and formal features,[344] he comes to the conclusion that Nonnus is "[18] the most striking surviving representative of a development in Greek epic which had long been maturing".

In the preliminaries to his edition of Nonnus, Vian (1976, lix) refers briefly to the so-called "school of Nonnus": he thinks that it is appropriate to use that name for metric reasons, since only the appearance of a great work (by its size and content) accounts for the differences between fifth-century authors, like Proclus and Cyrus of Panopolis, who do not follow the 'Nonnian' rules, and those who lived after 470, who do follow them even within each author's personal nuances.[345]

Later studies reject the existence of a 'school of Nonnus', though they maintain the term 'Nonnian' for those authors who share his metric uses and formal and expressive solutions.[346] This style of composition and this kind of hexameter seem to be a result of the pressure exerted on the authors who competed for monetary prizes, prestige and political influence with a kind of verse which had to be perfect and updated with the latest complications at all levels.[347] Besides, the rigidity of Nonnus' hexameter also seems to be the response, by hypercorrection, to looser forms like the poems of the *Codex Visionum* and other compositions of the sort, such as those only known through the inscriptions and papyri referenced in the previous *corpus*.[348]

342 Cameron 1965, 508. Cf. the *caveat* in p. 477; also Bowman 1990, 232.
343 Cameron 1982; 2004b, 340; 2007.
344 Cameron 1970b, 15–17.
345 For a similar opinion about the figure of Nonnus, though without a direct reference to the rest of the poets, cf. Whitby 1994, 122–3.
346 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, p. 291, n. 6 ("Si esclude pertanto ogni ricorso all' espressione di comodo 'scuola nonniana'. Caso mai si parlerà di 'nonniani', e solo per coloro che, accanto ad una condivisione evidente degli usi metrici di Nonno, denunciano una conoscenza indubitabile dei suoi scritti"); Gonnelli 2003, 7–8.
347 Jeffreys 1981, 317–18.
348 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 355.

The figure of the professional man of letters

We lack information about how these poets and compositions related to each other. What we know is that neither Egypt nor this period were exceptional: professional poets had existed in Greece from the time before there was written literature and this figure kept on adapting itself to the surrounding circumstances all through the Hellenistic and Imperial periods until Late Antiquity.[349]

There existed, for example, those men of letters who went to Delphi in the fourth to the second centuries BC, occasionally on official, religious or political missions, as representatives of their cities. We learn about them through the inscriptions,[350] in which they appear also for their participation in competitions in honour of Apollo, and they were so many that they started an association of epic poets in Athens.[351] The artists of Ptolemais founded their own societies in the third century BC[352] and among them we find the epic poets Demarcus, Theogenes and Artemidorus.

This type of poet was called ἐπῶν ποιητής, that is, "poet who writes epic hexameters" (including epic-encomiastic poetry), and got paid for his services.[353] There was however a clear difference between the poet who was commissioned for a performance, for which he was paid, and one who tried to perform without his services being requested, of course without the certainty of getting a reward.[354]

These poets' work had clearly educational overtones from the very beginning, as occasional training in their poetic performances, but sometimes it alternated with more stable teaching activities which prompted the use of terms like γραμματικός or διδάσκαλος as early as Hellenistic times.[355] Cameron, referring to "wandering poets",[356] attaches great im-

349 Cf. Hardie 1983, 15–36.

350 Cf. Bouvier 1985; Guarducci 1929, 631–8 (about Delphi, Delos and other sanctuaries).

351 *Fouilles de Delphes* III 2, 50: οἱ τῶν ἐποποιῶν συναγμένοι ἐν Ἀθήναις. Cf. Bouvier 1985, 122–6. In the Index of pp. 130–5, cf. the numbers 1, 5, 16, 18, 32, 35, 36, 39, 48, 51, 60, 61, 65, 70, 76, 80 and 81. About Eratoxenus of Athens (Bouvier 39), Cleander of Colophon (Bouvier 61) and Nicander of Colophon (Bouvier 76), cf. Cameron 1995, 47. Cf. also Agusta – Boularot 1994, 690–5.

352 *OGIS* 51 (=*SB* V. 8855), 37–40. Cf. Cameron 1995, 48.

353 Cf. Hardie 1985, 25. Encomium competitions in prose and in epic verse (ἐγκωμίῳ ἐπικῷ) appeared in the 1st c. BC.

354 Hardie 1985, 30–6. Cameron 1995, 48 quotes *IG* IX 2, 63.

355 Hardie 1985, 20, 206–7.

portance to the binomial ποιητὴς καὶ γραμματικός: teaching provided them with some independence from their patrons, and those who had them at their service probably fostered their teaching careers. Their lessons were likely to be considered of the highest quality.[357]

The analysis can also be approached from a different perspective: what other occupations, besides teaching, did the known grammarians have?[358] To start with, the status of a grammarian was not static (some later became rhetors)[359] and it was compatible with the practice of law[360] or a political career.[361] In fact, there was not one single precise career for all, but each grammarian developed his according to his abilities and (probably) contacts, at least as far as public offices are concerned. It is evident that not all poets from this time of whom we have heard were grammarians or rhetors. Some of them, for example, devoted themselves to medicine. Thus, Heraclides of Memphis lived in the latter part of the fourth century and was a physician, like his father, but he wrote epic poems.[362]

It was also common for grammarians to publish their own works, not only on grammatical issues,[363] but also in verse, or on historiography, geography, theology or philosophy.[364] This means that they did not have to limit themselves to explain grammar and poetry. In fact, they could develop their own ideas about grammar and write treatises on them and take advantage of their poetic talent to produce their own works. Their cultural knowledge was their basis and support when they addressed any topic of interest from any field using the different shapes literature offered to learned men.

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356 Cameron 1965, 496–7.

357 Cribiore 2001a, 55–6.

358 I have used Kaster's catalogue of grammarians (Kaster 1988, 237–379), to which the numbers in brackets refer, leaving aside those grammarians he excludes as doubful or false (380–440).

359 Nos. 85 and, among the Latins, 20, 44, 105, 124, 138, 140.

360 Nos. 25, 55, 150; among the Latins, 64, 103.

361 Nos. 31, 48, 85, 92, 105, 114; among the Latins, 21, 103, 137.

362 This is what Libanius says: cf. Lib. *Ep.* 839 (year 363). Cf. *PLRE* I, *s.v.* "Heraclides 4, poet and doctor, 360–363", 418.

363 Nos. 31, 56, 67, 73, 79, 91, 110, 111, 117, 118, 144, 152, 156, 157; among the Latins, 52, 53, 95, 121, 123, 125, 126, 127, 130, 132, 136, 149.

364 In verse: 42, 49, 55, 56, 63, 67, 83, 84, 92, 100, 102, 109, 113, 114, 134, 156, 157; among the Latins, 28, 37, 44, 58. History / Geography: 76, 92. Theology: 82, 118, 124. Philosophy: 17, 78, 118. Letters from some of them are still extant (96, 106).

It seems also clear that the Egypt of the third to the sixth centuries was not the only place in the Ancient world where circumstance poetry was composed, especially of encomiastic type: the arrival of a new official, his farewell, or the celebration of victory after a battle were the occasions for commissioning a local poet everywhere. Louis Robert, in his numerous studies in Greek epigraphy, edited several inscriptional instances of this type of poem.[365]

5. Conclusions

It has been shown so far that Egypt is not an exceptional or rare case nor is the era extraordinary: what is extraordinary are the conditions of conservation, which allow us to gather medieval manuscripts, ancient inscriptions and papyri, as well as references from other authors, with which we can reconstruct a rich literary panorama, but we do not know to what extent it is complete. We have the following:

- Complete works (epic hexameters with a strong mythological component) by Triphiodorus, Nonnus, Musaeus, Colluthus and Christodorus of Coptos, about whom we hardly have any information.
- A number of compositions on papyrus, many of them fragmentary, and an inscription, about which we know at best their provenance; as for all the rest, they are uncontextualised. They are of varied quality and served different purposes.
- Names of authors and works known from references in other authors (Helladius of Antinoopolis, Hermias of Hermoupolis, Serenus, Cyrus of Antaeopolis, Christodorus of Thebes), which remind us that we do not know how much has been preserved.
- Three authors (Cyrus of Panopolis, Andronicus of Hermoupolis, Pamprepius of Panopolis)[366] of whom we have information because of their public activities and their relationships with other important persons, but little is known about their literary work.

Is there a common element amongst such a diversity? A brief overview reveals that, though the Egyptians kept writing prose, poetry enjoyed a

365 Cf. particularly Robert 1948, 35–114, now reedited in Merkelbach – Stauber 1998–2004 (concordances with Robert 1948 in vol. 5, p. 123).

366 Apollon of Panopolis is left out of the four groups; he is known for the references of his uncle Aurelius Ammon in *P.Ammon* 1.

high status and consideration from the third to the sixth centuries, which implies that a special emphasis was laid on poetic composition at school. As a result, the individuals who had gone through school (i.e. those who could afford it) were able to write poems and in fact composed them as a mark of their social status.

In most cases nothing at all is known about the people behind these compositions (Pamprepius and Cyrus seem to be rather extraordinary cases), which is why the reconstruction of a 'poet-type', like the one proposed by Alan Cameron in the 1960s, is rather a rash solution. Some of their known poems might have been the product of the leisure time of the well-off; in other cases, the authors might have received a salary – these could be men of letters who exploited their abilities as a source of profit, though not necessarily the only one. They were not necesarily 'full time' poets, and probably their poems did not generate a regular income, as it depended on circumstances, contacts[367] and personal abilities. It is to be supposed that people hired the services of local poets (not necessarily from the same town) for the encomia of local personages. These poets could have scarcely made a living with these commissions, which could have been only a part of their earnings and a complement of what they got from other activities.

Neither do they share common religious beliefs, and, as a matter of fact, we have information about a few of them only:

1. Recognised pagans: Pamprepius.
2. Recognised Christians: Cyrus[368] and Nonnus.
3. Converted to Christianity: Horapollon the younger.[369]
4. Converted to paganism: none known but surely the Emperor Julian was not the only case.

About many there is not enough information. About Triphiodorus, for example, we do not know anything, though his name suggests that his parents were pagan at the time of his birth. Judging by his name, Chistodorus was a Christian but there is no confirmation of that.

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367 Cf. the case of Apollon, who managed to have an audience with the *catholicus*, in the same way as the Imperial court was plagued with youths eager to find a patron: cf. Pamprepius with Theagenes in Athens and Illus in Constantinople. Pamprepius went into his service 'full time', not only to compose poetry. Cf. Rapp 2005, 382 ff.

368 Cf. Cameron 1982, *passim.*

369 Cf. *Suda*, *s.v.* "Horapollon"; Dam. *Hist. Phil.* fr. 120B Athanassiadi.

It would be interesting to know more, but their mythical references did not necessarily have religious implications,[370] as all of them express themselves in a language common to the learned élite. The dividing line was laid between those who had had some training and those who had none, not between Christians and pagans. It is useful to keep in mind that, of all the hexametric poems included in my catalogue, only the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John* and the *Codex Visionum* have an overtly Christian subject matter. It may be due to the vicissitudes of conservation, since, at least in the sixth century, Dioscorus of Aphrodito composed poor quality verses in which pagan inspiration combines with Christian mentality, and Agathias' and Paul the Silentiary's production in Constantinople alternate classical and Christian subject matter. It seems that pagan elements were reused with no problem at all.

From what is known about these authors and works, including the poets in Agathias' *Cycle* and the other compositions in the *Palatine Anthology*, the so-called School of Gaza and Dioscorus of Aphrodito, we can infer a single element common to them all: they were trained to write poetry following contemporary aesthetic canons and with classical authors as their models. Fashionable poetry was difficult to compose, especially its metrics, and it was not within everybody's reach. The grandeur sought after in these compositions[371] was not an exclusive product of brilliant minds but of discipline in reading and literary practice over a long period of time. To achieve this, the individual or his parents had to invest money in his training and the individual himself devoted long hours to studying the poets and the practice of composition. Though not all of these poets reached an extraordinary level, their efforts should not be trivialised. On the contrary, one should remember that they presuppose an appreciation of literary culture which was worthwhile investing in, as well as teachers and school material beyond the basics.

Turner's pioneering study of the relationships between the active elements of cultural life at Oxyrhynchus[372] reminds us that we cannot consider in isolation and out of context those who, by means of their training, became part of a cultural élite. The first evidence of movement or inter-

370 Haas 1997, 156; Roberts 1989a, 6, 123; Cameron 1998, 684, 705; Sheppard 2000, 850–1.

371 Cf. Hermog. *Id.* 326.8–12: "poets are naturally concerned not only with what is pleasant but also with what is grand. Thus through diction and figures of speech they elevate a subject whose particular nature might be, nevertheless, simple and pleasant". Transl.: Wooten 1987.

372 Turner 1956.

action is that some of these poets migrated,[373] but we cannot call them "wandering poets", as there is not enough information about many of them and those whose places of residence are known did not wander from one place to another but settled down in, or travelled to, a place for work, social or personal reasons. Social circles are therefore not restricted to their places of origin.

Not only authors travel, but also their compositions. Thus, the only papyrus of Triphiodorus published so far (*P.Oxy.* 41.2946) was found in Oxyrhynchus with what might be a prose commentary on the *verso* (*P.Oxy.* 41.2947). Photius (*Bibl.* Cod. 279) read in the same *codex* the works of Helladius of Antinoopolis, Hermias of Hermoupolis, Serenus, Andronicus of Hermoupolis and Horapollon, probably transmitted together because they were authors from the same area who shared the same stylistic features. A petition from Fl. Horapollon was found among the papers of Dioscorus of Aphrodito, *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67295.

These are precise facts which show that Egyptian poetry went beyond the Egyptian frontiers: when Agathias (*Hist.* 4.23.5) quotes Nonnus, he may be remembering his studies at Alexandria, where he may have been in contact with the Panopolite's work. This shows what we already know through his own work, namely, that Nonnus' work had an important influence on him. We should also consider Christodorus, a native of Coptos, whose work is linked to Constantinople. Similarly, from the fact that the collection of letters of Procopius of Gaza includes a circle of Alexandrian friends which he calls the 'Helikon',[374] we can infer that he could follow the Alexandrian literary life through them, and if the Musaeus he mentions[375] were the author of *Hero and Leander* we would have a direct connection with the 'new style'.

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373 The family of the *P.Ammon* includes Aurelius, who wrote some documents in Alexandria, and his brother Harpocration, a panegyrist of the Imperial court; no member of the Horapollon family resided in Panopolis permanently. Nonnus of Panopolis may have composed his *Dionysiaca* in Alexandria. Olympiodorus was an ambassador before the Huns and explored the territory of the Blemmyes, among other exploits. Andronicus of Hermoupolis lived in Scytopolis and was a friend of Libanius. Pamprepius died in Isauria after a busy and travelling existence. Agathias was from Myrina, but studied in Alexandria and Constantinople, where he lived before being sent into exile. Dioscorus worked as a *scholastikos* in Antinoopolis and then went back to his native Aphrodito.

374 Procopius *Epist.* 57.6 Garzya-Loenertz.

375 *Epist.* 165, 177 Garzya-Loenertz.

Bearing in mind this collection of literary personalities, it is difficult to talk about a 'School of Nonnus', due to their geographical (the whole Greek Orient) and temporal (three centuries) dispersion. Let us, however, revise their works as a whole. Specifically, we are going to start with their purpose, remembering, as Hermogenes says, that poetry tends to satisfy aesthetic pleasure (ἡδονή):[376]

- The **encomia** (**17.**, **23., 26.2**, **27.**, **39.**, **43.**, **46.**, **56.**, **58.**, **60.**)[377] are probably compositions commissioned for public instances. Being a sort of panegyric poetry addressed to local dignitaries, they assume more mythological nuances and adapt rhetorical rules to the specific situation for which they are composed. They are ephemeral creations bound to disappear when the first copies are discarded. One could say that they are the provincial equivalent to Paul the Silentiary's *ekphraseis*, which display a clearly eulogising character (of the event and of the commissioner), and the *Ekphrasis* of Christodorus, if it is incomplete. Some of the authors known by manuscript transmission also composed encomia, though it it cannot be decided whether they worked on commission.
- **Epithalamia** (on papyrus like **7.**, **8., 31.**, **34.**) were commissioned compositions for private use, though we cannot dismiss the possibility that they may have been school compositions.
- **1.** Ptolemagrios' Monument, apparently a **funerary poem**, is rather encomiastic.
- The *Codex Visionum* (**40.**) seems to have been composed and copied as **spiritual** reading in a religious community.
- The abundant **mythological poetry** known by manuscript transmission (and perhaps **54.3** Song of the day, attributed to Pamprepius) responds to the late antique taste for what was perceived as an agreeable and pleasurable entertainment.[378] Some of the papyrus fragments with mythical subject matter may have been of this type, but not enough of them are extant to know for sure. This kind of poetry seems to have been self-justified and can be defined as a mark of an élite that included poetic composition among the manifestations of its status.

376 Cf. Hermog. *Id.* 243.4–5 τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ ἡδονῆς ἡ ποίησις οἶμαι στοχάθεται.

377 Besides, **15.** and **32.** are school compositions; **41.1** is either a school composition (**41.2** *Patria* of Hermoupolis are produced as an example in Menander the Rhetor) or was copied only with literary purposes; **54.1** and **54.4** might have been compositions on commission originally.

378 Cf. already Hermog. *Id.* 330.18–331.6.

There is no doubt that the best definition for Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is that of *tour de force* and challenge for ancient, contemporary and future authors: time and erudition were needed in its composition.

– The compositions which are **reminiscent of a *progymnasma***, especially ethopoeae with a mythological model which can be reduced to a Homeric or Hesiodic passage (**12.**, **16.**, **26.1**, **29.**, **36.**, **53.**) are close to the school. **53.** is clearly a school text, but some go beyond this background (**26.1**). The anthologies (**19.?**, **52.**, **55.**) may have also been used at school, though it cannot be confirmed, not only because it is difficult to distinguish a pupil in training and a poet who is not very talented, but also because we know of adults' compositions that are based on school models, such as those by Dioscorus.

Given the functional diversity of the works, it is understandable that the critics' attention soon focused on stylistic analysis, as they tried to write a history of late antique epic poetry from a wider base. Agathias' reflections[379] do not solve many problems and the atemporality of the *Progymnasmata* and treatises on rhetoric and style prevents further reflexions about the evolution of style. Therefore, the conclusions we can draw from the metrics, morphology, syntax, vocabulary and poetics of the poems are our only means to understand more about epic hexametric poetry in the Thebaid of the third to the sixth centuries. They can also contribute to a better understanding of Greek literature at that time.

This has been the starting point of historians of literature since the 18th century and, though it is perfectly valid, their conclusions lack strength because too frequently these authors have been approached only through Nonnus. Also, critics gave in to the temptation of arranging authors and works in a (supposedly) rational manner, instead of analysing them (which is why the idea of the school has been maintained). To make things more difficult, the abundance and diversity of the material (together with the added technicalities of epigraphy and papyrology) have been a hindrance to the analysis of the whole group, and the length of Nonnus' work has eclipsed the other authors. If we can deduce something from the modern studies about the so-called 'School of Nonnus', it is that the idea of its existence became widespread from a supposed common Nonnian style, though there was not a clear and objective delimitation of the term. Instead, it seemed that any work that had anything in common

379 *Hist.* 4.23.5; *AP* 4.3.113–17.

with the 48 cantos of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (or less frequently with the 21 of the *Paraphrase*) could be called Nonnian.

It is therefore necessary to formulate clear definitions of Nonnus' style and its chronological space by comparing his work with previous, contemporary and later poetic texts wherever possible.[380] Since the capability of producing literature as a result of drilling at school characterises Greek cultural élites, it would be advisable to explore in what context these can be situated and what means were available for them to achieve such a training. As many of these authors were from Panopolis and its vicinity, the analysis ought to start from the actual reality of this area, as a wider analysis would compromise the clarity of the image.[381] Once the background is surveyed, I shall try to explain the similarities that led critics to talk about a 'School of Nonnus'.[382] In this study I intend to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the hexametric epic poetry composed in Egypt, particularly in the Thebaid, in the third to the sixth centuries. I will leave out the work of Dioscorus of Aphrodito, as it has been recently reedited and thoroughly commented,[383] though it will be used for comparison purposes.

380 Cf. Chapter 2: "Common stylistic features".
381 Cf. Chapter 3: "The role of culture and education in Panopolis (3rd – 6th c. AD)".
382 Cf. Chapter 4: "Influence of school-practice on poetry: The *Progymnasmata*".
383 Cf. Fournet 1999.

Chapter 2
Common stylistic features

1. Metrics

The most distinctive feature in the poetry of the third to the sixth centuries AD is its characteristic metrics: it is vital in the dating of fragmentary texts, but it also allowed Wifstrand[1] to redefine the relationship between Triphiodorus and Nonnus and, in general, helps us to assess the quality of any poem.

Though other meters, particularly the iambus, did not disappear, their use was certainly reduced. The hexameter, so characteristic of the epic,[2] started to gain ground with the gradual fusion of epic and encomium, because of its association with grandeur,[3] but also because of its definition as 'generic meter'.[4]

The most adequate starting point from which to study metrics in the poetic *corpus* collected in Chapter 1 is an analysis of Nonnus' metrics,[5] since his texts are the longest and have been thoroughly studied, which will allow us to dedicate small space to it and attend under-researched aspects. Nonnus is the peak of a process started by Callimachus, whose rules Nonnus applied strictly.[6] His works are also the compendium of all the rules applied, more or less skilfully, in all the Egyptian hexameter poetry in Greek until the end of Antiquity. It would be a serious mistake to think that between Callimachus and Nonnus there was a gap, since, in spite of the poor preservation of the hexameter poetry in Imperial times, we can

1 Wifstrand 1933, 75–7.
2 Arist. *Po.* 1459b.18–19, 1459b.31–1460a.4.
3 Cf. Hardie 1983, 86.
4 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 290.
5 Cf. general introductions to Nonnian metrics: Maas 1962, §§20–5, 90–100, 120–5, 137–41; Wifstrand 1933, 3–77; Keydell 1959, 35*-42*; Keydell 1936c, 912–14; Vian 1976, l-lv. Livrea 1989, 65–8 does not find any substantial difference between the metrics of the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrase.* In that he coincides with Golega 1930, 27–8. Along the same line, cf. the analyses by De Stefani 2002, 36–42; Livrea 2000, 106–12; Agosti 2003b, 175–210; Greco 2004, 40; Accorinti 1996, 67–75.
6 Although there are some exceptions: cf. Wifstrand 1933, 64 ff.

see that the Panopolite's metrics is the result of a gradual development and the influence on him from previous authors. The evolution can be traced in the *Halieutica* and *Cynegetica*, Quintus of Smyrna's *Posthomerica* and Triphiodorus' *Sack of Troy.*[7]

The clearest approximation is the one perceived in Quintus of Smyrna:[8] he reduces the number of spondees drastically, favours the feminine caesura, avoids spondaic and monosyllabic clauses and the penthemimeres caesura, and easily accepts word ending after dactyls in the first two feet when the caesura is feminine.

Triphiodorus[9] uses 17 hexameter forms. He tolerates several consecutive spondaic feet, but spondees are rare, particularly in the third and fifth feet and 176 lines out of the 691 are holodactylic (25.47 %). He admits more elisions than Nonnus[10] and avoids hiatus, but not semihiatus.[11] He does not always respect Hilberg's bridge (there is no word end in second spondaic foot, save in l. 99), Hermann's bridge (not in l. 54), or Naeke's law (with exceptions: 5, 52, 148, 408, 461, 641). 153 of instances of penthemimeres are found (22.14 %), a higher proportion than in Nonnus. A key difference with the author of the *Dionysiaca* is that in the *Sack of Troy* there is no trace of concern about the accent.[12]

Another pre-Nonnian link is the *Codex Visionum,* which is of great interest for the history of the Christian hexameter.[13] The *Visio Dorothei* (**40.1**) presents an average of 4.06 dactyls per line (there are 4.21 in the *Dionysiaca* and 4.25 in the *Paraphrase*), although it does not follow such strict metric rules as Nonnus.[14] Dorotheus uses 19 different hexam-

7 On contemporary fragments, cf. Whitby 1994, 123–9. About metrics in both Oppians, cf. Silva 1999a, 1999b. On Quintus of Smyrna and Triphiodorus, cf. bibliography quoted in the following notes.

8 Cf. Whitby 1994, 114, 118; Wifstrand 1933, 35–6; West 1982, 177–8; Vian 1959, 227–49.

9 Weinberger 1896, 161–79; Wifstrand 1933, 3–77; Ferrari 1962, 123–33; Cameron 1970b, 478–82; Gerlaud 1982, 52–4.

10 Triph. 273 (μ' ἔρεξαν), 301 (ἔλκετ'), 418 (τ' ἀγαθὴν), 421 (ὑλάουσ'), 436 (Ἔρρ'), 451 (δ' ὀλίγοις), 638 (ᾐδέσαθ'), 650 (ἀνθ').

11 Triph. 128 (προφερέστεραι ἦ), 161 (σακεσπάλῳ Αἰγιαλῆι), 379 (που ἤδη), 535 (ἐπεὶ οὖν). Due to imitation of Homer: 296, 302, 465, 399, 671.

12 He does not fulfil any of the two Wifstrand's laws: cf. Wifstrand 1933, 3–25.

13 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 295, 299–301. On Christian attitude towards metre, cf. Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 359 ff.; Quacquarelli 1985, 434–5. We are to bear in mind that there is no Christian hexameter as such: cf. Agosti 2004a, 61.

14 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 311. Nevertheless it still includes some lines with three spondees and even one with four (342): *ibid*. 311–12.

eter forms, but the first three (ddddd, sdddd, dsddd) represent more than 69 % of the total and are the more successful in all the history of the hexameter.[15] The percentage of feminine caesurae (66.89 %) is lower than the one in the *Dionysiaca* (81.1 %). Masculine caesurae (33.11 %) are usually accompanied by a hepthemimeres, a bucolic dieresis, or both.[16] Dorotheus seems to be unconcerned about respecting the bridges inside lines[17] and about accentuation in the clause or before caesura.[18] To all this a number of prosodic peculiarities must be added.[19] Obviously, it is a Homerising hexameter, not because of a conscious opposition to different metric options, but rather as an assumption of epic models,[20] probably addressed to a public incapable of differentiating quantities.[21]

Vian[22] lists the metric characteristics of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*:[23]

1. The dactyl predominates: Homer uses 32 hexameter variants, Callimachus 20, whereas Nonnus only 9,[24] out of which the commonest five for the first five feet are ddddd, dsddd, dddsd, dsdsd, sdddd, with a minimum spondaic presence. Two consecutive spondees are avoided, also the spondee in the fifth foot and the lines with three, four and five spondees. The verse is, therefore, uniform as far as rhythm and length are concerned (usually 16 or 17 syllables) and words containing dactyls are preferred to those that are spondaic. The use of long monosyllables (except καί, οὐ, μή) is more restricted too.
2. Caesurae and word ends are also clearly fixed. Most lines are split into two by a feminine caesura, although masculine caesurae also occur.[25]

15 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 314–15.
16 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 317–21.
17 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 325–7.
18 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 329–33.
19 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 333–51.
20 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 351. Gonnelli (in Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 391–3, 407) reaches a similar conclusion about the *Paraphrase of the Psalms* by Ps. Apollinar when comparing it with Nonnus.
21 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 357.
22 Vian 1976, l-lv; Agosti 2004b, 35–7. Still a must: Keydell 1959, 35*-42*.
23 The differences with the metrics of the *Paraphrase* are minimal and usually due to the need for accomodation to the evangelic model. Cf. Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 295–7, 408.
24 It is even more reduced later: the *ecphraseis* by Paul the Silentiary include only six forms (dsddd – ddddd – dsdsd – dddsd – sdddd – sddsd). Cf. Caiazzo 1982.
25 On the generalisation of 'strong caesura' from Hellenistic times, cf. Agosti 2004a, 64–73. Cf. the useful chart in pp. 66–7: the preference for feminine caesurae is only inverted in the *Chaldean Oracles*, Porph. *VP* 22, Verg. *Ecl.* 4 (Greek

The latter combine with a hepthemimeres caesura, a bucolic dieresis or both. Word endings occur after the first foot or the second *anceps* in the first hemistich; if there is a word ending within the first foot, the next one will not finish before the caesura in the middle of the line.[26] Herman's bridge is strictly respected in the second hemistich (there is no word ending between the two brief syllables in the fourth foot) and the word ending after the fifth *longa* is avoided when there is a word ending after the third or fourth *longa*.[27] All this boosts the use of long words and explains the occurrence of lines (almost) exclusively composed with them.

3. The intensity accent, which had been developing in Greek poetry after Babrius,[28] is clearly present in Nonnus. We do not know if he (and his public) was still sensitive to quantities: it has been debated, but no clear conclusion has been reached.[29] Before the first masculine caesura in the first hemistich, there is

   –⏑⏑–⏑◡–|| or –⏑⏑–◡́–||

   and before a feminine caesura:

   –⏑⏑–⏑⏑–◡́◡|| or –⏑⏑–⏑⏑◡̂◡|| or –⏑⏑–⏑◡́–◡|| or –⏑⏑– | ⏑⏑–◡́||

   In the second hemistich, before the final long vowel syllable:

   –⏑⏑–◡́– or –⏑⏑–◡́ or –⏑⏑–◡̂

   before the final short vowel syllable:

   –⏑⏑◡̂– or –⏑⏑–◡́⏑⏑ (or –⏑⏑–◡́ with δέ, γάρ, αὐτός)

   from which it can be inferred that final proparoxytones are forbidden.[30]

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transl.) and Eudoc. *S. Cypr.*; higher percentages than the average are found in Claud. *Gig. gr.*, [Apol.] *Met. Ps.*, Eudoc. ἀπολ., *AP* 1.119 and *AP* 1.10.42–76.

26 Thus in the first hemistich we do not find the patterns ēĕ|ĕēĕĕ|ē(ĕ), ē|ĕĕēĕ|ĕē(ĕ), ēĕ|ĕēĕ|ĕē(ĕ).

27 Cf. Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 385.

28 Maas 1929, §§19–22; Luzzatto 1985; Brioso Sánchez 1972b, 103–12; West 1982, 159–60, 162–4.

29 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, ch. I, esp. p. 35 (Nonnus was sensitive). *Contra*, Keydell 1961b, 52: "Der Hexameter des Nonnos wurde also nach dem Wortaccent gelesen, aber mit künstlicher Dehnung der langen Silben". Cf. also Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 357 (the élite has learned to distinguish quantities at school), quoting TLond. inv. GR 1906.10–20.2 (Cribiore 1993), a 5th-c. school copy exercise of *Il.* 1.468–73 with some signs of quantity.

30 Triph. does not take into account the accentuation rules in medial caesura and in the hepthemimeres, which are so important for Nonnus (cf. esp. Wifstrand 1933, 75–7): is it a proof that it was Nonnus who imposed it and that it was transmitted

To this we can add that Nonnus avoids hiatus (and, in general, semihiatus), elision, lengthening due to possition, *correptio*[31] and contractions.[32]

Besides, Nonnus, as all late epic poets, understands the hexameter as a unit:[33] periods lose importance, enjambments are reduced, and the clear delimitation of these units makes it unadvisable to repeat line endings. The resulting hexameter is much more 'rounded', as well as regular or repetitive, depending on the angle from which it is looked at. One might think that, as smaller units are its basis, the composition would turn out to be easier, but in the papyrus fragments we find some poets incapable of building them without breaking the composition and without enjambements prompting unnatural turns of phrase and short abrupt sentences in the second line.[34]

In general such restrictive metrics is very demanding: to master it completely, poets needed not only to be talented but also to devote time to practice and to have at hand well trained professionals capable of transmitting all its rules. In fact, behind the 'defective' compositions found in papyri[35] we may imagine challenged individuals, but also pupils

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through imitation to all later hexametric poetry? Not really: we cannot prove that Nonnus was the first poet who used such a strict accentuation. It is not even possible to establish a relative chronology: Triph. is more attached to Homer than Nonnus, but we do not have objective evidence showing that his contemporaries did not have different styles. Among texts prior to Nonnus, this regulation does not appear in **39.** *Blemmyomachy* (cf. Livrea 1978b, 112), or in **41.2** *Cosmogony* (Gigli 1990, 49–50); among later authors, Collut. uses final proparoxytones in a 4.56% (cf. Nardelli 1982, 329) and in one case in Cyrus of Panopolis (Cameron 1982, 226); Agathias and Paul the Silentiary comply to the rule in stichich hexameters, but not so much in the distich (Mattsson 1942, 166). On apparent exceptions in Nonnus, cf. Agosti 2004a, 73–7.

31 Cf. Maas 1962, §§120–41. The *correptio* was not forbidden, though: cf. De Stefani 2002, 42.

32 Keydell 1959, 43*. Except in clusters such as χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης (*Dion.* 2.603, 13.358, 19.44, 24.314, 34.119, 42.417, 47.653), gen. of names ending in -ως and -ω (αἰδοῦς: *Dion.* 16.50; 42.129, 217, 361), nom. and acc. of choriambic adjectives ending in -ής (ἡδυμελῆ: *Dion.* 1.39, 466; 20.332).

33 Cf. Maas 1962, §22; Wifstrand 1933, 138.

34 Cf. the broken progress in **15.** Encomium on Theon the gymnasiarch, where the enjambments are not connected (ll. 1–2, 4–5, 10–11, 12–13, 16–17); **29.** Athena's words to Achilles are termed by the editor as a work by "a writer incapable of thinking more than one line at a time" (*ed. pr.*, p. 13).

35 **29.** Athena's words to Achilles does not respect the restrictions of the line ends and does not know the line end accentuation; on the contrary, **26.1** Hesiod inspired by the Muses takes into account Hermann's bridge, though in l. 22 Naeke's law is violated, and adjusts to the accent law (v. 27). Nevertheless,

of teachers who did not master the complexity of the rules. What seems to have been easier is to give a composition the suitable phraseologic varnish turning to Homeric constructions and words that had become 'popular' at the time.[36]

What are the stylistic consequences of metric restriction? Some general ones follow:[37]

- As there are few caesurae and strong breaks in and after the second *biceps*, the use of long words, like polysyllabic epithets, is prompted, together with those multi-prefixed verbs, which are so characteristic of late antique poetry.
- As spondees are concentrated at the beginning and end of each line, the same thing occurs with spondaic oblique cases of nouns and adjectives and also with the singular masculine nominative of the present participle and aorist.
- The accentuation rules for line endings cause the poets to put the majority of finite verbs in historical tenses, not at the end of each line as was customary, but before the medial caesura.
- The reduction of spondees favours the use of dactylic rhythm words.[38]
- As elision is avoided and caesurae are reduced, the use of particles decreases.

There are also more specific consequences,[39] like the abundant use of adverbs ending in -ηδόν (ἀγεληδόν, ἑλικηδόν, στεφανηδόν, στοιχηδόν) before the feminine caesura, since their pattern ⏑̲–⏑ fits perfectly between the trihemimeres and the feminine caesura. The same occurs with the expression κατὰ βαιόν.

On the other hand, in quite the opposite direction, the taste for the creation and use of compounds, as well as the accumulation of adjectives

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some compositions extant on papyrus stick to the whole Nonnian ensemble of rules: **48.** Asteria?

36 Cf. e.g. **43.** Farewell to a dux of Thebes, not taking metrical rules into account, but employing terms characteristic of Nonnus such as ἀνάλθητος, βαρύδεσμος, ζηλήμων, μῶμον ἀνάπτειν, πασσυδόν, πότμον ὑφαίνειν, πωτήεις, σαόπτολις, σταχυώδης, ὄμμα τιταίνειν. Cf. Vitelli 1903, col. 150, n. 2. σαόπτολις appears as well in **23.** Encomium on a contemporary (PSI 3.249, line 30), together with other 'Nonnian' expressions, though in this case apparently we have as well a metric correspondence. Cf. **46.** Encomium on Heraclius after his campaign in Egypt (PSI 3.253), *ed. pr.*, notes *ad loc.*, joining metrics and vocabulary.

37 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 79.

38 E.g. words in -άς -άδος such as ἀγριάς, Ἀδριάς… Cf. Ludwich 1873, 105.

39 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 4–8; Whitby 1994, 105, 109.

and participles, favour the *versus tetracolos*.[40] It was already present in Homer on very precise occasions,[41] but it became a more and more frequent choice of the poets at this time:[42] 1:17 in Triphiodorus, 1:15 in *D.* bks. 1–15 (but 1:34 in the *Paraphrase*, perhaps because the evangelic model calls for it),[43] 1:16 in Colluthus, 1:18 in Musaeus. Its appearance seems to have had an expressive function:[44] Vian's study on canto 48 of the *Dionysiaca* reveals that they are less frequent in direct speech, as it requires a freer expression, which would be hampered by the heaviness of long words in a *tetracolos*.[45]

Jeffreys[46] relates the characteristics of the so-called 'Nonnian' hexameter to its context: such a strict application of metric rules might have been due to the rivalry of poets to attract patrons. Also the rules themselves might have been aimed at producing a hexameter which was clearly recognisable through its rhythm and metrics when recited in public,[47] the milieu of both with institutional and private poetry.[48]

Though the present work is concerned with hexametric poetry, the iambus is going to be dealt with briefly,[49] as it is found in the prologues of some hexametric poems on papyrus,[50] several of the works in Photius' *codex* 279, Dioscorus of Aphrodito[51] and in the prologues of Agathias' *Cycle* and the *Descriptions* by Paul the Silentiary and John of Gaza.

Within the poems mentioned in Chapter 1, this group is limited, as is the use of the iambus in the Greek literature of this period, restricted to

40 Basset 1919; Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 322–4.
41 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 381; Basset 1919, 217–29.
42 Cf. the data in Basset 1919, 230, 233.
43 Cf. Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 381–2.
44 Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 323. There is a significant concentration of *tetracoloi* in certain passages of the *Paraphrase:* 1.210–6, 2.13 and 15, 4.183–4…
45 Cf. Vian 2003, 215–19.
46 Jeffreys 1981, 317–19; Lauxtermann 1999, 71; Agosti 2003b, 208.
47 Jeffreys 1981, 318; Agosti – Gonnelli 1995–6, 408; Agosti 2004a, 64; 2004b, 37–44.
48 About the aural and agonistic dimension of contemporary literature, cf. Agosti 2004b, 7–18; 2006a, 33–60.
49 Cf. the overall panorama in Agosti 2001b.
50 **23.** Encomium on a contemporary (PSI 2.149), **27.** Encomium on Maximus (*P.Vindob.* gr. 29788 a-b + 29474), **32.** Encomia on a teacher from Beryto (*P.Berol.* 10559 a and b), **54.3.** 'Song of the Day' (*P.Vindob. gr.* 29788 A-C), **60.** Encomium of Archelas (*P.Ant.* 3.115).
51 12, 21, 22, 23, 25 Fournet. Analysis in Fournet 1999, 270–88.

Christian polemic (*De virtute* by Gregory of Nazianzus, *Iambi ad Seleucum* by Amphilochius of Iconium) or cases as exceptional as Palladas'. Apparently it was excluded from 'serious' literature and used in situations which were more in line with its colloquial implications:[52] epigraphic poetry[53] and prologues to 'serious' compositions, fashionably endowed with a lighter and even comic complement.[54] It is useful to recall that Aristophanes was a well appreciated author in Late Antiquity and was read in schools.[55]

These iambic proems have a notably rhetorical character: they are the verse counterpart of rhetoric *prolaliae* and *dialexeis*,[56] perceived in their structure (introduction of the topic, magnification of the content, influence of the topic on the poet's mind, *captatio benevolentiae*, transition to the central body of the poem), and in the development of theoretical premises, which are the same as those of prose.[57] This is hardly surprising, as in some of them it is explicitly stated that they have been produced at school: John of Gaza says that he has discarded the topic he had previously chosen for his speech to deal with the one suggested by his teachers.[58] Also, the author of the encomium on the dead teacher says that, in eulogising him, he is taking his teacher's place as an encomiast of others.[59] We can thus infer that both are keeping to the methods that had been explained to them.

52 Agosti 2001b, 222–3. Cf. Arist. *Po.* 1449a.23–8 and Demetr. *De eloc.* 43.

53 Peek 1955, ns. 246 (Thracia, 2nd-3rd), 538 (Amorgos, 2nd-3rd), 722 (beginning of the 2nd c. AD = Merkelbach-Stauber 1998–2004, *23/34 = 20/27/02*), 772 (beginning of the 2nd c. AD); Robert 1948, 21 (= Merkelbach-Stauber 1998–2004, *03/02/07*), 65 (= Merkelbach-Stauber 1998–2004, *16/61/05*), 68, 75. Cf. also Agosti 1997a.

54 Cf. Viljamaa 1968, 68–97; Cameron 1970a.

55 Cavallo 1986, 113–17. Late antique interest in comedy is reflected in the number of preserved Aristophanes' papyri, although we do not know to what extent they reflect the real situation.

56 Cf. Viljamaa 1968, 71–84.

57 Viljamaa (*ibid.*) always has in mind Men. Rh.'s suggestions for the prologue (368.9 ff., 369.17).

58 Io. Gaz. *Ekphr.* I *iamb.* 9–11: Ἐγὼ δ' ἀγῶνα περιλαβὼν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν / ἄλλον βαδίζειν τοῖς λόγοισιν ᾠόμην· / ὅν νῦν παρῆκα δεσπόταις πεπεισμένος. Comm. by Friedländer 1912b, p. 94, n. 1 and p. 165, n. to 11.

59 **32.** Encomia of a teacher of Beryto: *P.Berol.* 10559 a.8–12: ὑ[με]ῖς τε πάντες ὑποθέσεως ἄλλης ὅρ̣ο̣ν̣ / ο]ὐκ ἂν προθύμως ἡδέως τ' ἠκ[ού]ετε, / εἰ μὴ τὸν ἄνδρα [τ]ουτονὶ τεθνηκότα / λόγοις [ἐτί]μων, οἷς ἐτ[ί]μα πολλάκις / ἄλλ[ο]υ̣ς [ἐκ]εῖνος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸς λέγειν.

Due to its associations with light subject matter and particularly with comedy, the iambic trimeter was the natural choice for prologues. Both in metrics (violation of Porson's law, resolutions) and in language these poems have comic texts as referents, which are displayed in quotations (in his prologue John of Gaza quotes Menander)[60] and direct references, like in *P.Berol.* 10559 a. 31–2 (**32.**):[61]

καὶ νῦ]ν ἰά[μ]βων κωμικῶν πεπαυμέν[ος
ἡρῷ᾽ ἔπη τ]ὸ λοιπὸν εἰσκυκλήσομ[αι.

2. Adjectives: how and when

Γλυκεῖα γὰρ λέξις καὶ ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐπιθέτων ὀνομάτων… καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν δὲ ποίησιν φύσει οὖσαν γλυκεῖαν παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἐκφαίνεται τὰ ἐπίθετα καὶ γλυκύτερά πως ὄντα καὶ πλείονα ποιοῦντα τὴν ἡδονήν. ταῦτά τοι καὶ ὁ Στησίχορος σφόδρα ἡδὺς εἶναι δοκεῖ διὰ τὸ πολλοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις (Hermog. *Id.* 338.20–339.1).[62]

Wifstrand said that the most outstanding feature for a reader who first approaches Nonnus' poetry is the use of adjectives.[63] It is true that adjectives are abundant, above all in comparison with previous poetry: whereas in AR 2.1–100 there are about 40 (including those in predicative use) and in [Theocr] 25.50–150 fewer than 40, in Nonn. *D.* 2.1–100 there are over 120.[64] Obviously, with such a *ratio*, on many occasions there is more than one per line and more than one per substantive,[65] prompting

60 Viljamaa 1968, 84–92; Cameron 1970a, 123–4.

61 Cf. Viljamaa 1968, 84: "The word 'comic' here applies to the form [85] only, for the contents of the poem are by no means comic".

62 "A sweet style is also one that uses epithets… In poetry, which is naturally sweet in comparison with prose, epithets seem to be sweeter in some way and to give even more pleasure. The poetry of Stesichorus seems to be very sweet because he uses a lot of epithets". Transl. from Wooten 1987.

63 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 79. On adjectival morphology: cf. Keydell 1959, 44*; Weinberger 1896, 129; De Stefani 2002, 33.

64 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 80.

65 E.g. in Nonn. *D.* 3.1–100 lines 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 21, 23, 26, 27, 28, 32, 38, 43, 46, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 67, 69, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 87, 91, 93, 98 and 99 have more than one adjective, that is 41 out of 100 lines, or *c.* 4 out of 10. Some times we find lines such as *D.* 39.92 (ἀγχινεφής, ἀκίχητος, ἀνούτατος, ἠέρι γείτων). Regarding substantives with more than one adjective, cf. in *D.* 3.1–100: 13–14 (λάλος τρύζουσα χελιδὼν / ἀρτιφανής), 15–16 (εἰαριναῖς… ἐέρσαις / ζωογόνοις), 63 (Κνώσσιον… σακεσπάλον ἅλμα χορείης), 75–6 (θιασώδεες… αὐλοὶ / ἄζυγες), 76 (Κρονίη κεραοξόος… τέχνη), 79 (ὀρθρινῆς… ἀσιγήτοιο

a very nominal style, consolidated by its attributive use[66] and by the frequency of adnominal participles.[67] This nominalisation of style is directly related to the aesthetics of the time, always looking for more solemn forms.[68]

Adjectives are also noticeable for their length[69] (among others for metric reasons: reduced number of caesurae, highly controlled word endings) and for their powerful semantic load, which nevertheless weakens because of their mutual rivalry.[70] Both characteristics are associated with a third: many of them are derivative or compound adjectives.

Thus, in *D.* 3.1–100 there is a number of adjectives with negative prefixes, some of which are fairly common in the *Dionysiaca.*[71] They are also abundant in the Homeric poems, above all in descriptive parts, as they have an added emotional or ethical value which makes them too expressive for narrative parts.[72] The nature of the Nonnian narrator, however, is completely different and the powerful presence of adjectives with a privative ἀ- is instead related to their presence in descriptions of the indescribable, adding a mysterius, obscure and intricate nuance.[73]

As for the presence of prefixed[74] and derivative[75] adjectives, it is a direct consequence of his preference for long words and eagerness to spec-

βοείης), 82–3 (καὶ πόλιν ἰχνεύων… Κάδμος ὁδίτης / νῆα λιπὼν ἑτάροισιν ἀπόσσυτος), 87 (ἀργυρέην εὔκυκλον… κάλπιν), 91 (συμπλεκέων… ἐπασσυτέρων… πέπλων), 98 (γλαυκωπὸν ὑπὸ σκέπας ἁβρὸν ἐλαίης).

66 Wifstrand 1933, 81. E.g. he quotes 2.169 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἀνέμιμνεν ἐγερσιμόθου φάος Ἠοῦς (but 38.9 ἀμφοτέροις ἀνέτελλε γαληναίης φάος Ἠοῦς).

67 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 81–2. Cf. e.g. 3.4 (λούετο παχνήεντα δεδυκότος ἴχνια Ταύρου).

68 Cf. Hermog. *Id.* 249.12–16.

69 E.g. in Nonn. *D.* 3.1–10 we find 9 adjectives of more than three syllables (ἀννεφέλῳ, φαεσφόρα, παχνήεντα, δεδυκότος, ὀμβροτόκοιο, ἀβρέκτοισιν, μετανάστιον, δουρατέῳ, πεπηγότος).

70 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 81, 83–4.

71 2 ἀννεφέλῳ, 6 ἀβρέκτοισιν, 35 ἀχείμονα, 36 ἀκυμάντοισι, 43 ἀλοιμήτου, 45 ἀκυμάντου, 54 ἄψυφον and ἀλήτης, 60 ἄπλοα, 76 ἄζυγες, 79 ἀσιγήτοιο, 95 ἀσημάντοιο. On the popularity of the group compounded by ἄβρεκτος, ἄβροχος, ἀδίαντος, ἄκλυστος, cf. Peek, *s.vv.* In contrast, the usual ἀθάνατος appears very few times in adnominal uses in the *D.* (9.85, 191; 10.131, 195; 25.242; 31.95).

72 Cf. Griffin 1986, 44–5.

73 Cf. Gigli Piccardi 1990, 141–2 (n. to 1v). On the use of *Negativ-Beschreibung* in the *Imagines* of the Philostrati, cf. Noack-Hilgers 1999, 215–16.

74 Cf. ἀντίπορος in 3.58, 71: a very common adjective in Nonnus, as are another two very similar ones, ἀντικέλευθος and ἀντίτυπος (cf. Peek, *s.vv.*); 3.64 ἐρισμαράγου, with the prefix ἐρι-; 3.17 ὑψιλόφου, with the ὑψι- Nonnus appears to be keen on (cf. Peek, pp. 1657–9, esp. ὑψιφανής: it does not appear in any of the prior epic

ify everything down to the most insignificant detail, shared by all late antique poetry. Adjective composition is doubtless one of the most important aspects of late epic, on account of its complexity and recurrence,[76] but also because it has a direct relationship with the search for a grandiloquent style.[77] The old Homeric adjectives are still in use[78]

3.76 …οὓς Κρονίη κεραοξόος εὕρατο τέχνη

like in *Il.* 4.110 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀσκήσας κεραοξόος ἤραρε τέκτων or in Opp. *Cyn.* 2.509. Nonnus also resorts to others which entered the epic lexicon later, for instance,

3.39 εἰς Σάμον ἀντικέλευθον ἐγερσιμόθοιο Καμάνδρου

where ἐγερσιμόθοιο comes from Opp. *C.* 1.207.[79] The same Homeric adjectives are applied to new contexts: ταλαεργός (as in 3.86 [Πειθώ] οἵα γυνὴ ταλαεργός…) in a Homeric or Hesiodic context is applied to mules, not to women or, even less, to goddesses who take the shape of a woman.[80] Others shift from an active meaning on to a passive one

poets nor in Nonnus' heirs, only in Bacchyl. *Epinicia* 14.5) and the prefix is present in the Homeric poems in formulae such as Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης (*Il.* 1.354), Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος (*Il.* 4.166) or αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης (*Il.* 12.201).

75 In -ιος (42 μαντίες, 43 Σαμίης, 48 πετραῖος, 53 ἑσπερίην, 61 ἑώιος, 76 Κρονίη, 80 Σιδόνιοι, 81 ἀκταίης), often with masculine form instead of feminine for metric reasons (Keydell 1959, 44–5*); in -εος (8 δουρατέῳ, 55 πορφυρέοιο, 87 ἀργυρέην, 90 γλαφυροῖς, 91 συμπλεκέων)…

76 Cf. in Nonn. *D.* 3.1–100: 2 φαεσφόρα, 5 ὀμβροτόκοιο, 16 ζωογόνοις, 28 ἰθυπόρου, 37 ὑγρονόμοιο, 39 ἐγερσιμόθοιο, 57 λιμενοσκόπος, 62 ἐρημονόμων, 63 σακεσπάλον, 73 μυστιπόλων, 74 φιλοκύλακος, 76 κεραοξόος, 81 ἁλίκτοπα, 82 θαλαμηπόλος, 85 ἀχθοφόρου, 86 ταλαεργός, 89 ζωογόνοις, 92 πολυκάρθμοισιν, 93 ὁμοζήλοισι, 96 ξεινοδόκου, 98 γλαυκωπὸν.

77 Cf. Dem. *De eloc.* 92 ἕξει μέντοι τὸ σύνθετον ὄνομα ὁμοῦ καὶ ποικιλίαν τινὰ ἐκ τῆς συνθέσεως καὶ μέγεθος, καὶ ἅμα καὶ συντομίαν τινά ("A compound word, because of its composite nature, will also provide a certain ornamental variety and dignity, as well as brevity"). Transl.: Grube 1961.

78 Cf. Accorinti 1996, 51: "La ripresa che il poeta fa degli epiteti epici ha però un marcato carattere di innovazione [52] che risulterebbe da almeno tre fattori: a) rarità del loro impiego nell'originale sede metrica di Omero, cui N. preferisce la collocazione degli epiteti davanti a cesura trocaica; b) risemantizzazione degli epiteti omerici, che in *P.* è soprattutto motivata dal contesto cristiano e da un vocabolario metaforico; c) trasformazione di sostantivi omerici in epiteti con funzione aggetivale e, viceversa, ma meno frequente, derivazione di nomi da aggetivi omerici".

79 Cf. Vian 1976, n. to 2.169; Chuvin 1976, n. to 3.39.

80 Cf. *Il.* 23.654, 662, 666; *Od.* 4.636, 11.23; Hes. *Op.* 46, 791, 796. Cf., nevertheless, AR 4.1062 (γυνὴ ταλαεργός) and Opp. *H.* 5.20 (οὐρήων ταλαεργὸν ἔχειν πόνον

and *vice versa.*[81] A clear case is that of πολύκμητος: in Homer and Apollonius Rhodius it has a passive meaning ('wrought with much toil', 'elaborate'), but in Oppian, Quintus of Smyrna, Triphiodorus and Nonnus it is active or causative.[82]

Very interesting conclusions can be drawn from the evolution of these adjectives. For example, at Nonn. *D.* 3.1–2 we read

> ἄκρα δὲ φαίνων / ἀννεφέλῳ τελαμῶνι φαεσφόρα νῶτα μαχαίρης ("displaying with his cloudless baldric the glittering surface of his sword").

Neither φαεσφόρος nor φώσφορος appear in Homer or Hesiod, but both forms are found in the Tragedians.[83] Callimachus (*in Dianam* 11, 204) and Apollonius Rhodius (4.885) use the open form. However, in the *Cynegetica* (2.14 ἱππαλέην δ' ἄγρην ὁ φαεσφόρος εὕρετο Κάστωρ), the *Posthomerica* (2.186 τῆμος ἀρήιον υἷα φαεσφόρου Ἠριγενείης, 2.656 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐννεσίησι φαεσφόρου Ἠριγενείης), Nonnus[84] and Musaeus (*Hero* 218, 256) it is located between the feminine and the bucolic caesurae: the poets keep inheriting formulas of post-Homeric creation associated with a fixed position in line.

ἑλκυστῆρα). The rest of the occurrences in the *Dionysiaca* is linked as well to persons (2.64 ταλαεργὸς ἀροτρεὺς, 24.274 ταλαεργὸς Ἀθήνη, 33.275 γυνὴ ταλαεργός). In the *Paraphrase*, cf. 12.64, 19.220. Cf. Giangrande 1970, 88.

81 Giangrande 1970, 86.

82 Cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.48 (= 10.379, 11.133; *Od.* 14.324, 21.10) and *Od.* 4.718 (πολυκμήτου θαλάμοιο); AR 4.1133 (πολυκμήτοιό… ἐλαίης), 1189 (πολυκμήτους ἑανοὺς). On the contrary, causative active sense: Opp. *H.* 2.504 (πολυκμήτοισιν ἀέθλοις), 519 (πολυκμήτων ὀδυνάων); QS 5.649 (αὐτός, ἐπεί οἱ σῶμα πολύκμητος χάδε γαῖα), 7.20 (πολύκμητῳ ὑπ' Ἄρηι), 7.424 (πολέμοιο πολυκμήτοιο), 9.476 (πολυκμήτῳ ἐν ἀλωῇ); Triph. 1 (πολυκμήτοιο… πολέμοιο); Nonn. *D.* 40.281–2 (πολυκμήτοιο… / …πολέμοιο). Active sense: QS 3.203 (ἀνδρὶ πολυκμήτῳ), 8.397 (πολυκμήτων ἀπὸ χειρῶν), 9.173 (πολύκμητοι ἁλιῆες), 11.310 (πολυκμήτων ἀπὸ γόμφων); Nonn. *D.* 7.55 (related to people: πολυκμήτων μερόπων). On the use of the term in Quintus, cf. Vian – Battegay 1984, *s.v.*

83 Open form: A. *Ag.* 489; Eur. *Cycl.* 462, *Hel.* 629. Contract form: Eur. *Cycl.* 611, *IT* 21, *Hel.* 569.

84 Cf. *D.* 1.221; 3.2; 5.167; 7.302; 15.280; 16.47; 26.136; 31.147; 35.242; 37.91; 38.132, 144; 47.331; *P.* 9.28, 39. On the contrary, the contract form, the star Φωσφόρος, a 'convenient' word for Nonnus, due to its dactylic rhythm, is located in different feet: in the first (*D.* 12.9, 29.19, 38.288; cf. as well *AP.* 5.223.1, 6.267.1, 7.88.1), the second (1.169), the fourth (1.205, 11.25, 21.311) or the fifth (4.138; 38.307, 332).

Besides, this is a very suitable field for the creation of neologisms, a useful position to assess a poet's quality. Let us consider, for example, Nonnus:[85]

D. 3.37 Τρώιον ὑγρονόμοιο διασχίζων πόρον Ἕλλης

ὑγρόνομος appears only in Nonnus, but he did not create it *ex nihilo*, but in parallel to the adjectives ending in -νόμος / -ʹνομος, fairly frequent in the *Dionysiaca.*[86] On other occasions, Nonnus merely creates a new adjective in an already existing family, sometimes through a complex distillation: ὑγροπόρος βοῦς (*D.* 1.50) is a variation on Moschus *Eur.* 49 θηεῦντο δὲ ποντοπόρον βοῦν, echoing the Homeric clause ποντοπόρος νηῦς (*Od.* 12.69 *et al.*), where the poet plays with the analogy of νηῦς and βοῦς and the etymology of Bosphorus.[87]

Besides, in this type of creation, each poet has his own taste, sometimes the natural consequence of the content of his poem or of his own stylistic choice: Triphiodorus seems to favour neologisms in νεο- and -πεζα,[88] whereas the compounds in -ώδης[89] or in -φυής[90] are plentiful in the *Dionysiaca*[91] and the compounds in -φόνος abound in the panegyrics of emperors and members of Byzantine aristocracy.[92]

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85 Nevertheless, we should be careful when analysing *hapax*, as the lost volume of imperial poetry prevents us from knowing exactly the diachronic evolution of those terms.

86 Ὑγρονόμος appears once more in *D.* 14.42 (δαίμονες ὑγρονόμοις μανιώδεες). Cf. 3.62 ἐρημονόμων (6.143, 13.344, 14.68 *al.*), but there are many more: ἀγρονόμος (1.94, 117, 329 *al.*), μηλονόμος (5.297, 15.18, 265 *al*), ὀρεσσινόμος (11.79, 89; 21.205). We find similar developments in Quintus: cf. Giangrande 1986, 44–6.

87 Cf. Whitby 1994, 104.

88 Cf. Gerlaud 1982, p. 52, n. 3. Cf. 332 νεογλυφής, 255 νεόξεστος (besides he uses 155 νεοζυγής, 676 νεοτευχής; to be compared with the uses in Nonnus: Peek, pp. 1076–80); 66 πορφυρόπεζα, 210 αχλυόπεζα (cf. Campbell 1985, 66 APP.; Nonnus uses only ἀργυρόπεζα, χιονόπεζα and κυανόπεζα; cf. Peek, *s.vv.*).

89 Cf. Peek *s.vv.* ἀνεμώδης, δυκανώδης, ἑλικώδης, εὐώδης, θιασσώδης, θυώδης, κισσώδης, ὀφιώδης, πετρώδης, πιτυώδης, πυρώδης, χιονώδης.

90 Cf. Peek *s.vv.* καλλιφυής, λευκοφυής, λεπτοφυής. On the words in -φυής, cf. James 1970b, 45 ff.

91 About the most frequent compound in Nonnian poems, cf. Ludwich 1873, 99–105. Initial composites:
- prepositions, adverbs, inseparable preverbs and numerals: ἀγχί-, ἀμφι-, ἀντι-, ἀρτι-, δι-, διδυ-, δυσ-, ἐπ-, ἑπτα-, ἑτερ(ο)-, εὐ-, λιπό-, ὀπισθο-, ὀψι-, παλιγ-, περι-, προ-, συγ-, ὑπο-;

There is a type of compound, very common at this time, the second element of which is synonymous with the noun which it accompanies: for example, Opp. *H.* 4.238 πυρὸς λευκάμπυκος αὐγή, Triph. 372 κυανάμπυκι κισσῷ, Nonn. *D.* 12.336 γαμψῶνυξ ἅρπη, Colluth. 249 ἀγχιδόμοισιν… μελάθροις. As Giangrande[93] has demonstrated, the second element is not only full of meaning, but also an erudite creation, typical of grammarian poets, who, by the means of a metaphoric use of the second element, provide a subtle nuance to the meaning of the whole syntagma.

Adjectives also prompt etymological games:

> 3.15–16 εἰαριναῖς ἐγέλασσε λελουμένον ἄνθος ἐέρσαις / ζωογόνοις

or surprise the reader with an oxymoron, at least apparent:[94]

> 3.73–4 μυστιπόλων ἀλαλαγμὸν ἐμιμήσαντο Καβείρων / ἔμφρονα λύσσαν ἔχοντα ("[lions] mimicked the triumphant cry of the priests of the Cabeiroi, sane in their madness").

Another aspect which is useful to keep in mind is adjective placement. As had been happening from Alexandrian times, a typically Homeric line ending, noun + attribute,[95] is rarely to be found: they were so common in Homer that they gradually 'depreciated'. Placing an adjective after its noun was avoided in all positions as early as Apollonius and Callimachus: if adjectives were placed in the Homeric poems without distinction before or after the noun which governed them, now their position before

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– adjectives: ἀγλαό-, αἰολό-, ἀκρο-, αὐτο-, βαρυ-, ἡμι-, ἰσ(ο)-, καλλι-, νεο-, ὁμ(ο)-, ὀξυ-, παν-, ποικιλ-, πολυ-, ταχύ-, ὑγρο-, ὠκυ-;
– substantives: ἁλι-, δολό-, δρακοντο-, θεη-, οἰνο-, ὀρεσσι-, πυρι-, ῥοδ-;
verbs: φερ-.

As for second elements: -βόλος, -βότος, -γαμος, -γενής, -γονος, -δινέος, -δοκος, -δρομος, -ειδης, -εργος, -ζυγής, -ήμονας, -θροος, -κέλευθος, -κόμος, -τυπος, -μανής, -μητις, -μυθος, -νομος, -νοος, -νωτος, -παγής, -πλανής, -πλεκής, -πλόκος, -ποδός, -πολος, -πονος, -πορος, -πτολις, -σσοος, -σσυτον, -στόλος, -σύνη, -τόκος, -τόμος, -τρεφέος, -τριχος, -τροπος, -φαής, -φανής, -φοιτος, -φόνος, -φόρος, -φρόνος, -φυής, -φυτος, -χιτων, -φυτος, -χροος, -χυτος, -ωδης, -ορος.

92 *AP* 2.299, 9.656 (Ἰσαυροφόνος), Paul.Sil. *Descr.Soph.* 137 (τυραννοφόνοις), 138 (Μηδοφόνων). Cf. Whitby 2003a, 597.

93 Giangrande 1973.

94 Ἔμφρων appears several times in a context of Bacchich frenzy: cf. 3.174; 5.106; 7.67, 124, 200; 13.487; 17.26, 115; 19.193; 24.238; 25.1; 26.202; 38.1, 316, 395, 608; 40.530; 41.215; 46.271; 47.144; 48. 913.

95 Wifstrand 1933, 84–98.

their noun became almost a rule.[96] Postpositive attributive adjectives usually occur before the medial caesura and are longer than their substantives.[97] Adjectives were placed before nouns apparently to highlight their importance,[98] but the abuse of this resource caused its devaluation and confinement to Homeric situations. To draw the reader's attention even more powerfully, one or several words could be introduced between the adjective and its noun, the distance between them emphasising their contribution to the line. It also explains Nonnus composes so many lines with an attribute at the beginning and a noun at the end:[99]

D. 15.39 στικτῆς εἰσορόων πολυδαίδαλον εἶδος ὀπωπῆς.

When, as is the case here, there are two nouns with one adjective each,[100] Nonnus turns to chiastic compositions (adj. a + adj. b + subst. b + subst. a), though more frequently the so-called 'golden line' (adj. a + adj. b + subst. a + subst. b) is found:

D. 15.185 γλαυκὰ *δασυστέρνων* ἐπεμάστιε νῶτα *λεόντων.*

This pattern is very typical of Nonnus and almost non-existent in the poets contemporary with him.[101]

In a similar manner, an adnominal genitive ("Genetiv statt des Adjektivs")[102] is used to enhance a wider *variatio* in adjectives and to avoid the endings of the Homeric lines (subst. + epithet): thus, Nonn. *D.* 1.286 ἠέρος ἄβροχος = ἠέριος ἄβροχος. This feature is typical of all late poetry from Dionysius Periegeta and the Oppians[103] and becomes even more complicated with the presence of adjectives (Nonn. *D.* 8.400 καὶ βρέφος ἠλιτόμηνον ἀδηλήτου τοκετοῖο).[104] The construction subst. + (subst. in gen. + subst. in gen.)[105] is still being used:

96 Wifstrand 1933, 98–133, esp. p. 127. Exceptions are to be found in QS and Triph., who preserve Homeric uses more faithfully, but they also tend to locate nouns after adjectives: cf. Wifstrand 1933, 126, 129–30; Weinberger 1896, 135.

97 Wifstrand 1933, 127–9.

98 Wifstrand 1933, 126–7.

99 Wifstrand 1933, 133–8. It is also found in QS, though less frequently (4.137), Triph. (66, 73, 88: in the *ekphrasis* of the horse, where the colour adjectives are of great importance), Colluth. (14, 18, 25, 110, 183, 212, 382) and Musae. (129, 147, 285, 290, 296, 340).

100 Wifstrand 1933, 138–40.

101 Though not an innovation of his: cf. Hopkinson 1984, 87–8. I thank C. De Stefani for this reference.

102 Cf. Keydell 1959, 56*; Wifstrand 1933, 137–9.

103 About Opp. *H.* 1.561 (ὄλβον ὀλέθρου = ὀλέθριον), cf. Giangrande 1970, 78–80.

D. 47.349 ἄπνοον οἶστρον Ἔρωτος ὀνειρείων ὑμεναίων.

Adjectival enallages (*enallage adiectivi*) are used with the same purpose: in a 'subst. + possessive genitive (subst. + adj.)' syntagma, the adjective agrees with the main substantive or if it is in a 'subst. + adj. + poss. gen.' syntagma, the adjective appears in the genitive. In a 'subst. + poss. gen.' syntagma there are just two substantives, which can be found both in Oppian (*H.* 3.196 λίχνος ὄλεθρος) and Triphiodorus (247 τεχνήεντος… δέμας αἰόλον ἵππου), as well as in Nonnus (14.137 σκολιοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν)[106] and Colluthus (101 Ἰδαίην… οὔρεος ἄκρην). Occasionally adverbs working as adjectives are also found.[107]

The use of the adjective degrees, peculiar in the epic language from the Homeric poems,[108] still favours the comparative rather than the superlative in Quintus of Smyrna,[109] but not in Triphiodorus.[110] In Nonnus[111] we find cases of the comparative where the positive degree (3.21 ὑπέρτερον ἠέρα) or a superlative (36.443 ἀρείονα μῆτιν) would be expected.[112]

3. Vocabulary

Vocabulary is a means of showing erudition, not an objective itself: Nonnus does not intend to make reality present through colourful idioms, but to point to his erudition. As he takes advantage of all opportunities and contexts to display it, he reaches a powerful lexical complexity, with sometimes no counterpart in the thread of the story. Each word is meant to be a focus of attention, which turns out to be a disadvantage

104 Cf. Opp. *Cyn.* 3.230 (τέκος πάνδειλον ἀλιτροτάτοιο τοκῆος).
105 Keydell, 1959, 58*. For Oppian, cf. Giangrande 1970, 92–3. Cf. De Stefani 2002, 168–9.
106 Cf. White 1987, 57–8.
107 Cf. ὑπένερθε in Opp. *H.* 2.91 (analysis in Giangrande 1970, 85). Also Giangrande 1967, 39.
108 Griffin 1986, 49: in the Homeric poems the superlative seems to be relegated to discoursive parts, as in general they presuppose an emotional implication which the narrator rather eludes.
109 Giangrande 1986, 49 (on QS 2.187 ὕστερος ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν; also 2.415 πάντων… φέρτερος… ἀνδρῶν); White 1987, 43–4 (on 12.245).
110 Cf. Triph. 78, 128, 243, 333, 406–7, 495.
111 Keydell 1959, 54*.
112 As C. De Stefani suggested to me, the same occurs in NT Greek: cf. Blass *et al.* 1975, §60.

for the composition as a whole and particularly for the power of individual words.[113]

Nevertheless, the situation is not so simple as to imagine a poet taking delight in his own lexical erudition. Quite frequently, the repetition of words from a certain semantic field in a passage, present as early as Oppian,[114] aims to give some unity to the passage.[115] In other words, the apparent structural disorder is offset by lexical repetition, which provides the reader with the circular feeling of returning once and again to the same matter until it becomes irritating or, in extreme cases, it produces dizziness.[116]

The 'circular attitude' towards the episodes has also a lexical complement,[117] as is confirmed by the frequent presence of families like ἀγκύλος, ἄντυξ, ἕλιξ, σπεῖρα / σφαῖρα, κύκλος and τρόχος in the *Dionysiaca*, though they are also present in epic poetry already in the Oppians.[118] They had produced some passages where they insist once and again on the vocabulary related to roundness: for example, when in *H.* 2.359–86 the fight be-

113 Riemschneider 1957, 48.

114 Cf. Whitby 1994, 110.

115 Schmiel 2003, 480–1.

116 On the move from abundance (περιβολή) to saturation (μεστότης), cf. Hermog. *Id.* 293.7–10.

117 Cf. Riemschneider 1957, 53–4. Collart 1930, 59–61 proposed a circular structure for the poem.

118 Ἀγκύλος: cf. Peek *s.vv.* ἀγκυλ-. Already a frequent word in Homer (cf. *Il.* 2.205 5.209 ἀγκύλα τόξα); thus AR seems to avoid it (only 2.1043, 3.157). Triph. does not use it and QS (cf. Vian – Battegay 1984, *s.vv.* ἀγκυλ-) and the Oppians (cf. James 1970a, *s.vv.* ἀγκυλ-) occasionally.
Ἄντυξ: quite often used in Hom., usually referring to a shield (*Il.* 5.262, 322, 728). In both Oppians and Triph. it does not appear, but it does in QS (1.147, 5.100, 8.235).
Ἕλιξ: cf. Peek, *s.vv.* ἑλι-, εἰλικόεις, εἰλιπόδης, αὐτοέλικτος. Quintus uses only the verb and the compounds ἑλικοβλέφρασος and ἑλικῶπις. In Triph. ἕλιξ is used as well as an adjective (322, cf. Campbell 1985, *s.v.*). In the Oppians, cf. James 1970a, *s.vv.* εἰλι-, ἕλιξ and ἑλίσσων.
Σπεῖρα / σφαῖρα: cf. Peek *s.vv.* σπειρ-, σφαιρ-, πολυσπερής. Cf. James 1970a, *s.vv.* σπειρ-, σφαιρ-. On the contrary, the root does not appear in Triph. and in QS only in πολυσπερής.
Κύκλος: cf. Peek *s.vv.* κυκλ-, εὔκυκλος, περίκυκλος. In the Oppians, cf. James 1970a, *s.vv.* κύκλ-. QS uses only κύκλος and κυκλόω, while Triph. as well περίκυκλος (34) and περικυκλόω (222).
Τροχός: cf. Peek *s.vv.* τροχ-, ἐυτροχ-, περίτροχος. Opp. *C.* ἐυτρόχαλος (1.324, 2.131), περίτροχος (4.90); *H.* κυκλοτερής (2.370), ἐυτρόχαλος (4.499), τροχοειδέα κύκλα (5.142).

tween a crayfish and a muraena is compared with that between a hedgehog and a snake, we find lines like:

2.370 αὐτὰρ ὁ κυκλοτερὴς ὁλοότροχος αἰόλα γυῖα
δινεύων, πυκινῇσι κυλινδόμενος στροφάλιγξιν
ἐμπίπτει σπείρῃσι…
2.375 ἔνθα μιν ἀμφιβαλὼν περιγέι πάντοθεν ὁλκῷ
ὑγρὸς ὄφις χαλεποῖσι περιπλέγδην ὑπὸ δεσμοῖς
ἴσχει τ᾽ ἐμπρίει τε χόλῳ τ᾽ ἐνερείδεται ἀλκήν.

"[370] …who [the hedgehog], like a round boulder, wheels his shifty limbs, rolling turn on turn, and falls upon the coils of the serpent… [375] Then the clammy snake girds the Hedgehog all about with his circling coil and in the embrace of his grievous bonds holds him and bites and puts therein the strength of anger" (Transl. Mair 1928).

In this case the insistence upon circularity is a natural consequence of the context, but in later authors it appears to be rather a stylistic choice. Thus, when Triphiodorus[119] describes the construction of the wooden horse (57–107), one expects the poet to mention wheels (100 κύκλον ἐυκνήμιδα), but not to focus on curves:

62–65 Ποίει δ᾽ εὐρητάτῃς μὲν ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖαν
γαστέρα κοιλήνας, ὁπόσον νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης
ὀρθὸν ἐπὶ στάθμην μέγεθος τορνώσατο τέκτων.
Αὐχένα δὲ γλαφυροῖσιν ἐπὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπηξε…
69–74 Ὀφθλμοὺς δ᾽ ἐνέθηκε λιθώπεας ἐν δυσὶ κύκλοις
γλαυκῆς βηρύλλοιο καὶ αἱμαλέης ἀμεθύσσου·
τῶν δ᾽ ἐπιμισγομένων διδύμης ἀμαρύγματι χροιῆς
γλαυκῶν φοινίσσοντο λίθων ἑλίκεσσιν ὀπωπαί.
Ἀργυφέους δ᾽ ἐχάραξεν ἐπὶ γναθμοῖσιν ὀδόντας
ἄκρα δακεῖν σπεύδοντας ἐυστρέπτοιο χαλινοῦ…
83 ἄμπελος ὣς γναμπτοῖσι καθελκομένη θυσάνοισιν…
97 καὶ σκολιῇς ἑλίκεσσιν ἀναγκαίοιο χαλινοῦ[120]

119 So as well κυλίνδω, a word Nonnus is fond of (cf. Peek *s.v.*), appears already in Triph. (cf. Campbell 1985, *s.v.*) and **39.** *P.Berol.* 5003 *et al.* (F11.4 and 11 in Steinrück 1999).

120 Mair 1928: "[62] Fitted to broadest sides he made its hollow belly, in size as a curved ship which the carpenter curns true to the line. And the neck he fixed to carven breast… [69] In two circles he set the gem-like eyes of sea-green beryl and blood-red amethyst: and in the mingling of them a double colour flashed; the eyes were red and ringed with the green gems. In the jaws he set white rows of jagged teeth, eager to champ the well-twisted bit… [83] even as vine weighed down with twisted tassels… 97 and coiling spirals of compelling bridle".

In Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, roundness and curves have unexpected connotations in those episodes where a male character meets a desired woman, as he approaches her in a spiral movement when he removes the clothes (μίτρη, ἄμμα, στέμμα), envisaged as wrapping her in layers. The first occasion in the *Dionysiaca* is the encounter of Zeus and Europa (1.344–51):

> …Κρονίδης δὲ λιπὼν ταυρώπιδα μορφὴν
> εἴκελος ἠιθέῳ περιδέδρομεν ἄζυγα κούρην·
> καὶ μελέων ἔψαυσεν, ἀπὸ στέρνοιο δὲ νύμφης
> μίτρην πρῶτον ἔλυσε περίτροχον, ὡς ἀέκων δὲ
> οἰδαλέην ἔθλιψεν ἀκαμπέος ἄντυγα μαθοῦ,
> καὶ κύσε χείλεος ἄκρον, ἀναπτύξας δὲ σιωπῇ
> ἁγνὸν ἀνυμφεύτου πεφυλαγμένον ἄμμα κορείης
> ὅμφακα Κυπριδίων ἐδρέψατο καρπὸν Ἐρώτων.[121]

Nonnus' eagerness to exhaust lexical fields can be seen, as Vian[122] demonstrates, even in the vocabulary associated with religion. The terminology of pagan rites is relatively abundant in the *Dionysiaca* and is centred on the episodes on Greece (terms related to holy places and sacrifices: νήος, βωμός, θυηλή) and the passages displaying a certain rapport with the mysteries (Bacchic feasts, Dionysiac battles: ὄργια, μύστις, τελετή).[123] However, such vocabulary does not show ritual realities but literary and erudite references, which accounts for the occurrences of metaphorical uses and even for the fact that they are reduced to every-day language and used in the Christian context of the *Paraphrase*:[124] Nonnus knows and uses this terminology but does not master the realities he refers to, neither is he interested in them as more than proofs of his lexical mastery.

The opposite case also occurs: in the composition of the *Paraphrase* Nonnus comes across Christian ideas which had not been used frequently in poetic language before. That is why, as in John's Gospel it is frequent to use μαρτυρία and μαρτυρέω without epic counterparts,[125] Nonnus builds a

121 Rouse 1940: "But Cronides put off his bull-faced form, and in the shape of a young man ran round the innocent girl. He touched her limbs, loosed first the bodice about the maid's bosom, pressed as if by chance the swelling circle of the firm breast, kissed the tip of her lip, then silently undid the holy girdle of unwedded virginity, so well guarded, and plucked the fruit of love hardly ripe".

122 Vian 1988a, 1997b.

123 Vian 1988a, 400–2, 405–8.

124 Vian 1988a, 408. The use of Dionysiac vocabulary in Christian contexts goes back to the first Christian apologists: cf. Vian 1976, xiii-xiv.

125 Cf. the literary uses of μάρτυς and ἐπίμαρτυς in Vian 1997b, p. 143, n. 1. We should also remember the beginning of the *Speech to the righteous* (**40.3**

formular system for μάρτυς, in the secondary sense of someone who gives testimony in a Christian context, though previous legal or neutral uses are maintained.[126] Once the creative effort had been made, it would have been a pity to waste it, which is why the μάρτυς-related formulae appear in the *Dionysiaca* with a frequency unheard of in pagan literature[127] and present a new sociative use of the adjective in the dative case (μαρτύρι μύθῳ), originated in the *Paraphrase.*[128]

It is also important how Nonnus translates in his *Paraphrase* the vocabulary from John's Gospel:[129] he replaces the κοινή elements with epicisms from Homer or the Alexandrians producing a new Gospel world in epic shape.

Verse as provocation

> Πάντα, ὅσα ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἡμῶν ἐστιν, ἡδέοι, λέγω δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἢ γεύσει ἤ τινι ἄλλῃ ἀπολαύσει, ταῦτα καὶ λεγόμενα ἡδονὴν ποιεῖ. ἀλλ᾽ αἳ μέν εἰσιν αἰσχραὶ τῶν κατὰ ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδονῶν, αἳ δ᾽ οὐ τοιαῦται. καὶ τὰς μὲν οὐκ αἰσχρὰς ἔστιν ἁπλῶς ἐκφράζειν, οἷον κάλλος χωρίου καὶ φυτείας διαφόρους καὶ ῥευμάτων ποικιλίας καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τῇ ὄψει προσβάλλει ἡδονὴν ὁρώμενα καὶ τῇ ἀκοῇ… ὅσαι δέ εἰσιν αἰσχραὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἀπολαύεις ἡδονῶν, ἐοικυῖαν ἔχουσιν αὐταῖς καὶ τὴν διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς τέρψιν καὶ γλυκύτητα (Hermog. *Id*. 331.12–332.4).[130]

P.Bodm. 31.1–2): Ὃν φ[ίλε]ε[ν] θεὸς οἷον ἀφήρπασε καί ῥ᾽ ἐκόμισσε / νῆ[σον] ἐς ᾠγυγίην εἵνεκα μαρτυρίης.

126 Cf. Vian 1997b, 144–9.

127 Cf. Peek, *s.vv.* ἐπίμαρτυς, μαρτυρίη, μάρτυρος, μάρτυς.

128 Cf. Peek, *s.v.* μάρτυς II; Vian 1997b, 151–5. Similar cases: ἐγερσίνοος and ἐμπεδόμυθος (cf. Vian 1997b, 158).

129 Cf. Livrea 2000, 92 ff.; Accorinti 1996, 45–6; Agosti 2003b, 150–1.

130 "The description of anything that is pleasing to our senses, to the sight or to the touch or to any source of sensory pleasure, this, like those ideas already discussed, produces pleasure. There are some pleasures that are shameful to enjoy, but the ones I have mentioned are not of that sort. To describe simply those that are not shameful, such as the beauty of a place and remarkable plants and the various qualities of rivers and other such things, creates sweetness. For they bring pleasure to the sight when they are seen and to the ear when someone describes them… And pleasures that are shameful because of the source from which they are derived produce a pleasure shameful because of the source from which they are derived produce a pleasure and sweetness to the ear corresponding to the experience itself. Whatever anyone enjoys doing he will also enjoy hearing described". Transl. from Wooten 1987.

One of the semantic fields where a special interest is perceived is that of the senses: desiring to reproduce the rhetors' suggestions about ἐνάργεια and φαντασία, verse becomes a means of provoking feelings[131] and to this end all imaginable resources, vocabulary included, are brought into play. The purpose is that the reader can go beyond the admiration he may feel for the author's faithfulness to sensitive realities and yield to the poetic world by being incorporated into it.[132] This is not an unexpected feature in the *Dionysiaca*, as it is a poem about a god who delights in the pleasures of the senses, but it is much more than that. The desire of stirring the emotions had already existed for a long time among his literary predecessors, but the use of the related vocabulary was confined to ekphrastic passages or narrative climactic moments to relax tension.[133] What is striking in Nonnus is that the use of this kind of vocabulary spreads to his whole work, which is why the reader may sometimes feel overwhelmed by such a combination of sensations.

We should keep in mind that sensory vocabulary is not restricted to the explicit terminology of the senses (descriptions of colours, sounds, smells, tastes, tactile perceptions) but there is an implicit semantic repertoire,[134] which has the advantage of being subtler and less overwhelming. Thus, 'emerald' reminds us of the green colour, 'flute' implies the sound this instrument produces, 'velvet' evokes texture, 'honey' recalls to the reader its cloying taste, and 'coffee' its characteristic smell. Of course several senses coincide in some words (*synaesthesia*),[135] like in 'rose', which evokes perfume and colour, or 'fire', which reminds us of heat and colour. It is advisable to add to this all the connotations derived from personal or collective remembrances and the notion that the sensory value of a word

131 Cf. Webb 1997c.

132 Zanker 1998, 601–2, 607.

133 E.g. in Philostratus' *Eikones*. Cf. Leach 2000, 248–50 on the use of fragrance and sound. The functions of the idioms related to colour are especially well studied. Cf. Edgeworth 1992, 1–2, who differentiates six non-exclusive functions: formulaic (it is part of a repeated expression), functional (expresses an idea or element essential for the plot), allusive (reminds the reader of a similar use in an earlier author), decorative (adds a striking or attractive detail to the picture the author is creating), cumulative (several colour tems follow each other quickly in a narrative climax and usually loosen the dramatic tension sustained until then), associative (relating two or more passages in a poem; if it is repeated we can talk of thematic use of colour). Cf. also *ibid.* pp. 43–52.

134 Cf. the studies on colour, esp. Clarke 2003, 7–8.

135 About *synaesthesia* in Late Antiquity, cf. Agosti 2006b, 353.

can be enhanced by its inclusion in a passage where there are more allusions to the senses.[136]

Poems full of noise

It has quite often been said that the *Dionysiaca* is a noisy poem,[137] because of the frequent use not only of expected terms associated with its subject matter such as ἴαχω and its compounds but also βρέμω, βρυχάομαι, βοάω and ἐρεύγομαι.[138] The presence of noise in the *Dionysiaca* is a logical consequence of its main character being a god known as Βρόμιος ('noisy'), who is systematically accompanied by ritual screams,[139] and its being a poem in which a number of battles are fought encircled by deafening noise.[140] Thus, in the Typhonomachy we hear cries and screams,[141] as well as the uproar of the clash of Typhoeus' invasion, which affects the earth too.[142] In the battles of the war against the Indians (29.179–324) the Bacchic combatants fling themselves to fight carrying the devices of the Dionysiac mysteries as weapons,[143] on adamantine chariots pulled by metallic horses (197–9), clashing their shields and swords with destructive war rhythms (217–9, 223–4), surrounded by the Bacchants'

136 Clarke 2003, 11–12, n. 17.

137 Braden 1973–4, 855. For hearing as the most powerful of senses: cf. Plu. *Mor.* 37F-38A.

138 Peek *s.vv.* ἴαχω, ἀντίαχω, ἀνίαχω; βρέμω, ἐπιβρέμω, περιβρομέω; βρυχάομαι, ἐπιβρυχάομαι, ὑποβρυχάομαι, βρυχηθμός, βρύχημα; βοάω; ἐρεύγομαι, ἀνερεύγω, διερεύγομαι.

139 Cf. already Zeus' prophecy on Dionysus (*D.* 7.94–6) and, later, 9.202–5, 19.106–11.

140 Cf. in **46.** Encomium on Heraclius (PSI 3.253) I recto vv. 3–5 (ἐφθέγξαν]το δυσηχέος Ἄρεος αὐλοί / β[……ὸ]ξὺ βολ[α]ὶ [ῥοίζη]σα[ν ἀ]κόντων, /κ[αὶ γο]ερὸ[ν θαν]άτοιο μέλος σύρ[ιζον] ὀιστοί).

141 *D.* 1.156–7, 226–7, 230, 231 (ἔβρεμε), 237–8, 267 (συρίζοντες), 272 (ἀερσιλόφων ἀίων βρύχημα λεόντων); 2.81–93 (mourning for Typhoeus' destructions), 172, 244–5, 250–6 (description of Typhoeus' voice, in which all animals' voices are gathered), 357–8, 364–5, 367–8, 419–20, 558, 632–5 (cries of victory).

142 Cf. 1.248–9, 265, 300–1; 2.391–402 (the earth quakes with the battle). Cf. Triph. 568 ἔβραχε γαῖα βαρεῖα; **39.** F14.8 Steinrück ἔστενε δὲ χθ[ών.

143 190 Agreus with his ῥομβός; 237–42 the Bacchant Terpsichore with the cymbals; 283 the αὐλός calls to combat, as all instruments are sounding (284–7). Other remarks of deafening noise in the *Indiad:* 27.221–7; 36.12–13, 88–107, 206; 39.123–32.

shrieks (231 Βάκχη δ' ἀμφαλάλαζε). They are also confronted by the noise of their enemies' weapons:

> 288–90 ἀντιβίων δὲ φάλαγγες ἐπέβρεμον· ἀμφιλαφεῖς δὲ
> ἠερόθεν πτερόεντες ἀνερροίζησαν ὀιστοί.
> λίγξε βιός, βόμβησε λίθος, μυκήσατο σάλπινγξ
>
> ("The enemy ranks answered with tumultuous noise, showers of winged arrows came whizzing through the air: twanged the bow, banged the stone, bellowed the trumpet").

Not in vain does the narrator say that στόνος ἦν βαρύδουπος (256 "The din was deafening"), above all because at any time a war cry from Dionysus can decide the battle (293–6).

Nevertheless, Nonnus' approach to noise is a subtle one, as is revealed in the Typhonomachy (1.138–320, 1.362–2.712), which starts when Typhon leaves Zeus without noise taking over lightning and thunder (1.432–4). Typhon boasts before Cadmus of his capacity to make noise with his weapons (437–8), oblivious that he does not know how to use them or get noise out of them (294–320), and proposes to him a competition between the music from his syrinx and that of his own thunder (439–43). The Titan does not know that the competition began when Zeus designed his plan to distract him and that his brute force and his boastfulness have already been defeated as he has succumbed to the trick of the flute music (409–16).

Therefore, the impression that Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* makes on its readers is not that of a poem in which noise has the function of stunning readers. It seems rather that the presence of noise as Dionysus' continual companion and weapon proves that the god is not one to be confined in a pattern of rational civilization, but that he represents an alternative, rather chaotic way of life.

The *variatio* of the sounds is already present in the prologue, in the definition of the *Dionysiaca* (1.15) as ποικίλον ὕμνον, with music as one of the supporting bases for the poem: the poet's work is described as ἀράσσειν 'rattling' (1.15).[144] The phonic ποικιλία is developed in the poetical counterparts of Proteus' metamorphoses[145] and in the metaphor of the poet's preferred tools: the instruments of the Dionysiac retinue, not

144 About ἀράσσω, cf. Gigli Piccardi 2003a, p. 121, n. to 1.15.

145 15 μέλψω θεῖον ἄεθλον; 20 Βάκχον ἀνευάξω; 26–7 υἷα Θυώνης / ἀείσω; 29 Διονύσον ἀείσω; 32 μνήσομαι Ἰκαρίοιο.

the double *aulos* of pastoral poetry which produced such bad results for Marsyas.[146] However, in the *Dionysiaca* not only are pastoral contents included, but a bucolic topic, the story of Hymnus and Nicaea, fills two complete cantos (14–15).[147]

The *variatio* in noise verbs is inevitable in all poems with war as subject, such as in the *Posthomerica* and the *Sack of Troy.* Actually, in Triphiodorus' poem, after the initial invocation and the prologue (1–56), absolute calmness alternates with tumultuous passages: there is no reference to any sound when the horse is being built (57–107), but after that the leaders' assembly is held near Agamemnon's ship to avoid noise (109). The Achaeans keep silent inside the horse (184–203), but the Trojans begin the day with rumours (236 πολύθροος… Φήμη) and circle the horse like noisy crows (247–57). The conversation with Sinon is held in a relative calmness (258–305), but the πομπή to carry the horse occurs in the middle of the clamour of nature, which attempts in vain to dissuade them from carrying out their madness (318–22), and the shouting of the Trojans of all ages (323, 340–57). Then everybody seems to become calm again to listen to Cassandra (358–443),[148] but the feast to celebrate the end of the war is noisy (444–53).[149] As night is falling, Helen attempts to disrupt the Achaeans' intrigue tempting them with her soft voice (471 φωνῇ λεπταλέῃ) when everything is quiet again (498–505) and the Argives are preparing for the attack (506–38); with the *nyktomachia* (539–664) the war, described as resonant

146 Nonn. *D.* 1.39–41 εὖιά μοι δότε ῥόπτρα καὶ αἰγίδας ἡδυμελῆ δὲ / ἄλλῳ δίθροον αὐλὸν ὀπάσσατε, μὴ καὶ ὀρίνω / Φοῖβον ἐμόν ("Give me the jocund tambours and the goatskins! But leave for another the double-sounding pipe with its melodious sweetness, or I may offend my own Apollo"). The instruments are present in the *D.* in banquets (3.234–42, 18.100–7), battles (17.343–7; 19.190, 237–42, 283–7; 20.325–32; 29.282–7) or as prizes (in Ampelos' episode: 10.379, 388, 390–1; cf. 10.335 the prize of the combat is λιγυφθόγγων διδυμόθροος αὐλὸς Ἐρώτων). Cf. Fayant 2001, 83 for music as only a poetic motive, exploited according to narrative needs.

147 We find another rejection of bucolic poetry in 19.303–45, when the figures of Maron and Silenus are opposed. Cf. Gigli Piccardi 2003a, 126–7, n. to 39–44. Besides, the *aulos* is linked to Bacchus before his birth: pregnant Semele answers to the call of the instruments (8.14–30), among them the double (17 δίζυγος αὐλοῦ) and the horned *aulos* (26 κερόεντος… αὐλοῦ) and Bacchus, already dancing in his mother's womb is termed as αὐλομανὲς μίμημα (29).

148 Cf. 367 Πάντῃ δ' ἐβρυχᾶτο; 375 ἀνίαχε μαινάδι φωνῇ; 421 Μάτην ὑλάουσ' ἀπερύκεις.

149 Another transition from nocturnal feast into sleep is to be found in *D.* 20.23–34.

(560 πολυφλοίσβου πολέμοιο),[150] is resumed and finishes the following morning with the division of plunder, the city on fire and the departure of the army (667–91). The poem finishes with a bad omen: the Achaeans set sail, but the sea is not calm (690 ἐριγδούπου διὰ πόντου).

Posthomerica 13, which also deals with the last night of Troy, can be compared to Triphiodorus' *nyktomachia.* As for the balance between silence and noise in Quintus, the book begins (13.1–4) with a mention to the confusion, shouting and music of the feast. When it is over, Sinon sets off and his actions and those of the leaders hidden in the horse are silent,[151] until the main body of the army arrives and all pretense is laid aside.[152] From this moment the mentions to the sounds of a 'horrisonant war' (322 πολέμοιο δυσηχέος) are centred on references to houses, women's screams and dying people, though the obligatory reference to animals is also made.[153]

Poems full of smell, taste, touch

If the *Dionysiaca* smells of something from the very prologue, it is wine: when Nonnus rejects Homeric heroic poetry, he embodies it in the 'stinking seal skin' (*D.* 1.38 φωκάων βαρὺ δέρμα),[154] used in the *Odyssey* (4.435–43) to hide Menelaus and his men, who succeed in surviving the stench (441–2)[155] with the ambrosia Idothea had put under their noses. Homer's poetry is unbearable for Nonnus because it is so heavy and because it smells so harsh and rancid that it is only bearable with divine aid. The alternative to it is to wear on one's chest (36 σφίγξατέ μοι στέρνοισι) the 'dapple-back fawnskin' (35 νεβρίδα ποικιλόνωτον), donned by those

150 Cf. 542 (βοὴ δ' ἄλληκτος ὀρώρει); 544 (ἀνδροφόνῳ κολοσυρτῷ); epiphany 566–72 (Ἴαχε… ἔτρεμε… ἔβραχε), 583 ἐκπλαγέες ποτὶ δοῦπον; 596–7; 610–11.

151 13.30–1, 35–6.

152 13.67–8, 72 (Οἳ δὲ ὥς τ' ἀργαλέη λιμῷ).

153 Burnt houses: 13.82–3, 102–3, 432.
Women: 13.103 (Οἰμωγὴ δὲ πέλε στονόεσσα γυναικῶν), 104–7 (comparison with the cranes because of their noises), 108–23 (women, esp. 108, 118, 122), 258–71 (Andromache, esp. 261–2, 271).
Animals: 13.100–1 (Πάντη δ' ἀμφὶ πόληα κυνῶν ἀλεγεινὸς ὀρώρει / ὠρυθμός).
Dying men: 13.101–2, 244 (Priam's head Ἣ δὲ μέγα μύζουσα), 292, 460–2.

154 Cf. Vian 1976, p. 136, n. to 38: "Βαρύ équivaut ici à βαρύοδμον".

155 Cf. also, *D.* 42.398–9: στορέσει πνείοντα δυώδεα πόντιον ὀδμὴν / δέρματα φωκάων.

who participate in the Dionysiac mysteries.[156] Its function is not to cover the body but to have it near the nose as it must be 'full of the perfume of Maronian nectar' (36–7 Μαρωνίδος ἔμπλεον ὀδμῆς / νεκταρέης).[157] With the prospect of composing 48 books of *Dionysiaca* before him, the poet does not find a more suitable source of inspiration than the closeness of Maron's wine, the excellence of which was proverbial after the episode of the Cyclops.[158] Therefore, beyond the poet's ethylic and scent jokes, the programme in the *Dionysiaca* proposes a poem in which Homeric inheritance is rejected because it is perceived as heavy, but where everything that serves in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as inspiration, like the perfume from wine, is used.

The aroma of wine, as a central element of the *Dionysiaca*, occasionally an *alter ego* of Dionysus and Ampelos' fruit, is often mentioned. It can not always be distinguished whether the reference is made to its smell or taste, especially when adjectives such as γλυκύς / γλυκερός or ἡδύς / ἡδύποτος are applied to it,[159] though in other cases it is clearer that its smell (θυώδης) or taste (μελιηδής) is referred to.[160] In any case, the presence of odours and tastes in the poem, as well as of sounds and colours, seeks to stir the senses and to recreate a sensory experience, not to give a faithful description of a real situation.

In the *Dionysiaca* wine is the version of nectar and ambrosia for human consumption, due to its revitalising and stimulant effects and due also to its odour and taste. They are first associated when Aion begs Zeus to free the mortals from the miserable life they lead: Prometheus, in his attempt to help them, was mistaken in stealing the fire instead of sweet nectar (7.61–2). With prophetic voice Zeus promises to grant the mortals wine, the earthly version of nectar.[161] Nectar is also

156 Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 249 (ἐν ποικίλαισι νεβρίσι).

157 Incidentally, in the Homeric poems we find mentions to the smell of ambrosia only, not to the smell of nectar: cf. Lilja 1972, 20. On aroma and its power, cf. *Il.* 14.170–4, *Od.* 4.445 ff.

158 Odysseus says *Od.* 9.205 ἡδὺν ἀκεράσιον, θεῖον ποτόν; when mixing it with water, from the crater came out a divine sweet smell (210–11) and its flavour was sweet as honey (208 μελιηδέα οἶνον); the Cyclops says: (359) τόδ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ. On Maron, cf. Vian 1976, p. 136, n. to 37.

159 On the lack of accuracy of the vocabulary of odours, cf. Lilja 1976, 10–15. Ancient reflections on the sense of smell: Arist. *de An.* 421a-422a, *Sens.* 442b-445a, Thphr. *Od.*

160 Cf. the corresponding entries in Peek's dictionary.

161 *D.* 7.76–8, 85–6. On wine as terrestrial version of nectar, cf. 12.38–40, 14.435–7, 17.76, 24.227–9, 31.238–9, 47.78. Cf. also Deriades' blasphemy in 39.66.

present in the prelude to the birth of Dionysus, when Eros soaks in nectar the arrow with which he is going to unite Zeus and Semele and Zeus transmits it to her through a kiss. Both of them aim to produce a child who will bear a crop of nectar.[162]

We have to wait until the death of Ampelos for the first vine to be born, the first crop to come up and Dionysus to produce wine. In this process, besides the presence of nectar, Dionysus covers Ampelos' body with flowers (roses, lilies and anemones)[163] and sprays it with ambrosia so that ambrosia passes on to Ampelos' fruit through his body (11.241–3).[164] Zeus promises to transform the child into a drink similar to nectar.[165] After Ampelos' metamorphosis, Dionysus finds in him food and drink, nectar and ambrosia, a gift for humanity.[166] He feels that his beloved has defeated death, since, transformed into a vine, he defeats the plants of the other gods (none of them combines odour, taste and the capacity to brighten men's hearts: cf. 12.256–8), which allows Dionysus to overcome the rest of the gods (12.229–89).

Odour and taste are, once again, difficult to separate and neither is it clear when Dionysus talks about flowers, grape bunches or wine.[167] In any case, he perceives in Ampelos a perfume full of amorous suggestions,[168] unequaled by any flower[169] and a combination of all perfumes.[170] The combination of one and the multiple will be dealt with in the section on late antique aesthetics. For now let it be sufficient to say that Dionysus

162 7.134–5, 336–8.

163 11.235–7. In 11.175–8 Ampelos decorates the bull with roses, lilies, daffodils and anemones.

164 On dying, Ampelos becomes a Bacchant and is identified with Dionysus: cf. Vian 1995, 11. Ambrosia, when fleeing from Lycurgus, is turned into a vine: cf. 21.25–32.

165 12.145–6. Taken up again by Dionysus in 12.223.

166 12.207, 211. Cf. Golega 1930, 69; Gigli Piccardi 1985, 111–12; Vian 1995, 197–8, n. to 207–11.

167 Vian 1995, 199, n. to 231–44 talks of "bouquet".

168 12.232–3 (ἀπ' εὐόδμον δὲ κορύμβων / ἰκμάδες ὑμετέρων με περιπνείουσιν Ἐρώτων). The model seems to be AR 3.937 (ἐπιπνείουσιν Ἔρωτες). Cf. also, *D.* 3.121, 16.110–11, 25.111–12.

169 12.238–9 ("not the rose, not the tinted daffodil, not anemone, not lily, not iris is equal to the plant of Bacchos!"). Those are the flowers with which Ampelos decorated the bull (11.175–8) and which Dionysus arranged on top of his dead body (11.235–7, except the daffodil).

170 12.240–3. Along the same line, cf. as well *D.* 47.89–92.

favours the union of opposites[171] and, given his personal multiformity (ποικιλία), also the reduction of all living variety to himself as a unity.

As it is difficult to describe odours, tastes and textures, ancient poets often resort to comparisons[172] and Nonnus, particularly prone to σύγκρισις, is not an exception. An especially comparative passage is 47.79–85.87–8,[173] part of the speech of one of those to whom Icarius offered wine:

οὐκ ἀπὸ Κηφισοῖο φέρεις ξανθόχροον ὕδωρ,
[80] οὐκ ἀπὸ Νηιάδων μελιηδέα δῶρα κομίζεις·
οὐ γὰρ *ἀναβλύζουσι* μελίρρυτα *χεύματα* πηγαί,
οὐ *ῥόος Ἰλισσοῖο χυτῷ* φοινίσσεται *ὁλκῷ*·
οὐ ποτὸν ἔπλετο τοῦτο φιλοπτόρθοιο μελίσσης,
ὀξύτατον μερόπεσσι φέρον κόρον· ἀλλοφυὲς δὲ
[85] καὶ μέλιτος γλυκεροῖο φέρεις γλυκερώτερον *ὕδωρ*·
[87] λαρότερον δὲ γάλακτος ἔχεις ποτὸν ἐμμενὲς αἰεὶ
συμφερταῖς λιβάδεσσι μελικρήτου κυκεῶνος.[174]

Two basic ideas are stressed in consecutive repetitions: wine has the texture of water, though it is not water (italics), and is even sweeter than honey (underlined). One wonders if when comparing it to honey, he is talking about its taste or about the recollections of the feelings produced by wine.[175] As honey is remembered because it brings quick satiety (84), and the mixture of milk and honey (88 μελικρήτον) because it is agreeable (λαρόν),[176] the feeling the wine drinker experiences is as pleasurable as that of honey, with the advantage that wine is not so cloying.[177]

171 Cf. Riemschneider 1957, 61–3.
172 Cf. Lilja 1972, 13.
173 Also 14.419–22.
174 Rouse 1940: "This golden water never came from Cephisos, this honeysweet treasure was not brought from the Naiads! For our fountains do not bubble up honey-streams like this, the river Ilissos does not run in such a purple flood. This is no drink from the plantloving bee, which quickest of all brings saciety to moral man. This is another kind of water, sweeter than sweet honey… You have a drink richer than milk which ever keeps its taste, mingled with drops of honey-posset".
175 Cf. Lilja 1972, 14.
176 Λαρός (cf. LSJ s.v.) means in Homer 'pleasing to taste' (cf. esp. *Od.* 2.349–50, attributed to wine.), but is later on used for the rest of the senses. More comparisons of wine and milk: 17.75, 19.163–4.
177 Cf. as well 14.428–9, 20.27–30.

A final remark about the aroma of wine: it is so powerful that it is inebriant in itself,[178] which is why Dionysus uses it as a weapon in his war with the Indians.[179] It is also often mentioned that aromas waft in the air and reach people in the form of a breeze[180] and they are also referred to in sacrificial and religious contexts in general.[181]

Odours are also a recurrent element in love stories[182] and they concern both the lovers' body odours,[183] which can be improved with cosmetics and flowers, and the presence of flowers in erotic scenes. As a starting point from which to analyse both variants, let us take Hera's 'toilette' (*D.* 32.12–37 ~ *Il.* 14.166–86)[184] and the union of Zeus and Hera (*D.* 32.76–97 ~ *Il.* 14.313–28).[185] The description of Electra's garden (*D.* 3.14b-168) proves that the mention of plant odours or its absence is significant for the plot: though the poet is dealing with fruit trees, as well as aromatic ones, there is only one reference to their aroma,[186] so that Nonnus avoids novelistic parallels and introduces the reader into a kingdom where plants have a life of their own and their own mythological past.[187]

In the *Dionysiaca* (32.12–37) Hera's arrangements are centred on her hair: she anoints it with perfumed oil (16 θυόεντι… ἐλαίῳ, 18 μύρου),[188] of such a powerful aroma (18 δολιχόσκιος ὀδμή) that on its very movement ether, sea and earth are intoxicated (18 ἐμέθυσσε).[189] However, not all women need an added fragrance, because they can attract the opposite

178 14.423; 16.278–80; 41.123, 127–8; 44.127–9.

179 25.297–9. In fact, when Dionysus turns the water in the Hydaspes into wine, Deriades would like to make the wine smell disappear: 39.45–7.

180 3.281–3, 14.415–16, 19.495–500, 41.19–21, 48.579.

181 4.351; 5.29–30, 270; 7.65–6; 21.158–9; 44.102–4. Κνίση refers to food smells too: cf. 18.101. Cf. Lilja 1972, 31–44, 97–8.

182 Lilja 1972, 58–76, 172–89.

183 Cf. the use of the formula ἔτι + πνέω + genitive| at *D.* 25.112, 48.650.

184 Cf. Vian 1997a, 76–8, 148 (n. to 10–18), 149 (n. to 28–37).

185 Cf. Vian 1997a, 78–82, 153 (n. to 83–97). Although the model is *Il.* 14.313–28, it is in the description of Calypsos' cavern (*Od.* 5.59–64) where the odours of the plants surrounding the dwelling are mentioned with an erotic function. We find a passage similar to 32.83–97 in the story of Nicaea: 16.270 ff. Cf. Gerlaud 1994, p. 234, n. to 270–80. The significance of perfumes can be related to the novel: cf. Lallemand 1992.

186 3.149–50 (καὶ εὐπετάλου κυπαρίσσου / ὄρθιον ἐρρίπιζε κόμην εὔοδμος ἀήτης).

187 Chuvin 1976, p. 139, n. to 140–68.

188 The oinment, μύρος, is made of oil and flowers (33.4–8) for feminine use: 16.22, 18.351. Hunting virgins such as Nicaea reject it (15.190); Nicaea also rejects the perfume of the gynaeceum (15.170).

189 Cf. Gigli Piccardi 1985, p. 185, n. 45.

sex by themselves.[190] Besides, Hera puts on her hair 'the flower of love' (28 ἐρωτίδα… ποίην), which Aphrodite uses to unite herself to Adonis: it seems to be myrtle, which is odoriferus and aphrodisiac in the *Dionysiaca*.[191] The function of flowers is confirmed with the response of nature to the hymen of Zeus and Hera:

> 32.84–5 Γαῖα δὲ κηώεσσαν ἀναπτύξασα λοχείην
> ἄνθεσιν ἱμερτοῖσι γαμήλιον ἔστεφεν εὐνὴν
> ("Earth unfolded her teeming perfumes and crowned the marriage bed with lovely flowers")

where κηώεσσαν… λοχείην and ἄνθεσιν ἱμερτοῖσι are two variants of the same phenomenon, spontaneous flowering, with the perfume of which nature intends to inspire desire in Zeus and Hera.[192] The metaphor is developed with the comparison of the divine and two botanical couples: Zeus – crocus (κρόκος) – daffodil (νάρκισος) and Hera – creeper (μῖλαξ) – anemone (ἀνεμώνη),[193] similar because they twine round each other and signal their desire through smell (89 πόθου πνείων), just as Aphrodite and Eros infuse desire.[194]

Poems interested in the sight

The *Dionysiaca* frequently appeals to the sight: if the noise becomes deafening in battles and the combination of perfumes intoxicates, colourful visual descriptions confuse the 'eye', overwhelmed by simultaneous de-

190 Cf. 19.498–9, 42.367–8. Bodies may convey through smell more nuances: 25.509 φόνου πνείοντα, 32.148 οἷα χόλου πνείουσα.

191 Cf. Paus. 6.24.6–7. In the *Dionysiaca*, with odoriferous (12.256–7, 48.515) and aphrodisiac uses (42.342–3, 48.291). Cf. Gerlaud 1994, p. 149, n. to 28–37.

192 Cf. Gerlaud 1994, p. 153, n. to 85: "Ἱμερτοῖσι, 'qui éprouvent et inspirent le désir'". κηώεις is applied to flowers (12.257), a meadow full of flowers (16.72) and an altar (40.394).

193 88–9: θήλεϊ δ' ἄρσενα φύλλα συνέπλεκε γείτονι ποίῃ, / οἷα πόθου πνείων καὶ ἐν ἄνθεσιν ἁβρὸς ἀκοίτης. Other vegetal 'couples': 3.140–68 (Electra's garden), 12.272–84 (Ampelos' post-mortem triumph), 16.278–80. This motif seems to derive from the novel: cf. Vian 1997a, p. 153, n. to 83–97. In the *Dionysiaca* we find several further references to saffron and creeper: 12.85–6, 15.352–4, 42.310. On the origins and references of the legend, cf. Vian 1995, pp. 189–90, n. to 85–6.

194 Such as *D.* 3.121, 12.232–3, 16.277. Cf. also 4.156–7, 25.111–12.

mands.[195] The passages with the higher concentration of visual elements are descriptions,[196] where we find more words referring to colour, both the names of the colours themselves (including the vocabulary about brightness, light and shade)[197] and terms which evoke colour ('implicit' colours).[198] The function of such images is to help the reader to create a mental image accompanied by its corresponding feelings.[199] In doing so, the use of colours is encoded more or less explicitly.[200] For example, erotic passages usually mention red, white and brightness[201] and, of course, the brightness of materials is essential in the plastic arts as well as in literature to express ostentation.[202]

Nevertheless, colour is but a part of this field. In it there are also other references to forms and the nomenclature of the elements which make up the referent: in an architectural description the parts of a building and in describing a person each part of his or her body. References to corporeal beauty (or the lack of it) or to (im)perfection are also to be considered.

Let us focus our attention on two passages from the *Dionysiaca:* 3.124–83 (Harmonia's palace) and 5.135b-89 (Harmonia's necklace). The function of the first ἔκφρασις is to devise the atmosphere in which the meeting of Harmonia and Cadmus is going to take place and herald their future wedding.[203] For this reason the emphasis is laid on the lavish setting, which is aesthetically appealing[204] and welcoming (125 πανδόκος

195 And this is not necessarily perceived as negative: cf. Procop. *De Aed.* 1.1.47–9 and commentary in Elsner 2004, 308–9. Also Roberts 1989a, 73 (comparison with mosaics) and Agosti 2006b, 358–9 on the attention to the look.

196 Cf. the expressions 'colour clusters' and 'thematic colour clusters' in Clarke 2003, 7.

197 Clarke 2003, 3–4, 8.

198 Clarke 2003, 7–8, 11–12 (n. to 17).

199 Clarke 2003, 2, 289–90.

200 Cf. Mathew 1963, 88 ff. on the meanings of colours. On the use of colour and light in Byzantine mosaics, cf. James 1996.

201 Clarke 2003, 290; Fowler 1989, 15–20 sees in Jason's mantle in the *Argonautica* three elements as referents of masterliness, magic and eroticism: gold in the materials, red colour and brilliance.

202 Mango 1980, 260–1.

203 Different aims give way to different descriptions: cf. *D.* 18.62–92, description of Staphylos' palace, where free rein is given to phantasy to create a luxurious palace, in opposition to Brongos' humble dwelling (17.39–42, 64–6). Cf. Gerbeau 1992, 13–15; Dostálová-Jeništová 1962, 204–6; Vian 1991a.

204 Notes on beauty and formal perfection: 132 Ἡφαίστου σοφὸν ἔργον, 133 Μυριναίῃ… τέχνῃ, 134 δαίδαλα πολλὰ φέροντα, 135 εὐήλατος, 136 πολυγλυφέων; gar-

αὐλή), and on bringing out erotic connotations: physical contact of plants (142–52), Phoebus and Hyacinth's mythological love (155–63), and references to colours with sensual connotations (red, white and brightness of materials).[205] There are also detailed observations of some parts of and materials of the palace[206] and elements of the garden,[207] as well as spatial orientations,[208] to make the scene visible and account for its impact on Cadmus.

The description begins with Cadmus attracted by the brightness and colours of Emathion's palace (128–9 δόμον… ποικίλον ἀστράπτοντα) and it closes with a similar reference (180–3). Following Peitho's silent orders (127–9), Cadmus comes to the palace which holds a special attraction for him, and, on his arrival, he is warmly welcomed (178–9), hinting at what is to follow.

Harmonia's necklace (5.135–89) is the last of the presents of the gods to the couple on their wedding. They had presented Cadmus with the gifts of the sea (129), a sceptre, a lance and a bow (130), but the poet does not deal with them at large. He seems more interested in what Harmonia gets: a gold crown with gems of different colours inlaid,[209] a jeweled

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den 144 ἀγλαόκαρπος, 146 πιαλέης, 148 εὐπετάλου, 164 ἐύσκιος, 169 εὐποίητος, 182 κάλλος ὅλον.

205 135 χάλκεος, 139 λευκάδι γύψῳ, garden 151 καρπὸς ἐρευθιόων ἐπεθήλεεν οἴνοπι καρπῷ, 170 χρύσεος, 175–6 ἀργυρέῳ κυνὶ γείτων / χρύσεος, 183 λαϊνέων ὀρόων ἀμαρύγματα φαιδρὰ μετάλλων. On brilliance and ποικιλία in this description, cf. Faber 2004.

206 Parts of the building: 126 κίωσιν ὑψωθεῖσα, 135 οὐδὸς, 136 σταθμοὶ… πυλεώνων, 137 λόφος… καρήνῳ, 138 ὀρόφοιο… τοίχου, 139 νῶτα, 140 ἐς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῖο, 182 γλυφίδας… γραπτοῖο, 183 ὀρόων. Materials: 135 χάλκεος, 138 λιθοστρώτοιο, 139 λευκάδι γύψῳ, 169–70 πόδα πέτρῳ / χρύσεος… κοῦρος, 175–6 ἀργυρέῳ κυνὶ γείτων / χρύσεος, 183 λαϊνέων… μετάλλων.

207 Plants: 142–3 male and female palm tree, 144–5 pear tree, 146 θάμνον ἐλαίης, 147 δάφνῃ, 148 μύρσινα… κυπάρισσου, 150 συκῆς… ῥοιῆς, 151 apple tree, 154 ὑακίνθων. Different parts are mentioned: 141 καρπῷ, 142 φύλλα, 145 κορύμβοις, 149 κόμην, 151 καρπὸς, 153 φύλλοις, 159 πετάλλοισιν. Other elements of the garden, some mentioned with their parts: 164–5 πηγὴ / δίστομος (166 ἀμάρης), 170 κοῦρος (169 πόδα, 171 λαμπάδος), 172–9 mechanic dogs (172 μελέων, 173 χάσμασι… ἀνθερεῶνος, 176 λαιμῷ, 179 οὐρῆς).

208 Spatial orientations: 125 τηλεφανὴς, 135 ἀμφίθυροι, 136 ἐμηκύνοντο, 137 ὀμφαλόεντι διεσφαίρωτο, 138 μεσσοφανής, 140 ἐς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῖο; garden: 140 πέλας, 141 ἀμφιλαφής, 142 τετράγυος πρὸ δόμοιο, 144 σύμφυτος, 146 γείτονα… ἐπεμάστιε, 147 παρὰ δάφνῃ, 150 ἀπὸ ῥοιῆς, 152 ἀγχιφύτῳ… γείτονι, 164 ἄγχι, 174 ἄγχι θυράων, 175 γείτων, 177 παραστείχοντι.

209 5.131 (στέφανον κομόωντα λίθων ἑτερόχροϊ κόσμῳ), 133 (χρυσείην… ἀναδέσμην).

throne[210] and a golden necklace sparkling with gems, but which looks white when placed on the young lady's blushed neck (135–7). She must have reminded the readers of a Byzantine empress, covered in gold and jewels as a mark of her status.[211] The focus on Harmonia's necklace does not seem to bear a structural function in itself,[212] but the setting accounts for it: Cadmus and Harmonia are presented as Dionysus's impressive ancestors, since the gods lavish presents on them and make them the origin of the Theban royal family.

The vocabulary of the description revolves around two poles. The first of them is the skilfulness of Hephaestus, who makes the represented animals look real and behave as such[213] so that readers visualise them more easily.[214] The second focus falls on the brightness of gems and gold and the contrast of the different colours of the precious stones.[215] Since gold and precious stones fall in the implicit lexicon of colour, the mere mention of them evokes their tonality[216] and brightness. Nonnus insists on such properties as proofs of the quality of the materials and of the perfection of the work. The necklace is a dream jewel given by the goddess of love to a young girl who is going to marry. If we take into consideration that a woman's value was measured by her wedding presents, Harmonia is given a status similar to that of the gods who attend her wedding and bring her presents suitable for their rank. Dionysus, her grandson, is going to inherit this status.

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210 5.134 (θρόνον εὐλάιγγα). Cf. 5.189 where the necklace given by Aphrodite to Harmonia is described as χρύσεον, εὐλάιγγα. She receives it from χρυσόθρονος Ἥρη.

211 Cf. James 2001, 26–49, 133–47.

212 Chuvin 1976, 86: "Il dépeint de manière concrète un objet somptueux dont le rôle est purement décoratif et non symbolique". The jewels cannot be magically interpreted: cf. Chuvin 1976, 83–7; Frangoulis 2003.

213 Cf. the first description of the necklace (138 Ἡφαίστου σοφὸν ἔργον), the description of the amphisbaena (145–57, where 145–50 is a comparison with the one forged by Hephaistos; structure of comparison: 145 Οἷα… 151 ὣς…), eagle (159, 161), representation of the sea with an emerald and the crystal inhabited by dolphins (183–5) and flown over by birds (186–7).

214 Although already present in the description of the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18), the mention of the artisan who crafted the object becomes a *topos* in Hellenistic *ekphraseis:* cf. Faber 1995, 415–16.

215 136–7 (πολυδαίδαλον αἴγλην / λευκὸν), 144, 151 (ποικίλος ὅρμος), 155 (χρύσεος), 159 (αἰετὸς ἦν χρύσειος), 162 (ξανθὸς ἴασπις), 163 (λίθον πάνλευκον), 164–6, 167–9, 170 (λεπτοφανὴς σέλας ὑγρὸν), 174–82, 189 (χρύσεον, εὐλάιγμα).

216 Nevertheless, cf. Chuvin 1976, p. 176, n. to 162 on the colour of jade.

Balance between lexical exuberance and repetition

> Πότε ταυτότητι ὀνομάτων χρησόμεθα καὶ πότε ποικιλία; ταυτότητι μέν, ὅταν τοῦ πράγματος ἓν ὄνομα ᾖ τὸ ἐναργέστατον· τότε γὰρ οὐ ζητεῖν δεῖ χορηγίαν ἀφανίζουσαν τὴν ἐνάργειαν τοῦ πράγματος, ἐὰν δέ τις παραλάβῃ, ἐπίδειξιν μὲν ἄκαιρον ἐποιήσατο, τὴν χρείαν δὲ ἀπολώλεκε τῆς συγγραφῆς.[217]

What has been examined so far allows us to come to the conclusion that one of the main characteristics of Nonnus' style as known through the *Dionysiaca* is the exuberance of forms: Nonnus appeals to all available means to compose a varied poem, just as he had promised in the prologue with his references to the ποικιλία.[218]

We have seen how Nonnus approaches some lexical fields and noticed that what seems to be just a disorderly accumulation of striking terms or synonyms[219] arises from a desire to exploit each field as much as possible, of showing that reality is a single thing but multiform.[220] However, an essential element of ποικιλία is repetition, or rather, the *repetitio cum variatione* of one single matter,[221] which manifests itself in a circular approach to the subject matter. Developments are not linear but circular, so that on every series the elements of the previous turn are revisited and reshaped.[222]

The repetition of the same word or the same root in adjacent passages is recurrent in all late Greek epic. It is to be found in Oppian[223] and Quintus of Smyrna,[224] but neither of them reaches Nonnus' level.[225] In his works we can find πολύπτοτον of the same word in the same line:

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217 Hermog. *Meth.dein.* 416.8–13: "When shall we repeat the same word and when use a variety of words? Use the same word whenever one name for the thing is the clearest, for then there is no need to seek a supply of words obscuring the clarity of the subject, and if one does, he has, on the one hand, made the demonstration unsuitable and, on the other, destroyed the usefulness of the composition". Transl.: Kennedy 2005.

218 Cf. Fauth 1981, 11–31, 180–96; Gigli Piccardi 1984b; 1985, 211 ff.; 1993.

219 Cf. 2.357–62 (six different words for battle in seven lines). Cf. Wifstrand 1933, p. 154, n. 1.

220 Vian 1988b, 292.

221 Gigli Piccardi 1980, 110; Agosti 1996, 171. On the purpose of repetition, cf. Hermog. *Meth.* 423.

222 Keydell 1953, 17.

223 White 1987, 9–11 (on Opp. *Hal.* 3.197–204, 2.93–100, 4.208–14). On synonymy and lexical variation in the *Halieutica*, cf. Rebuffat 2001, 87–95.

224 Castiglioni 1921, 39 ff.; White 1987, 27–8; Campbell 1981, p. 175, n. to 521–2.

225 Cf. already Ludwich 1873, 10; Castiglioni 1932, 317; White 1987, 6–21, 53–4; for the *Paraphrase*, cf. Accorinti 1996, 57.

D. 15.399 = 403: Βούτης καλὸς ὄλωλε, καλὴ δέ μιν ἔκτανε κούρη

or in consecutive lines:

D. 2.473 οὐ σκοπιαὶ νέφος ὑγρὸν ἀνέσχισαν, ἀλλὰ τυπεῖσαι
ὑδρηλαῖς νεφέλῃσι διερρήγνυντο κολῶναι

It is possible to use a common noun in one line and the proper one in the following one:

D. 1.458 καὶ φάτνης ἑτέρης τελέσω τύπον, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτὴ
ἰσοφυὴς λάμψειεν Ὄνων παρὰ γείτονι Φάτνῃ.

The same repetitions can be found in one line:

D. 29.328 Ἄρες, Ἄρες, σὺ μὲν εὖδε, δυσίμερε, μοῦνος ἰαύων[226]
P. 1.209 μάρτυρον ἐμπεδόμυθον ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν σέβας ἔστω

and in consecutive ones:

D. 39.234 πικρὸν ὕδωρ ἐνόησαν ὑποβρυχίης λίνα Μοίρης,
βριθόμενοι θώρηκι· καὶ οἰδαλέων μέλαν ὕδωρ.

On other occasions it is words with the same root:

D. 12.462 τίς κεμὰς οὐρεσίφοιτος ἔχει κεμαδοσσόον ἄγρην;
D. 24.106 Χαλκομέδη ῥοδόεσσα ῥοδοστεφέος πλέον Ἠοῦς
P. 20.128 καὶ τεὸν ἦθος ἄπιστον ἀναινέο. πιστότερος δὲ

Words can be repeated with variations in long passages.[227]

On the one hand, the fact that he tries to get the most out of every situation accounts for his love of 'excessive' verbs, which lose part of their impact when used too frequently.[228] On the other hand, circularity prompts different forms of repetition, usually with an emphatic purpose.[229] This is the case with alliteration[230] and also with the different

226 As well 36.259–60. Both cases go back to *Il.* 5.31 = 455.
227 Schmiel 1998, 331.
228 Cf. String 1966, 108–14. They are verbs such as those mentioned of circularity and noise, but also those of movement (ἐλαύνω, ἕρπω, ἑρπύζω, ὁδεύω) and some others like βαρύνω, κορύσσω, τανύω, τιταίνω, τινάσσω. Nevertheless, some verbs with weaker and more neutral meaning such as ἔχω (cf. Peek, *s.v.*) are also frequently used.
229 Cf. Schmiel 1998, 333. Nonnus, e.g. often repeats ἐγώ: cf. *D.* 5.433–4, 16.83–5, 40.183–5, 44.149–50, 48.540–2. Cf. White 1987, 71–2.

types of anaphora,[231] both that of one or several words at the beginning of a verse line:

48.818–20 καὶ σὺ πόθεν πίες οἶνον, ἐμῆς συλήτορα μίτρης;
καὶ σὺ πόθεν πίες οἶνον, ἕως πέλες ἔγκυος Αὔρη;
καὶ σὺ πάθες, φυγόδεμνε, τά περ πάθον…

and that of sound, structure and sense:[232]

48.778–9 μή σοι νεβρίδα δῶκε, τεῆς αὐτάγγελον εὐνῆς;
μή σοι χάλκεα ῥόπτρα τεῶν πόρε παίγνια παίδων;

Another more complicated form of repetition is that in which the sounds and shapes of words affect their meanings. In the *Dionysiaca* we can find repetitions by negation:[233]

11.279 ἀλλὰ θανὼν λίπε πένθος ἀπενθήτω Διονύσῳ (≈ 19.14, 30.116, 299)
12.145 Ἄμπελος οὐ τέθνηκε, καὶ εἰ θάνεν…

by inversion:[234]

25.22–8 Καί τις ὑπὲρ δαπέδοιο περισκαίρουσα κονίῃ
παρθενικὴ γυμνοῦτο· παρελκομένου δὲ χιτῶνος
ἀγλαίῃ κεκόρυστο καὶ ἱμείροντα φονῆα
οὔτασεν οὐτηθεῖσα, βέλος δέ οἱ ἔπλετο μορφή,
καὶ φθιμένη νίκησε· κατ᾽ ἀντιβίοιο δὲ γυμνοὶ
μηροὶ ἐθωρήχθησαν, ὀιστευτῆρες Ἐρώτων

("But a girl rolling upon the ground was bared, her dress was pulled aside, and armed with her own radiance, wounded she wounded her lusting slayer; her beauty was her bolt, and dying she conquered; her naked thighs were as weapons, and sped the arrows of the Loves against her slayer")

230 Systematic study in Opelt 1958. On the *Paraphrase*, cf. De Stefani 2002, 31–2, 188; Agosti 2003b, 162–4; Accorinti 1996, 57.

231 Schmiel 1998, 327, 330. Cf. the story of Aura in 48.238–942.

232 Cf. Schmiel 1998, 327 on related phenomena as the cataphora (*D.* 48.29–30) or the displaced anaphora (*D.* 42.75–6).

233 Schmiel 1998, 332: "The great majority of repetitions by negation occur between 11.279 and 36.184, that is roughly in the war books. All of these repetitions by negation cater to Nonnos' passion for paradox and contradiction. He is especially interested in the life-death opposition which figures prominently in the Ampelos episode [10.130–12.397]".

234 Schmiel 1998, 332.

and by gender opposition.[235] The last type can be easily explained because the masculine and the feminine coexist in Dionysus from the origins, since that Zeus is his father and mother:

> 1.6–7 φειδομέναις παλάμῃσι τομὴν μηροῖο χαράξας
> ἄρσενι γαστρὶ λόχευσε, πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ (cf. also 9.1–15)
> ("how with shrinking hands he cut the incision in his thigh and carried him in his man's womb, father and gracious mother at once").

This is also Typhon's dream when he wants to be like Zeus:

> 2.352–4 οὐ χορὸν ἄστρων / λείψω νόσφι γάμων ἀχρήιον, ἀλλὰ συνάψω / ἄρσενι θηλυτέρην
> ("I will not leave the company of the stars useless and unwedded, but I will join male to female").

Finally, we can also find the erudite repetition of plays on words,[236] some of which seem to respond to a mere interest in phonic games:

> 30.99 μόρον Μορρῆος ("the death of Morrheus")
> 30.125 Περσεφόνη δ' ἀγέλαστος ἀγαλλέσθω σέο μολπῇ ("and let unsmiling Persephone have the pleasure of watching your capers").

Others have a difficult explanation:

> 2.182 = 2.527 = 8.85 = 47.252 Ἀρκάδος Ἄρκτου ("of the Arcadian Bear").

Many exploit the narrative possibilities of etymologies.[237] Some are false and play with double meanings:

> 23.73 αἰδόμενος μετὰ δῆριν ἰδεῖν ἔτι Δηριαδῆα ("ashamed to look again upon Deriades after his battle").

He thinks others are correct:

> 5.554–5 ἀρτιφάτου δὲ / πένθεος ἱσταμένοιο φερώνυμος ἔπλετο Πενθεύς ("he was named Pentheus, the man of sorrows, from the sorrow arising for the newly slain")
> 13.293–4 ὀρχηθμοῖο τοκῆα, / Ὀρχομενὸν πολύμηλον ("Orchomenos rich in sheep, only begetter of the dance").

235 Schmiel 1998, 333.

236 Classification by Louden 1995, 27–31. In the *D.*, cf. Schmiel 1998, 331–2; Ludwich 1873, 81–3.

237 On etymologies in the *D.* cf. I. Oppelt., *RAC* 6 (1966), *s.v.* "Etymologie", 797–844, col. 806.

Also, eponymous characters, who after their death become what their names represent, give occasion to numerous repetitions in the *Dionysiaca.*[238] Such is the case, for example, with the boys (Ampelos, Calamos, Carpos, Cissos) who are metamorphosed into plants in books 11–12, where Nonnus deals with the origins of the wine and wine-making in 'theological' fashion:

> 11.480–1 καὶ Κάλαμος καλάμοισιν ἐπώνυμον ὤπασε μορφὴν
> ἰσοφυῆ, καὶ Καρπὸς ἀέξετο καρπὸς ἀρούρης.
> ("Then Calamos gave his form to the reeds which took his name and like substance; and Carpos grew up as the fruit of the earth")

> 12.97–8 Κισσὸς ἀερσιπότης, ἐρόεις νέοι, εἰς φυτὸν ἕρπων
> ἔσται κισσὸς ἕλιξ καὶ ἐν ἔρνεσιν…
> ("Cissos, the lovely youth, shall creep into a plant, and he shall be the highflying ivy that entwines about the branches")

> 12.101–2 … καὶ εἰς φυτὸν εἶδος ἀμείψας
> Ἄμπελος ἀμπελόεντι χαρίζεται οὔνομα καρπῷ.
> ("Ampelos shall change form into a plant and give his name to the fruit of the vine.")

Plays on words, especially when etymological, are one of the poets' resources and, above all, the grammarians' weapon,[239] particularly after the Hellenistic period.[240] This accounts for their significant presence in Triphiodorus' *Sack of Troy.* Dubielzig 1996, 14 distinguishes three types of plays on words:

1. word games where the name is hidden ('Versteck-Spiele'):

   29 ΔΟΛίην ὑπὸ νύκτα = Dolon
   34 ὄμφακΑ ΜΑΖοῦ = Amazons
   54 ΝΕΟς… ΠΟΛΕΜιστής = Neoptolemus
   324 νυμφαίῃσιν ΑΜΑ ΔΡΥσὶν = Hamadryads
   643 ΙΕΡῇ… ΜΑΧΑΙΡῃ = the ἱερεὺς Μαχαιρεύς

2. word games of repetition ('Widerhall-Spiele')

   4 ἔννεπε Καλλιόπεια
   57–8 Ἐπειός / … ἐποίει
   104–5 ἀρνήσαιτο / …Ἄρης

238 Gerbeau 1992, p. 162, n. to 19.53–6 talks of an "apothèose lexicale". On the use of *nomina significantia*, cf. Gigli Piccardi 1985, 140–4.

239 Cribiore 2001a, 209. For a school example, cf. Cribiore 1996, no. 362.

240 Cf. O'Hara 1996, 1–42.

183 ἐπέβαινεν Ἐπειός
473 ἔστενε μὲν Μενέλαος
513–14 Ἑλένη / …σελήνη

3. γρῖφοι

420 δυσώνυμος… δαίμων.

However, this classification does not account for Triphiodorus' richness of creation, which goes beyond a mere repetition of sounds. Thus, in the two references to Epeus (57–8 and 183) the poet plays with his name and what he is currently doing: building the wooden horse and getting into it. The same happens with Menelaus and Ares. In the case of Helen, a double etymological play supports the ἔκφρασις: Helen (Ἑλένη) is equated to the M/moon (Σ-/σελήνη) and the torch (ἐλάνη / ἐλένη: 513 πεύκην) she is carrying in her hand.[241]

Also among examples of concealment, the etymologies of the Hamadryad nymphs are more or less right, because of their inseparable relationship with the trees they live in. There is also truth in the etymology of Neoptolemus[242] and that of Machaireus: Machaireus killed Neoptolemus with a sacrificial knife (ἱερῇ μαχαίρῃ) because he had desecrated the temple.[243] As for the combination of ὄμφαξ and μαζός which conceals the Amazons, it appears several times in Nonnus,[244] but never with its secondary meaning: it seems that Triphiodorus made it up and nobody followed him.

241 Cf. Miguélez Cavero 2005. A simpler etymological equivalence between Σελήνη and σέλας or πεύκη is found several times in Nonnus: 2.188–90, 4.136–7 (σελάγιζε Σελήνη / φέγγει μαρμαίροντι), 6.335, 16.18 (σέλας πέμποντα Σελήνης), 22.158 (χιονέῃ σέλας ἶσον ἀκοντίζουσα Σελήνῃ), 38.138–9 and 150–1, 44.191–6.

242 Triph. presents Νεοπτόλεμος as νέος εἰς πτολεμόν, that is, 'the one just arrived to the war', not taking into account the Homeric principle of the children being named after their fathers' characteristics: Neoptolemus is 'the one whose father is a young warrior'. Cf. Gerlaud 1982, n. to 53–4.

243 According to a version of the myth, after sacking Apollo's temple in Delphi, he thought that the sterility of his marriage with Hermione was due to the god's revenge and went to the sanctuary to ask for advice. For that he sacrified some oxen, whose meat the servants of the temple intended to keep as was customary. Neoptolemus tried to prevent it by force and was killed with a knife by a Delphian called Machaireus. His death presents characteristics of ritual immolation: he is expelled from the temple (643 ἐλάσας) to avoid commiting a sacrilege and a sacrificial knife is used (643 ἱερῇ… μαχαίρῃ).

244 1.70–1 (Europa: ἀμφοτέρῳ δὲ ζῆλον ὑποκλέπτων ἐπεσύρισεν ὄμφακι μαζῷ); 48.364–5 (Aura about herself: ἠνίδε μαζοὺς / ὄμφακας οἰδαίνοντας ἀθήλεας), 957 (Pallas: αὐτοχύτῳ στάζοντα νόθον γλάγος ὄμφακι μαζῷ).

The concealed reference to Dolon (29) is basically economic:[245] in dealing with the victims of the first ten years of the Trojan war (16–39), it allows the poet to make a quick reference to the cause of the death of Rhesus. Triphiodorus gives a speaking name to Dolon on account of his treason, as *Il.* 10 recounts: when caught by the Achaeans, he reveals the nocturnal arrival of Rhesus and his horses, which, according to the prophecy, would protect Troy.

Scientifico-technical vocabulary

An aspect that can help us to learn more about the training and interests of these authors is how they use terms from technical areas, though not in the strict sense of present day terminology, as we are dealing with ancient literature. Furthermore, in Antiquity scientifico-technological areas were not separated from one another and included different types of fortune-telling, astrology and oracle interpretation.[246] Few general studies on the use of technical terms have been carried out on Nonnus' work,[247] though there are occasional mentions in the footnotes of the commentaries. As it is impossible to deal with all the fields, I will concentrate upon some which have been less studied and compare them where possible with instances in ancient authors.

Quintus of Smyrna does not seem to have such general knowledge of military terms as Homer had. For instance, the different types of helmet which were clearly differentiated in Homer appear indistinctly in the *Posthomerica.*[248] It is quite clear that he, as most late poets, was not interested on his day's military prowesses: he refers constantly to the Homeric poems when in need of inspiration for battles and combats, and sometimes he does not understand either what he meant (cf. his use of the helmet).[249] This conclusion can be applied not only to the gear, but also to stragegy which provides a good point of comparison with other authors. Quintus (11.358–408), Triphiodorus (622–4) and Nonnus (*D.* 22.180–6)

245 On the use of riddles as method for plot development, cf. Morgan 1994.
246 Cf. H. Görgemanns, "Techne", *DNP* 12/1 (2002), 66–8.
247 Auger 2003; Frangoulis 2003. On medicine in Nonnus, cf. Gerlaud 1994, 148–9 (relevant 'medical' passages are 9.275–89, 17.357–75, 29.87–163 and 264–77, 35.59–75); Agosti 2003b, 318–19 (on 5.16). On his astrological lore, cf. Feraboli 1985.
248 Giangrande 1986, 42–3; Vian 1963, xli.
249 Cf. Vian 1959, 53–5; also Vian 1969, 42–7.

deal with the technique of the συνασπισμός or χελώνη (Lat. *testudo*).[250] Quintus devotes to it the longest treatment without mentioning any technicalities (it is Odysseus' idea, the soldiers join their forces to become one body, the group is dispersed by the stones thrown at them by Aeneas), Triphiodorus' is just a quick reference (despite the Trojan resistance the Achaeans march towards Deiphobus' palace protecting themselves with helmets and shields) and only Nonnus mentions the term χελώνη, though he refers to Homer's συνασπισμός.[251]

In Triphiodorus we perceive an interest in the plausibility of contents rather than technical curiosity. This can be confirmed especially in everything related to the wooden horse (59–107). Thus, he describes every step of its construction to demonstrate that it is feasible: the opening of orifices to let foul air out (76) and fresh air in (77), all of them well concealed (75);[252] a door and a ladder to access the horse (90–4) and wheels to make it easy for the Trojans to transport it (100–2). However, all this does not require a specific vocabulary and, besides, the construction of the horse is based upon that of Odysseus' raft.[253]

Od. 5.241–62	Triph.
Fells the trees and polishes the trunks (243–5)	Trees are cut and carried down to the plain (59)
Drills holes and joins pieces together (246–51)[254]	Makes and fits ribs and belly (62–4)
Fits the deck (252–3)	Adjusts back and spine to flanks (80)
Adds mast (254)	Fixes the neck (65)
Protects it with wicker and ballasts it (256–7)	
Puts in sails (256–7)	Tops the neck with mane (66–8)

250 Though the two terms are not synonyms. On the *realia* on the matter, cf. Schulze 1973.

251 *D.* 22.180–1 Καί μιν ἐκυκλώσαντο, καὶ ἣν καλέουσι μαχηταί / μιμηλὴν σακέεσσιν ἐπυργώσαντο χελώνην ("Now they came around him, and built what soldiers call a mimic tortoise with their shields"). Ll. 182–5 are composed after *Il.* 13.130–3. Cf. analysis and commentary in Hopkinson – Vian 1994, pp. 237–8, n. to 180–6.

252 Cf. Dubielzig 1996, 28.

253 Dubielzig 1996, 27 thinks that this and other passages where the horse is related to a ship allude to rationalizations of the wooden horse as a ship, having as a figurehead (and name) a 'horse'.

254 *Od.* 5.249–51 (ὅσσον τίς τ' ἔδαφος νηὸς τορνώσεται ἀνὴρ / φορτίδος εὐρείης, εὖ εἰδὼς τεκτοσυνάων, / τόσσον ἔπ' εὐρεῖαν σχεδίην ποιήσατ' Ὀδυσσεύς) ~ Triph. 62–4 (Ποίει δ' εὐρυτάτῃς μὲν ἐπὶ πλευρῇς ἀραρυῖαν / γαστέρα κοιλήνας, ὁπόσον νεὸς ἀμφιελίσσης / ὀρθὸν ἐπὶ στάθμην μέγεθος τορνώσατο τέκτων). Cf. Dubielzig 1996, 27.

Nonnus refers to the same passage of the *Odyssey* when reporting the construction of the ships by the Rhadamanes (36.402–11) and by the Tyrians (40.446–62). There, as on two other occasions (39.314–21 – the naumachy and 45.137–50 – the episode of the Tyrrhenian pirates), the Panopolite produces catalogues of the parts of the ship,[255] partly inherited from Apollonius Rhodius, without being very precise about the construction of the structure.[256]

I intend to explore now whether Nonnus uses technical architectural terms and, if he does, to what use he puts them. As a starting point, let us take the description of the palace of Emathion (*D.* 3.124–83), based on Homer (*Od.* 7.81–90) and Apollonius Rhodius (3.215–241). After his encounter with Nausicaa, Odysseus arrives at Alcinous' palace,[257] where he stops outside its bronze threshold (83 χάλκεον οὐδὸν).[258] The roof is tall (85 ὑψεφερές) and the whole of it gleams because shining metals have been used on it (84–5):[259] the entrance is bronze and so are the walls (86 χάλκεοι… τοῖχοι) from the entrance to the bottom of the μέγαρον (87 ἐς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῦ). A cornice of blue colour covers the top of the walls (87 περὶ δὲ θριγκὸς κυάνοιο).[260] Besides, its gates are golden (88 χρύσειαι δὲ θύραι) and their jambs and lintel are made of silver (89 ἀργύρεοι δὲ σταθμοί, 90a ἀργύρεον δ' ἐφ' ὑπερθύριον). Their handle is also made of gold (90b χρυσέη δὲ κορώνη).[261]

Bearing this passage in mind Apollonius displays Aetes' palace from the Argonauts' viewpoint.[262] They stop outside the main entrance (215 ἐν προμολῇσι) of the compound (3.215 ἕρκεἀ ἄνακτος),[263] astonished to see its

255 *D.* 36.402–11 (γόμφους, πρόπιν, σταμίνεσσιν, ἐπηγκενίδας, μεσόδμῃ, λαίφει), 40.446–62 (σταμίνεσσι, γομφώσαντες, σταμίνεσσιν, γόμφοις), 39.314–21 (ἱστὸν, ἱστίον, προτόνοισι, μεσόδμῃ, σέλμασι), 45.137–50 (κάλωες, πρότονοι, ἱστοῦ, ἱστὸς, μεσόδμῃ, πρύμνης, σέλματα, πρώρης).

256 Cf. Vian 2001, 297; Simon 1999, 152–3.

257 *Od.* 7.81–2: αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς / Ἀλκινόου πρὸς δωματ' ἴε κλυτά; 85 δῶμα καθ' ὑψερεφὲς μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο, 88 πυκινὸν δόμον.

258 Cf. also 7.89 ἐν χαλκέῳ ἕστασαν οὐδῷ.

259 The function of the passage is to impress (that is why he uses several precious metals), not to present a clear structure.

260 Apparently the inner side of the walls.

261 Previous references to the palace: 7.3–4, 7, 53.

262 Cf. the reconstruction in Campbell 1994, p. 192 and nn. in the following pages.

263 On προμολῇσι as "*entrance* to, *frontage* of a building", cf. Campbell 1994, 195–6; on ἕρκεα, cf. *ibid.* p. 196: "they are the exterior walls of the enclosure, or rather (though only the front is viewed at this moment) the περίβολος of the entire palace-complex".

wide gates (216 εὐρείας τε πύλας) and the columns around its walls (216–17 καὶ κίονας οἳ περὶ τοίχους / ἐξείης ἄνεχον). A stone cornice runs around the top of the whole edifice (217–18 θριγχὸς… / λαίνεος) which rests (218) χαλκέῃσιν ἐπὶ γλυφίδεσσιν.[264] The Argonauts come into the hall (219 Εὔκηλοι δ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἔπειτ' ἔβαν) and reach the central patio, surrounded by buildings. From there they can see the forged metal door which gives access to the μέγαρον (235 μέσσαυλος ἐλήλατο), flanked by the wooden doors of the θάλαμοι (236 δικλίδες εὐπηγεῖς θάλαμοι) and all of them preceded by a decorated portico (237 δαιδαλέη δ' αἴθουσα).[265] On both sides of the central patio are Aetes' and Apsyrtus' dwellings (238–41).

To describe Emathion's palace Nonnus borrows some elements from Homer,[266] and yet he does not reproduce a mansion in Homer's style but a royal palace (3.125 βασιλῆος… αὐλή), recently built (134 νεοσταθέος δὲ μελάθρου).[267] Nonnus shows here the ideal image of a contemporary royal palace.[268] Cadmus sees from afar a palace supported by columns (125–6 αὐλὴ / κίοσιν ὑψωθεῖσα) of varied shining colours (129 ποικίλον ἀστράπτοντα), which seem to refer to the use of coloured marble and gold for external ornamentation.[269] When he arrives at the palace and examines it (131), the description ceases to be presented through his eyes to be attributed to a non-identified narrator, who mentions that the palace is Hephaestus' work, which explains the lavish ornamentation (134 δαίδαλα πολλὰ φέροντα).

264 They can be either the capitals or a frieze: cf. Campbell 1994, 198–9.

265 Apparently the *megaron* and the rooms are preceded by antechambers (under the portico?): cf. ll. 278–80, 285–6, 647–8, 838–9. Cf. Vian – Delage 1980, nn. ad ll.; Campbell 1994, p. 193 and nn. ad ll.

266 Vian – Delage 1980, pp. 4–5 and nn. to 135, 169–79, 180–3.

267 Other denominations: 3.128 δόμον, 131 δόμον, 140 αὐλῆς, 142 πρὸ δόμοιο, 182 μελάθρου, 187 βασιλήιον εἰς δόμον.

268 Cf. Dostálová-Jeništová 1962, 205. In 1204 the crusaders demolished the Great Palace at Constantinople. At that time it was the result of centuries of restorations and new constructions and had little to do with the original palace Constantine had built and of which we cannot get a clear idea. Cf. Mango 1986, 28: "Constantine's palace probably had some features in common with Diocletian's at Split, but the exact form is unknown. In any case, it should be visualized not as a building but as a group of halls, pavillions and churches connected by galleries and surrounded by gardens". Cf. Bardill 1999.

269 Cf. as well Nonn. *D.* 5.56–8, 40.354–5. Cf. Dostálová-Jeništová 1962, 205.

As in the *Odyssey*, the first references are those to the bronze entrance (*D.* 3.135 χάλκεος οὐδός ~ *Od.* 7.83 χάλκεον οὐδόν). There seems to be a highly decorated double gate (136b πολυγλυφέων πυλεώνων), flanked (135 ἀμφίθυροι) by (136) σταθμοί, which normally are the gate jambs. Here, however, they might be the columns that framed the gates and supported the pediment.[270] What follows is an innovation with respect to the previous descriptions of palaces: the building is topped with a round dome (137 λόφος… διεσφαίρωτο),[271] crowned by a central voussoir which, due to its position, looks like a navel (137–8 ὀμφαλόεντι… καρήνῳ / μεσσοφανὴς ὀρόφοιο).[272] This is exactly what we find in the halls of fourth-century palaces, such as Diocletian's in Split, the Rotonda of Thessalonica (part of Galerius' palace); Constantine's palace next to the Hippodrome and that of the *praepositus* Antiochus (buildings surrounding the sigma patio).[273] The poet seems to visualise the edifice as rising from the ground, through the σταθμοί (135 ἐμηκύνοντο) towards the dome (137 διεσφαίρωτο).

As for its decoration, the wall is covered by a mosaic tesselated with stones stuck on white stucco (138–9 λιθοστρώτοιο δὲ τοίχου / νῶτα κατεστήρικτο πεπηγότα λευκάδι γύψῳ).[274] Though it is never said that the reader is beyond the threshold, it is possible that the poet is referring to the inner walls, which were covered by mosaics, and that would match the visualisation of the top of the dome like a navel (137–8). Besides, the description is finished off with the expression (140a) ἐς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῖο, which refers to *Od.* 7.87a, where there is a similar ambiguity. Therefore, we have two options: the poet has crept into the palace inadvertently, or, since Alcinous' and Emathion's palace are Hephaestus' works and their function is to impress the newcomer, the poets have 'taken out' the inner decoration, more costly and sumptuous. In any case, Nonnus is reproducing Homer's ambiguity.

270 Cf. the reproduction of a palace in the Silivrikati tomb (end of 5th c.), now in the Archaeological Museum of Istambul. Cf. Mathews 1998, p. 77, fig. 55.

271 Λόφος means dome here for the first time. Cf. Peek *s.v.* λόφος IV 'Kuppel' (not in LSJ).

272 Cf. Peek *s.v.* κάρηνον: "Von der Bekrönung eines Kuppelbaues 3,137" (not in LSJ).

273 Cf. Mango 1986, 55. On Diocletian's palace, cf. Marasović 1982, 84–5; Wilkes 1993, 56. About the rotonda, cf. Lowden 1997, 10–16. On Antiochus' palace, cf. Mathews 1998, 75–6.

274 When γύψος appears in the *Dionysiaca* (6.169; 17.203; 27.205, 228; 29.274; 30.122; 34.144; 47.733) it usually refers to the chalk powder used to whiten faces, not to that used for building.

Perhaps the fact that Cadmus comes onto the stage again helps us to decide which is the more appropriate option. Cadmus runs over the garden with his eyes and

> 3.182–3 καὶ γλυφίδας καὶ κάλλος ὅλον γραπτοῖο μελάθρου,
> λαϊνέων ὁρόων ἀμαρύγματα φαιδρὰ μετάλλων.

It is a passage difficult to intepret: l. 183 makes reference to the marble brightness that Cadmus delights in, but the poet does not say if he is referring to panelling, columns, capitals, friezes or to the whole of it. As mentioned above, γλυφίς can mean both capitals and reliefs,[275] though the use of this root in the *Dionysiaca* seems to be rather on the side of reliefs:[276] γραπτός always means engraved surfaces, i.e., also reliefs.[277] The line, therefore, must be another case of repetition which puts the translator in an awkward position. Cadmus stares at a marble palace, surrounded by gardens and decorated with reliefs of astounding beauty. These reliefs are supposed to cover the friezes and capitals, besides the doors (136 πολυγλυφέων πυλεώνων). There is no reference to a mosaic, which supports the possibility that the decoration described in 138–9 is in the inside not outside.

Nothing in Homer's or in Apollonius' passages prompts this development, fully accounted for by the contemporary mentality: the royal palace was visualised as a compound of buildings separated by gardens, which explains the description of the garden surrounding the hall (140–68). It was designed around the audience hall, which used to have a round dome of which we have a description here. Nevertheless, though our guide, Cadmus, conveys a contemporary image, he is by no means an art historian and does not show much interest in forms. And anyway, the only 'technical' vocabulary used by the poet is λόφος, to speak of the dome[278] and κάρηνον for its crown. He does not seem to distinguish between γλυφίς and γραπτός. Neither does he use the technical term for the tesselae in the mosaic (ψηφός).

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275 Cf. Campbell 1994, 198–9.

276 Cf. Peek *s.vv.* γλυφίς (II 'Schnitzarbeit, Relief'… 3,182), γλυπτός, γλύφω and διαγλύφω, εὐγλυπτος, εὐγλύφανος, πολυγλυφής.

277 12.224–5 and similar in 40.256; 32.169 and 34.295; 41.387 and 4.263 and 12.40; 43.236. Chuvin's is a rather unfortunate translation (cf. Chuvin 1976, 28): "toute la beauté des peintures du palais".

278 Nevertheless, cf. *D.* 9.36 (πατρῷην ἐγέλασσεν ἴτυν δεδοκημένος ἄστρων: "and laughed in wonder to see his father's vault of stars"), where ἴτυς refers to the dome of the sky.

There is yet an added detail, related to town planning: when Cadmus' arrives in Samothrace, the streets are said to be as twisting, maybe as a reference to the design of middle-eastern cities.[279] It is not an element void of meaning, as it stands out against Thebes, built by Cadmus with straight roads.[280] Also, no planning is made in the construction of towns after the deluge (6.383–6). Without resorting to technical terms Nonnus seems to be opposing the exotic world from which Cadmus' wife comes and the genuinely Greek world Thebes belongs to.

The description of Staphylos's palace (18.62–92) shows similarities and differences with Emathion's. The passage makes very few references to the structure of the building (no technical vocabulary),[281] because it is focused on the decoration: the walls are covered by mosaics which stand out for their colours and brightness, created by setting precious stones into them (18.67–80). The floor is also covered by mosaics (84 ἐυψήφιδι… τέχνῃ, a more technical name) and the entrance gate with wooden reliefs (85 ἐυγλύπτῳ… δούρῳ), fine like reliefs on ivory (86). Here Nonnus accumulates elements typical of contemporary buildings (mosaics, for instance), without sounding technical. He also includes some lines (81–4) in which he seems to creep inside, though, as the host and the guest do not leave the stage and the author insists on their entry later (88), the colonnade and the mosaics seem to be outside the building.[282] Staphylos' dwelling is an artistic whim, designed as contrast to Brongos' (17.41–2, 65–6), not to be technically convincing.[283]

Nonnus is not the only poet who uses the image of a royal palace for his own purposes: in the *Visio Dorothei* (**40.1**) Dorotheus used it for God's palace in his vision.[284] The compound is named, in old Homeric

279 *D.* 3.124 οἱ στείχοντι λεωφόρα κύκλα κελεύθου ("Cadmos walked along the winding highroad"). Cf. commentary in Gigli Piccardi 2003a, pp. 290–1, n. to 3.124–6. Cf. also Deriades' city in 35.242 ἐς ἀγκύλα κύκλα κελεύθου.

280 5.51–5, 62–3, 282. Cf. Gigli Piccardi 2003a, p. 385, n. to 5.51.

281 The silver walls (73 Τοῖχοι δ' ἀργυρέοισιν ἐλευκαίνοντο μετάλλοις: "The walls were white with solid silver") are surrounded by a colonnade supports the wooden roof, which is covered in gold (81–3).

282 Cf. Gerbeau 1992, pp. 136–7, n. to 81–4.

283 Cf. Gerbeau 1992, 13–15.

284 Cf. *VD* 11 (ἐνὶ μεγάρ[οισιν), 54 (διὰ δῶμα θεοῖο), 134 (ὑψίστοιο δόμον), 178 (μέγαρον… κλειτοῖο θ[ε]οῖο). Cf. *P.Bodm.* 29, pp. 19–23. Cf. Mango 1980, 151: "The Byzantines imagined God and the Heavenly Kingdom as a vastly enlarged replica of the imperial court at Constantinople… they would probably have expressed the relation in the reverse order by saying that the emperor's court was a diminished reflection of the heavenly court".

style, μέγαρα (87) or μέγαρον (57, 192). The main building,[285] with two storeys at least (60 ὑπερῴϊα δώματα βαίνειν), is preceded by an enclosed patio (58, 78, 322). In the main building there is a hall where God resides (178), a vestibule where Dorotheus stands guard (56, 184–5, 298) and other large rooms occupied by different civil servants (43 ff., 82–3). The compound also includes a flag room used as a prison (131) and closely related to an ἄντρον (125, 143, 146), the exact function of which is unknown.[286] He mentions the *domesticus'* house (88) and a nearby city (34). It is not a precise image, either, probably because that was not his aim, and it is even more complicated because of the use of Homerisms,[287] though contemporary lexis is used for the vestibule.

We have to wait for Paul the Silentiary's *Description of St. Sophia* to read the description of a real dome. He mentions it for the first time as he recalls the destruction of part of the temple in the earthquake of 558, and defines it as a truncated sphere (187 σφαίρης ἡμιτόμοιο, 483, 509).[288] Just as in Nonnus' passage, the dome seems to grow upwards and here, besides, it buries its roots in the four lower arches (482–5).[289] Paul also visualises it as a helmet and a shelter[290] and mentions the most important details: a marble cornice at the base of the vault is used by the lamp-lighter to light the candles that illuminate the church (485–8); at the base (πυθμήν) of the dome, above the four apses, there are forty windows (θυρέτραι),[291] alternating with segments which do not jut out (499–500). Paul calls these 'alternative ways' οἶμοι (499) and ἀτραπιτοί (503) and explains (503–5) that, even though they seem about to meet in the centre, they do

285 119 προπάροιθε δόμου στείχοντα, 127 παρεσταότων πρὸ δόμοιο, 134 ὑψίστοιο δόμον, 216 ἐσταότων πρὸ δόμοιο, 328 οἷο δόμοιο; 54 διὰ δῶμα θεοῖο, 167 πὰρ φυλακὴν κελέοντες ἔπειν ποτὶ δῶμ[α κ]αὶ αὐλήν.

286 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 29, pp. 21–2.

287 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 29, p. 20.

288 Besides it is a perfect sphere, not a pointed dome: cf. 495–6 (οὐ μὴν ὀξυκάρηνος ἀνέσσυται, ἀλλ' ἅρα μᾶλλον / ὡς πόλος ἠερόροιτος). The Greek term for dome is κάρηνον: cf. 503 (ἀτραπιτοὶ συνέκυρσαν ἐριχρύσοιο κ[αρή]νου) and 495 (ὀξυκάρηνος).

289 Cf. the commentary by Friedländer 1912b, p. 279, n. to 483. Cf. also 490, 493–4, 496–8.

290 489 (ἐγρομένη δ' ἐφύπερθεν ἐς ἄπλετον ἠέρα πήληξ), 491 (σκέπας), 511 (εὐρυπόρου σκέπας οἴκου), 529–30 (καλύπτρη / εὐπήληξ).

291 509–10 (σφαίρης δ' ἡμιτόμου περὶ πυθμένα πεντάκις ὀκτὼ / εὐφαέων ἀψῖδας ἐτεχνήσαντο θυρέτρων). What they call πυθμήν must have been on top of the βάσις mentioned in line 498.

not (i.e., they do not turn into a tympanum), as they are blocked by an ἄντυξ in the shape of a crown (506–7).[292] The keystone of the dome (491–2 ἀκροτάτης… / …ὑπὲρ κορυφῆς), in the shape of a navel (506 μεσόμ[φα]λος ἔνδοθι κύκλου), like the one in Emathion's palace, is decorated with a mosaic cross (ψηφίς). Therefore, Paul utilises only the indispensable technical terminology and resorts to metaphors, without making a direct reference to their elements.[293]

I will mention just one more detail, which emerges from vocabulary but refers mainly to style. Roberts[294] notes the similarity between the technique of late antique mosaics and the methods of poetic composition: this parallel becomes somehow explicit in the interest shown by these poets in mosaics when they describe works of art, no doubt mirroring contemporary tastes. We should also take into account that education and culture at that time included some knowledge on art matters.[295]

From this analysis we can conclude, therefore, that there is not an interest in using a clear and unequivocal terminology, which would be the nearest thing to technical lexis in Antiquity. Actually, the only instance of the most technical content in our *corpus*, **11.** Hexameters about glass-blowing (*P.Oxy.* 50.3536 – we must be cautious because of its fragmentary nature) does not show a technical description of such process. Simply, frit (i.e. the material from which glass is made) is named (9) βῶλον ἀ[[ε]]ργεννῆς [ὑέλοιο],[296] glass is itself 6 κρύσταλλος and 9 ὕελος and the appearance of the glass sphere as the product of blowing is just 10 [σ]φαιρηδὸν δὲ πάροιθεν ἐκυρτώθη.[297]

The case of the *Visio Dorothei* (**40.1**) is completely different. There we find a continuous use of titles, both civil and military, for Roman officials.[298] Though they could be termed technical in principle, their use is metaphorical, since they are ascribed to attendants in God's palace.

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292 In the conclusion he develops another metaphor when applying to the dome (529 καλύπτρη) the term βαθύκολπος 'of deep folds', used in the Homeric poems for the Trojan women's peplos (e.g. *Il.* 18.32) and here for the recesses and projections of the dome.

293 Cf. more prosaic narratives in Agath. *Hist.* 5.9.4; Evagr. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.31. On the description of a dome by Choricius of Gaza, cf. Maguire 1978.

294 Roberts 1989a, 70 ff.

295 Cf. Agosti 2006b, 361; Leader-Newby 2004, 123–71; 2005, esp. 238–41.

296 Ἀ[[ε]]ργεννῆς is a false etymology probably built on the analogy ἀεργός· ἀργός. Cf. *ed.pr.* n. ad loc. We also find βῶλον in *AP* 16.323.3, 13.

297 On the ancient vocabulary for glass, cf. Stern 2007, 388–97.

298 Cf. their enumeration and study in the *ed.pr.*, p. 23.

Homer's inheritance

For Nonnus Homer is a repository of epic practices[299] as well as a source of inspiration[300] and a liar.[301] He practises a poetic which stinks like the skin under which Menelaus hid to capture Proteus (*Od.* 4.406 ff.).[302] He is, of course, his rival.[303] This assessment has its lexical correspondence in the *Dionysiaca:* most of the vocabulary comes from the Homeric poems,[304] but the words which 'stink' are banned, perhaps because they sound ordinary.[305] He does not seem, though, to be interested in using Homeric ἅπαξ or controversial words.[306] This accounts for his frequent use of epithets based on the Homeric, but which do not appear in the Homeric poems.[307] Homeric influences are especially noticeable in the parts of the poem which tradition has approved of as indispensable in composing an epic poem, above all in the funeral for Opheltes (*D.* 37), a transposition of the funeral for Patroclus (*Il.* 23).[308]

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299 *D.* 13.50–1: Ὅμηρον ἀοσσητῆρα καλέσσω / εὐεπίης ὅλον ὅρμον ("I will call to my aid Homer, the one of great harbour of language undefiled"). Cf. Ludwich 1873, 39 (on 14.388); Hopkinson 1994b, 27; Shorrock 2001, 114–21.

300 *D.* 25.8–10 (τελέσας δὲ τύπον μιμηλὸν Ὁμήρου / ὕστατον ὑμνήσω πολέμων ἔτος, ἑβδομάτης δὲ / ὑσμίνην ἰσάριθμον ἐμῆς στρουθοῖο χαράξω: "I will make my pattern like Homer's and sing the last year of warfare, I will describe that which has the numer of my seventh sparrow"), 264–5 (ἀλλά, θεά, με κόμιζε τὸ δεύτερον εἰς μέσον Ἰνδῶν, / ἔμπνοον ἔγχος ἔχοντα καὶ ἀσπίδα πατρὸς Ὁμήρου: "Then bring me, O goddess, into the midst of the Indians again, holding the inspired spear and shield of father Homer"). Cf. the analysis in Gigli Piccardi 1981, 177. On Nonnus' perception of the *mimesis* applied to his relationship with Apollonius Rhodius, cf. Vian 2001, 308.

301 42.181 ἐψεύσατο βίβλος Ὁμήρου. Of course in the tradition of, e.g., Dio Chrysostom's *Trojan Speech* or Philostratus' *Heroicus.*

302 *D.* 1.37–8: βυθίῃ δὲ παρ' Εἰδοθέῃ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ / φωκάων βαρὺ δέρμα φυλασσέσθω Μενελάῳ ("and let Homer and deep-sea Eidothea keep the rank skin of the seals for Menelaos").

303 *D.* 1.34–44. Analysis of the references to Homer's person in the *D.* in Hopkinson 1994b, 9–14; Roberts 1989a, 68; Vian 1991b, 5–8.

304 Hopkinson 1994b, 14–15. Cf. Accorinti 1996, 51: in both Nonnus' poems there is more or less the same percentage of epithets from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.* Also Livrea 1989, 57–60; 2000, 98–100.

305 Hopkinson 1994b, 15 and n. 49.

306 Hopkinson 1994b, 15–16.

307 Hopkinson 1994b, 15.

308 D'Ippolito 1964, 37, n. 4; Frangoulis 1995.

Nonnus' relationship with Homer, despite its Proteic element, is not extraordinary at all: Homer was in Antiquity the rule for poetry and all forms of eloquence.[309] Hermogenes (390.5–8) found in him the best poet, rhetor and logographer and he was considered by Pseudo-Dionysius (*Imit.* 6.2, p. 204 U.–R.) the master of the three types of oratory. Homer was the means and aim of training in Greece,[310] the foundation of Greek school, and could be read allegorically.[311]

Before Nonnus, approximately 80% of Quintus' vocabulary is Homeric.[312] Even though it is true that Quintus' aim is to appear as Homeric as possible, it is also true that he uses little-known Homerisms[313] and that he suggests variants and creates some neologisms.[314] Reviewing some data on adjectivation can give us an idea of his approach towards vocabulary:[315] he uses 720 Homeric adjectives versus 220 non-Homeric ones; in both cases he prefers long forms, especially those fitting between two breaks in the line; he tries to renew Homeric diction using less frequent combinations and suggesting new ones (only 76 of the 180 formulae including adjectives are Homeric), which he tries not to repeat too much; he employs abstract adjectives rather than concrete ones.[316] He also combines Homer with the influence of the Tragedians.[317]

In a similar fashion, the author of *P.Berol.* 5003 (**39.**),[318] an encomium on general Germanus in epic tones, builds typical scenes and similes with Homeric hemistichs and expressions, modified to achieve *variatio* and in the selection of Homeric readings. The number of Homeric ἅπαξ and δὶς λεγόμενα is high. It is thus a rereading of reality in archaistic terms, appropriate for an institutional poem, written by a provincial author to honour

309 Quint. 10.1.27 ff.
310 D.Chr. *Or.* 18.8.
311 Lamberton 1992, 2002.
312 Vian 1959, 145; 1963, xl-xlii.
313 Ca. 10% of the vocabulary of the *Posthomerica* are Homeric *hapax legomena:* cf. Appel 1993, 178.
314 Vian 1959, 146–55, 159–62, 168–73, 250; Giangrande 1986, 48.
315 Vian 1959, 182–92; Campbell 1981, 195.
316 Vian 1959, 186.
317 Vian 1959, 94–5, 250.
318 Cf. Livrea 1978b, 15–17. Any analysis of this poem should, nevertheless, be cautious, since only battle scenes are extant, where the Homeric influence is usually particularly strong.

the successful general and a 'reedition' of the Homeric poems,[319] understood as embodiment of culture.

Also in Triphiodorus' case *c.* 80% of his vocabulary is of Homeric provenance,[320] though he does not seem to have known the *Hymns*. In opposition to Quintus, the Panopolite displays the learned fondness, proper of a *grammatikos*, of rare Homeric terms.[321] He tries to renew Homeric diction[322] using Homeric adjectives as substantives and vice versa,[323] for them a new meaning and creating with them combinations different from those appearing in the Homeric poems.[324]

A way of better understanding the relationship of these authors with father Homer is to study the attitudes towards him in papyrus compositions which have a Homeric referent. A clear case is **29.** Athena's words to Achilles (*P.Oxy.* 42.3002), which has as a model *Il.* 1.207–14. The new composition is three times longer than the original because it reshapes the themes of the discourse in a chaotic and profuse manner.[325] The diction is mostly Homeric (cf. notes in the *ed. pr.*), but when the author strays off Homeric uses he coincides several times with the language

319 The general is described as a Homeric hero: in his only appearence (F14.5 Steinrück Γερμανῷ ῥηζήνορι χαλκοκορυσ̣τ[ῇ) he is given Achilles' formular epithet (ῥηξήνωρ) and Hector's one (χαλκοκορυστής). Cf. Livrea 1978b, n. to 75, pp. 86–7. Similar comparisons can be found in **43.** Farewell to a dux of Thebes (*P.Flor.* 2.114): cf. *recto* a.15 Heitsch (ἥρως) and the comparisons to Achilles (esp. *recto* b 18 Heitsch οὐ θάνες Αἰγυπτίων Ἡράκλεες), Perseus (*verso* a 12–14 Heitsch) and Odysseus (*verso* a 20). In **54.1** *P.Vindob.* 29788C (*recto* l. 29) the emperor is compared to Odysseus.

320 Gerlaud 1982, 51: in 1556 words (not taking into account particles, grammatical words and proper names) only 295 are not Homeric.

321 Gerlaud 1982, 51, finds 115 Homeric *hapax* and 70 *dis legomena*; Weinberger 1896, 123–5.

322 Ferrari 1962, 102–8.

323 Gerlaud 1982, 52, n. 1.

324 Weinberger 1896, 156–7; Ferrari 1962, 98–101.

325 In the *Il.* Athena, sent by Hera, commands Achilles to renounce his wrath and weapons and to treat Agamemnon with words, because that will be more profitable for him; in the *ethopoea*, Athena (1–5a: εἰ μὲν… εἰ δὲ) refuses to fight on Achilles' side if he confronts the Achaeans instead of the Trojans and withdraws Hera's confidence in him as well. She orders him (5b-8a: ἴσχεο as in *Il.* 1.214) to abandon his wrath and to sheathe his sword. What follows (8–23) is a disordered request, supposedly built around 8 οὐκ ἐπ' Ἀχαιοῖς and 14 οὐκ ἐπ' Ἀχαιοὺς: appeals to Achilles' family figures (Peleus, Thetis, Chiron) are mixed with the reminder that it is the Trojans who are the enemy and the oposition between the use of the weapons with enemies and of words with allies. The last two lines (25–6) collect quickly the conclusion of the *Iliad* (*Il.* 1.213–14).

of the *Dionysiaca*. Thus, ἀστυφέλικτος (2), ὑποδρήσσω (20) and βαρύμηνις (22)[326] do not appear in Homer, but they do in the *Dionysiaca* (cf. Peek *s.vv.*), and the uses of κορύσσω match with the *Dionysiaca*, where it takes different cases and appears in different combinations.[327] The author of the ethopoea also introduces his own innovations, which are not always successful.[328]

The *ethopoea* in **26.1** Hesiod inspired by the Muses (*P.Oxy.* 50.3537) is based ons several Hesiodic passages alluded to in verbal parallels (cf. notes on the *ed. pr.*), but it displays as an acrostic a Homeric hemistich (τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη). This proves that the poet did not know that Homer had used it so frequently that it was later systematically avoided because it symbolised the heaviness found in the first epic.[329] The other possibility is that he intended to give it an ironic use.[330] The author seems to keep away from an excess of Homeric forms[331] and at the same time the composition has Nonnian parallels.[332]

An instance of the evolution of Homeric influence, which cannot be easily perceived in an epyllion or a fragmentary poem, is the application of lexical resources already existing in Homer to the new texts to make the composition of long poems easier. This includes the reuse of half lines which we often find in the *Dionysiaca*:[333]

D. 3.237 σύνθροον ἐκρούσαντο μέλος μυκήτορος αὐλοῦ
= 41.184 σύνθροον ἐκρούσαντο μέλος τετράζυγες Ὧραι
+ 44.4 στῆσε χόρους. ἀίων δὲ μέλος μυκήτορος αὐλοῦ

326 Cf. also Triph. 639 βαρύμηνις… Ἀχιλλεύς, Colluth. 144 βαρύμηνις Ἐνυώ.

327 Cf. Peek *s.v.* On the contrary, it is not used by Triph., Mus., Colluth., Christodorus.

328 Cf. 13 πλῆσον μένος, starting from expressions such as *Il* 1.103–4 μένεος μέγα φρένες… πίμπλαντ'; the combination κρατερὸν στρατόν (14) does not appear in Homer or in Nonnus (he avoids κρατερός because it is a well-worn word); πολυπήμονα (6, 21) does not appear in Homer nor in Nonnus (but it does in AR 2.673, 4.228, 1044 and Opp. *Cyn.* 1.265, 2.287). Cf. nn. *ad loc.* in the *ed.pr.*

329 Cf. Agosti 1997b, 2.

330 Cf. Jarcho 1999, 198–9.

331 Jarcho 1999, 198: "we can observe some reluctance on the part of the author to use Homerisms and various rhetorical figures. In the reliably readable text the former are represented only by thmesis (ἐκ δ' ἐλόμην, 16), gen. sing. in -οιο (6), three uncontracted forms (4, 24) and the dialectal πτολ- (11), and the latter, by several cases of not too obtrusive anaphora: τίς (3), αὐτή (7, 9), νῦν (17), οὐδ(έ) (20, 22), ἐκ (24)".

332 Cf. *P.Oxy.* 3537 *ed. pr.*, nn. to 1, 5, 14, 15, 22, 25.

333 Cf. Ludwich 1873, 40.

D. 5.33 δαιτυμόνων δὲ φάλαγγες ἐπ᾽ εὐκύκλοιο τραπέζης
= 20.25 δαιτυμόνων δὲ φάλαγγες ἀμοιβαδὶς ἔνδοθεν αὐλῆς
+ 24.224 ἑζόμενοι δ᾽ ἀγεληδὸν ἐπ᾽ εὐκύκλοιο τραπέζης

and full lines:[334]

1.88 = 41.100 οὐρανίης ὤδινεν ἀπ᾽ αὔλακος ἔγκυον ὕδωρ
1.414 = 10.231 οἰδαλέῃ φύσημα παρηίδι λεπτὸν ἰάλλων.

Even repeated passages can be found, some with certain variations[335] and some others with an intermediate process of reworking.[336] The formular system is also recreated from Homeric sources, but with the Nonnian premise of the ποικιλία.[337]

Also, Nonnus composes his work in the age of the emergence of centones and Christian epic poetry: the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John* can only be understood against a background of less elegant compositions, such as those in the *Codex Visionum* (**40.**), displaying numerous Homeric formulae with a Christian theme.[338]

The formulae of introduction and conclusion of speeches[339] show how epic poets since Hellenistic times avoid what is too often repeated in Homer. Thus, Apollonius[340] from

Od. 24.393 μειλιχίοισ᾽ ἐπέεσσι καθαπτόμενος προσέειπεν

deduces a formula μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσι + participle (or adverb) + προσέειπεν, Homeric-sounding, but not actually occurring in Homer. He uses it several times complete:

AR 1.294 μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσι παρηγορέων προσέειπεν
2.621 μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσιν παραβλήδην προσέειπεν
4.394 μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσιν ὑποδδείσας προσέειπεν
4.1317 μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσιν ἀτυζόμενον προσέειπον[341]

and other times reduced to particle / adverb + προσέειπεν:

334 Cf. Ludwich 1873, 41.
335 Ludwich 1873, 41: 10.160–1 = 37.340–1, 33.143–8 = 41.402–7, 36.389–90 = 40.67–8.
336 Cf. Ludwich 1873, 41–3.
337 Hopkinson 1994b, 14; D'Ippolito 2003, 504.
338 Hurst 1997, 247.
339 Cf. Ludwich 1873, 56–65; D'Ippolito 2003, 505–3.
340 Cf. D'Ippolito 2003, 506–7.
341 Cf. also 4.1431, 1740.

AR 1.835 ὁ τήνγε παραβλήδην προσέειπεν
1.899 Αἴσονος υἱὸς ἀγαιόμενος προσέειπεν
1.1336 Αἴσονος υἱὸς ἐπιφραδέως προσέειπεν.[342]

Apollonius 'remodels' some other little used expressions,[343] such as

AR 3.635 ὡς πάρος ἐν στέρνοις, ἀδινὴν δ᾽ ἀνενείκατο φωνήν.

It does not have exact Homeric counterparts, but we find

Od. 19.521 ἥ τε θαμὰ τρωπώσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν
(and maybe *Batrach*. 251 κνήσας δὲ κάρη τοίην ἐφθέγξατο φωνήν).

In the third century strong differences are perceived in the use of the dialogue, reduced to monologues in most cases. Quintus of Smyrna shows a heavy presence of speeches,[344] which does not increase the *variatio* in the verbs of language: in most cases the same *verba dicendi* common in all Homeric tradition appear with only slight variations[345] and when a stronger verb is used the reality it refers to also requires a stronger emphasis.[346] Quintus does not display important lexical innovations: he only revises Homeric formulae and amplifies the uses of ἔβραχε, ἔβρεμε and ἴαχε, which he makes interchangeable, as they have the same metric value.[347]

342 Cf. as well 2.419, 437, 443, 868, 885; 3.55, 101, 107, 128, 400, 1119; 4.82, 1114, 1563.

343 D'Ippolito 2003, 507.

344 Cf. in QS 13: 15–18 (anonymous Trojan), 191–202 (Illoneus and Neoptolemus) and its parallel 225–40 (Priam and Neoptolemus), 271–86 (Andromache), 333–50 (Calchas' orders), 359–73 (Menelaus), 409–14 (Agamemnon to Menelaus), 469–77 (a Trojan), 505–31 (Etra and Demophon).

345 13.14 τοῖον ποτὶ μῦθον ἔειπεν; 19 Ὣς ἄρ᾽ ἔφη Τρώων τι; 198 Ὣς φάμενον προσέειπε κραταιοῦ Τυδέος υἱός; 203 Ὣς εἰπὼν; 225 Τοὔνεκά μιν προσέειπε; 237 Ὣς φάμενον προσέειπεν; 241 Ὣς εἰπὼν; 350 Ὣς φάτο; 358 τοῖον δ᾽ ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔειπεν; 374 Ὣς εἰπὼν; 406 μειλιχίοις μάλα πολλὰ παραυδήσας ἐπέεσσι; 415 Ὣς φαθ᾽; 468 Καί τις ἁλὸς κατὰ βένθος ἔσω νεὸς ἔκφατο μῦθον; 478 Ὣς ἄρ᾽ ἔφη; 518 Ὣς φάτο; 526 Δημοφόων δέ μιν ἠὺς ἐελδομένην προσέειπε; 532 Ὣς φάμενον.

346 13.189–90 (Illioneus begs Neoptolemus to spare his life) Ὣς δ᾽ ἀλεγεινὸν / ἴαχεν ἐσσυμένως (end of speech 198 Ὣς φάμενον); 271 (Andromache after Astyanax' death) καὶ ῥ᾽ ὀλοφυδνὸν ἄυσε μέγ᾽ ἀχνυμένη κέαρ ἔνδον and the speech is finished 287 Ἦ ῥα λιλαιομένη χθόνα δύμεναι; 333 (Calchas prevents the Achaeans from killing Aeneas) Καὶ τότε δὴ Κάλχας μεγάλ᾽ ἴαχε λαὸν ἐέργων; 505 (Etra's plea) ἣ δ᾽ αἰνὸν ἀναστενάχουσα μετηύδα, but end of speech (518) with a Ὣς φάτο.

347 For a study about the verbs of noise in QS, cf. Vian 1959, 181–2.

Triphiodorus makes an effort to variation, feeble in the conclusions of the speeches,[348] clearer in the introductions. In the second half of the line the patterns adjective + *verba dicendi* + φωνῇ are found:[349]

283 τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων ἀγανῇ μειλίξατο φωνῇ
490 στερεῇ δ' ἀπεπέμψατο φωνῇ

but also verb of language + adjetive + φωνή:

375 (Cassandra profesying) ἀνίαχε μαινάδι φωνῇ
456 ἐκ δὲ καλεσσαμένη προσέφη πειθήμονι φωνῇ.[350]

Nonnus[351] seems again to take up the same referents as Apollonius. Thus, from *Od.* 24.521 χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν and Apollonius' developments he creates a full formular system to introduce speeches[352] which fills the second hemistich of the introductory line[353] with the structure (adjective +) verb of language + φωνήν:

D. 1.325 ζηλομανὴς γελόωντι χόλῳ ζυνώσατο φωνήν
1.426 …γελόων κενεαυχέα ῥήξατο φωνήν
1.481 …Ἀδρήστεια τόσην ἐγράψατο φωνήν
47.112 …ἐς ἠέρα ῥήξατο φωνήν.[354]

348 152 Ὣς φάμενος; 283 Ὣς φάτο; 304 Ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη ; 417 Ἡ μὲν ἔφη; 439 Ὣς εἰπών; 463 Ὣς φαμένη; 497 Ὣς φαμένη.

349 μῦθος occurs once: 264 λισσόμενος δὲ γέροντα δολοπλόκον ἴαχε μῦθον. Cf. the Homeric precedents: for 283, cf. *Il.* 2.164 (σοῖς ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρήτυε φῶτα ἕκαστον), 6.343 (τὸν δ' Ἑλένη μύθοισι προσηύδα μειλιχίοισι; cf. as well Nonn. *D.* 47.77 φίλῳ μειλίξατον μύθῳ); for 490, cf. *Il.* 12.267 (ἄλλον μειλιχίοις, ἄλλον στερεοῖς ἐπέεσσι). Cf. Gerlaud 1982, nn. to 283 and 490.

350 Cf. *Od.* 19.15 = 21.380 (ἐκ δὲ καλεσσαμένος προσέφη); Nonn. *D.* 8.165 (πειθήμονι μύθῳ). Cf. Gerlaud 1982, n. to 456. Other introductions also have Homeric precedents (cf. Gerlaud 1982, nn. ad loc.): for 291 Τὸν δ' ἐπιθαρσήσας προσέφη πολυμήχανος ἥρως, cf. *Il.* 4.183 (τὸν δ' ἐπιθαρσύνων προσέφη); for 419 Τὴν δὲ πατὴρ ἐνένισπεν ὁμοκλήσας ἐπέεσσι, cf. *Il.* 23.363 (ὁμόκλησάν τ' ἐπέεσσιν), *Od.* 18.326 (ἐνένιπεν ὀνειδείοισι ἔπεσσιν). The same can be said about the introduction to Odysseus in 117–19: cf. Gerlaud 1982, nn. to 117, 119.

351 Ludwich 1873, 57–63.

352 On the conclusive formulae of the speeches, cf. D'Ippolito 2003, 512.

353 D'Ippolito 2003, 507. Cf. the study of the position in the line, D'Ippolito 2003, 507–12.

354 With variants such as *D.* 42.157 (καὶ Βερόην ἐρέεινε χέων ψευδήμονα φωνήν), 487 (ἠέρι μῦθον ἔειπε χέων ἀνεμώδεα φωνήν). Cf. also Nonn. *P.* 1: ll. 47, 79, 83, 126, 143, 174, 191.

To introduce the characters' speeches he frequently resorts to the verb ἴαχω:

D. 1.92	The Achaean sailor seeing Europa riding the bull: Ἀχαιικὸς ἴαχε ναύτης
2.208	Nike arming her father for the battle: πολύτροπον ἴαχε φωνήν
3.102	A raven prophesying to Cadmus: φιλοκέρτομον ἴαχε φωνήν
3.325	Electra to Cadmus: Ἠλέκτρη δ' ἀίουσα παρήγορον ἴαχε φωνήν
4.215	Selene rebukes Aphrodite: Κύπριδι μεμφομένη φιλοκέρτομος ἴαχε Μήνη
4.392	Athena shouts to Cadmus: καί οἱ ἀτυζομένῳ λαοσσόος ἴαχε δαίμων
5.461	The mountain answers Actaion's dogs: καὶ ἀντιάχησε κολώνη.

Even though sometimes the verb keeps its primary meaning,[355] at other times it seems to be eroded and reduced to simple *verbum dicendi.* The Panopolite may be resorting to the verbs of noise as an element of *variatio* for the *verba dicendi.*[356]

4. Poetics / stylistics

DH *De comp verb.* 21.1–2 Ἐγὼ τῆς συνθέσεως ἰδικὰς μὲν πολλὰς διαφορὰς σφόδρα εἶναι τίθεμαι καὶ οὔτ' εἰς σύνοψιν ἐλθεῖν δυναμένας οὔτ' εἰς λογισμὸν ἀκριβῆ, οἶομαί τε ἴδιον ἡμῶν ἑκάστῳ χαρακτῆρα ὥσπερ ὄψεως, οὕτω καὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων παρακολουθεῖν, οὐ φαύλως παραδείγματι χρώμενος ζωγραφίᾳ· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τὰ αὐτὰ φάρμακα λαμβάνοντες ἅπαντες οἱ τὰ ζῷα γράφοντες οὐδὲν ἐοικότα ποιοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις τὰ μίγματα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐν ποιητικῇ τε διαλέκτῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἁπάσῃ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι χρώμενοι πάντες οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτὰ συντίθεμεν.[357]

According to Roberts there are three main principles governing late antique poetics. The first of them can be summarised with the motto "the

355 2.400 (Μακηδονὶς ἴαχεν ὕλη); 5.386 (Ἁρμονίη δ' ἰάχησε), 489 (ἴαχε Λοξώ).

356 A similar case may be that of ἐρεύγεσθαι: cf. Gigli Piccardi 1985, 104 ff.; De Stefani 2002, 227 ff.

357 "I hold the view that there are very many distinct forms of composition, which can be included neither in a comprehensive view nor in a detailed reckoning. I also think that, as in personal appearance, so in literary composition, an individual character is associated with each of us; and I find not a bad illustration in painting. As in that art all painters mix their pigments together in a variety of shades, in the same way in poetry and all other literature, though we all use the same words, we do not put them together in the same manner." Greek ed.: Aujac – Lebel 1981. Transl.: Usher 1985.

more difficult, the better":[358] poets, as in general all men of letters and plastic artists at that time, do not intend to be original with their compositions, but to carry to the end, to higher levels of difficulty, what they perceive as clear virtues and expertise found in the models approved of by the passage of time and which, in written arts, are literally dissected in the training years.[359] This explains the all-inclusive nature of late antique literature, which has been read as accumulative (focus on detail, while larger units are allegedly neglected) and accused of overusing synonymy and repetition.[360]

Secondly, general regularity is combined with variation in detail,[361] i. e. large-scale elements and structures are often repeated, but none of them is exactly equal to the next and each instance displays new details or perceptions.[362] Finally, the taste for stylisation and abstraction[363] explains the two-dimensional treatment of figures and spaces and the disappearance of personal features under the weight of attributes of status. These two features are found in works of plastic art of the time, but have their literary counterparts in the absence of psychological depth of the characters and the increase of anonymous figures, frequently grouped by general features.

These principles recur in the *Dionysiaca*, but the main stylistic notion of the poem is the ποικιλία, as explained in the prologue:

> 1.13–15 ἀλλὰ χοροῦ ψαύοντα, Φάρῳ παρὰ γείτονι νήσῳ,
> στήσατέ μοι Πρωτῆα πολύτροπον ὄφρα φανείη
> ποικίλον εἶδος ἔχων, ὅτι ποικίλον ὕμνον ἀράσσω
> ("but bring me a partner for your dance in the neighbouring island of Pharos, Proteus of many turns, that he may appear in all his diversity of shapes, since I twang my harp to a diversity of songs").

Here πολύτροπον and ποικίλον εἶδος ἔχων are interchangeable and the first one refers to the first line of the *Odyssey*, to Odysseus, the ἄνδρα

358 Roberts 1989a, 11.
359 There is an elevation of the exquisite detail to a large scale: cf. Elsner 2004, 301–2.
360 On abundance (περιβολή), cf. Hermog. *Id.* 277.21 ff. Cf. Elsner 2004, esp. 304–9.
361 Roberts 1989a, 12–13; Agosti 2006b, 362.
362 Roberts 1989a, 36–7, 59.
363 Roberts 1989a, 69, 78 ff.; Agosti 2006b, 357–8. Cf. already Wifstrand 1933, 176–7.

πολύτροπον.[364] Odysseus is the perfect *alter ego* for Dionysus: he leaves his native Ithaca to embark upon a journey during which he comes into contact with exotic peoples and fights big battles; he is a hero who changes his shape and costumes to adapt to circumstances and after long years of wandering he reaches the place where he belongs.[365] Besides, the passage overlaps with Pindaric tradition, as ποικίλον ὕμνον recuperates a similar expression from Pindar.[366]

However, though at that time some authors had a 'classic' view of Odysseus,[367] others interpreted the *Odyssey* in a Neoplatonic view as representing the journeys the soul has to undertake to go back to its celestial home.[368] This turns Odysseus into a spiritual hero and the πολυτροπία into a necessary virtue. This interpretation passes to Patristic literature, where Odysseus even becomes an *alter ego* of Christ, especially because of the scene where he appears bound to the mast of his ship to resist the Sirens' song (*Od.* 12.178–9).[369]

We know that Nonnus was familiar with these interpretations, because, when he narrates the crucifixion in his *Paraphrase* (19.28, 92 ff.), he draws inspiration from the passage of Odysseus and the Sirens.[370] Besides, in the same way as in Patristic literature the compounds of ποικιλ(ο)- become frequent,[371] they appear in the *Paraphrase* applied to Christ[372] and *P.* 21.139–43 can be cited as proof that the ποικιλία is the stylistic principle of the poem.[373] Dionysus, Christ and in general late antique deities (e.g. as known from the *Orphic Hymns*) are polymorphic.[374]

Nevertheless, in the Homeric poems ποικίλος is not applied to persons, but to objects of several colours either by nature or as a result of

364 Cf. Hopkinson 1994b, 10–11; Agosti 1997a, 33. The equivalence of both terms is already found in ancient Homeric philology: cf. *Schol. ad Od.* α 1 Schrader = Antisth. fr. 187.30 ff. Giannantoni.

365 Cf. Hopkinson 1994b, 18.

366 Cf. 25.20–1 (ἀειδομένης τάχα Θήβης / Πινδαρέης φόρμιγγος) and comm. in Agosti 2004b, n. to. 25.21.

367 Cf. Cyrus' encomium on Constantine in *AP* 15.9.5–6.

368 Agosti 1997a, 34; Lamberton 1986, 90–107.

369 Agosti 1997a, 34.

370 Livrea – Accorinti 1988.

371 Cf. Lampe 1965, *s.vv.* ποικιλ-. Cf. Agosti 1997a, 34.

372 Ποικιλόμυθος (3.9, 7.193), ποικιλόδωρος ἄναξ (12.68), ποικιλόνωτος (19.25); Jesus' signs are ποικίλα θαύματα (7.19), his words νοημάτων ποικίλα μύθων (18.103; cf. Livrea 1989, p. 160, n. to 103).

373 Cf. Agosti 2006a, 53–4; 1997a, p. 35, n. 33.

374 Cf. all the references in Gigli Piccardi 1990, 88–9.

human work,[375] and only later is it applied to persons. We find it applied specifically to Prometheus (Hes. *Theog.* 511) and to Odysseus (Eur. *IA* 526), both cunning and witty, so that it acquires a relationhip with delusion and, in general, with everything that is crooked.[376] When we find ποικίλος applied to Proteus for the first time, he is taken as a prototype of polymorphism,[377] but in the *Shepherd* by Hermas it occurs several times, all of them in clearly neutral contexts, meaning 'variegated'.[378] Ποικίλος and its compounds appear in Oppian's *Halieutica*,[379] but not even once in the *Cynegetica*, nor in Quintus of Smyrna, nor in Triphiodorus, though the idea of 'variegated' or 'colourful' is registered in αἰόλος and δαιδάλεος.[380]

Besides these literary uses, the ποικιλία appears early in the vocabulary for the critical assessment of literature. Although Plato rejects it,[381] his contemporary Isocrates (*Phil.* 5.27) considers that it contributes to make the discourse agreeable and persuasive, apparently reflecting the general opinion. Aristotle (*Rh.* 1371a.25–8) defends variety and change because they are agreeable, while uniformity in excess is tiring. Even further, variety is characteristic of the epic, rather than of tragedy, as the former, being longer, may combine different arguments (*P.* 1459b.26–31).

375 Cf. *Il.* 10.30 (ποικίλη παρδαλέη), 5.735 (peplos of several colours), 14.134 (θώρηξ).

376 This idea had been present since the Homeric poems in Odysseus' epithets, even in πολύτροπον in *Od.* 1.1. Cf. as well αἰολόμητις or αἰολομήτης already in Hes. *Th.* 511, Hes. *fr.* 10.2 M-W, Opp. *H.* 2.503 (αἰολόμητιν Ὀδυσσέα), **39.** *P.Berol.* 5003 F11.8 Steinrück (Ἀγήνορά τ' αἰολομήτην), eight times in the *Dionysiaca* (cf. Peek *s.v.*).

377 Cf. Luc. *De Sacr.* 5. On the references to Proteus in imperial times, cf. Gigli Piccardi 1993, 232.

378 Herm. *Pastor*, Mand. 4.ii.3 (πολλαί μου εἰσὶν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι καὶ ποικίλαι), 6.ii.5 (κραιπαλῶν πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων τροφῶν καὶ οὐ δεόντων), 10.i.5 (ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθῶν καὶ βοτανῶν ποικίλων), Sim. 6.iii.3 (δειναῖς καὶ ποικιλίαις τιμωρίαις; and again applied to the same substantive in 4).

379 Opp. *H.* 1.381, 676, 3.173 (where ποικίλον means 'subtle'), 4.443.

380 Opp. *H.:* αἰολ- (1.100, 125, 242, 440, 617, 728 *al.*), does not use δαιδαλ-; Opp. *C.* αἰολ- (1.36, 166, 222, 289, 452, 470 *al.*), δαιδαλ- (1.58, 218, 324, 335, 351, 355, 496 *al.*); QS αἰόλος (1.338; 3.369, 497; 4.563; 6.441; 7.81, 331, 423; 8.174, 244; 11.153; 12. 193), δαιδαλ- (1.141, 2.464, 6.243, 7.198, 10.180); Triph. αἰόλος (247, 330; cf. Campbell 1985, App. 247), δαιδάλεος (303), in the three cases referred to the horse.

381 Plato's rejection: *Menex.* 243.c.4–a.2, *Rep.* 399.c.5-e.11. 404.d.11-e.5, *Leg.* 812d4-e5; its acceptance in *Leg.* 665.c.5–7 would be an allowance to the weaknes of the audience. Cf. Heath 1989, 28–30.

That is what happens in the *Iliad* (1459a.30–4): the theme, the war of Troy, was too long to be treated in full, but it could not be reduced as due to its variety it was too complex (ἢ τῷ μεγέθει μετριάζοντα καταπεπλεγμένον τῇ ποικιλίᾳ).

Apparently, at some point, the ποικιλία was associated with Homer and thus with the epic[382] and in the scholia of the *Iliad* (Σ B 13.219–329) Homer is called φιλοποίκιλος. In fact, the scholia present Homer[383] as a poet capable of producing variety in repetition: familiar similes, narrative segments and episodes are expounded in a fresh way (καινόν), breaking the recursive sequence. The ποικιλία is the poet's aim, as its opposite, uniformity (τὸ ὁμοειδές), leads to tedium (it is προσκορές, i.e. produces κόρος, surfeit).

This brings us back to the initial reflection on the principles of late antique poetics. Since our poets tried to surpass their models' virtues (above all Homer's) and perceived as an important skill his capacity to present the same contents in different non-repetitive ways, it makes sense that Nonnus chooses Proteus as his symbol. Both Proteus and Dionysus undergo metamorphoses[384] and are always unpredictable and different, but always themselves.[385] We also realise that the reader gets tired, because the principle is taken to the end, so that he never has the possibility of getting bored, but he does not get either the necessary times of relaxation.[386]

The centrality of the ποικιλία is a development of late antique aesthetics, since in earlier times writers were meant to keep a balance with homogeneity or repetition. Thus Dionysius of Halicarnassus thinks that

382 DH *De comp. verb.* 16.8; DH *Pomp.* 3.11; Plu. *Mor.* 504d (*De garrulitate*). Demosthenes is the other champion of variety: DH *De comp. verb.* 21.9–13, *Dem. passim* (esp. 5.8.2–4); according to Theon (64.4), Demosthenes is capable of repeating the same a thousand times in a speech, without the listeners noticing it, thanks to his variety of expression; Hermog. *Id. passim* (e.g. 215.6–11). Cf. also Theon 68.21–2.

383 Cf. Heath 1989, 102–23, esp. 100–11; Agosti 1997a, 33.

384 Proteus: *D.* 1.16–33, 43.230–45. Dionysus: *D.* 36.291–336, 40.40–56 (cf. also Zagreus in 6.174–99 and Zeus in 7.318–33). They are a reappraisal and variation of *Od.* 4.454–8.

385 Agosti 1996, 171. Proteus is assumed into the chorus of the Muses, now Bacchants: the Dionysism thus assumes multiplicity (cf. Gigli Piccardi 1993, 233). The poem becomes then (Agosti 1996, 172) "una esplorazione del dio uno che si rifrange nel molteplice". On the history of the relationship of Proteus and the ποικιλία, cf. Tissoni 1998, 80–4.

386 Vian 1988b, 292; Auger 2003, 428; Schmiel 2003, 480–2.

the beauty of stylistic composition requires melody, rhythm, variety and convenience.[387] Also, Aristotle says that the epideictic is the one among the genres requiring more variegated narrations[388] and the author of the *De sublime* (39.3) closely relates ποικιλία to the most elaborated style. In fact, the very adjective ποικίλος appears quoted in references to an elegant and elevated style.[389]

The references in the Hermogenic corpus and in the rest of the Προγυμνάσματα are more general.[390] The treatise on invention poses lexical variety as indispensable and mentions the variation of the different *kola.*[391] Besides, the treatise *On ideas* insists on the importance of the combination of ideas, suggesting Demosthenes as a model.[392] The treatises of Aphthonius and Nicolaus of Myra coincide in using the term in the section devoted to the ἔκφρασις.[393]

The constraint and balance mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus are completely overcome in Late Antiquity. Moreover his suggestions cannot be used as a basis for the analysis of later authors, as in the prologue of the *Dionysiaca* Nonnus defends the ποικιλία *per se*, with no constrictions at all, as the starting point for poetic composition.[394]

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387 Cf. DH *De comp.* chapters 11–13, 19; Dem. *De eloc.* 73.3; Ps. Long. *De Subl.* 23.1; on the variety in the modes of enunciation, cf. Theon 88.21–2, 91.11–12. Cf. also Hor. *A.P.* 1–5 (analysis and interpretation in Cizek 1994, 102).

388 *Rhet.* 1416b.25–6: in the epideictic genre the narrative will not be consecutive (ἐφεξῆς), but in parts (κατὰ μέρος), as a a narrative of the first kind is too simple and the second is more subtle and not simple (ἁπλούστερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ποικίλος καὶ οὐ λιτός); also Hermog. *Id.* 389.7–9.

389 Dem. *De eloc.* 164 (on the difference between hilarity [τὸ γελοῖον] and charm [τὸ εὖχαρι]) τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὖχαρι μετὰ κόσμου ἐκφέρεται καὶ δι' ὀνομάτων καλῶν, ἃ μάλιστα ποιεῖ τὰς χάριτας, οἷον τὸ "ποικίλλεται μὲν γαῖα πολυστέφανος" …τὸ δὲ γελοῖον δὶ ὀνομάτων ἐστὶν εὐτελῶν καὶ κονιοτέρων ("Charm is expressed by means of embellishment through beautiful words. These contribute most to charm as, for instance, 'the earth with its variegated embroidery of flowery garlands'… but ridicule or comic laughther requires current everyday language"); Theon 74.18 quotes Hes. *Op.* 203 Ὣδ' ἴρηξ προσέειπεν ἀηδόνα ποικιλόδειρον.

390 Among Latin authors, cf. Quint. 2.13.8–11; Cic. *Fin.* 2.10.

391 Hermog. *Inv.* 120.14–16 on the narrative. On where should we vary the vocabulary, cf. *Meth. dein.* 416.8–417.16. On the variety achieved by the prosopopoea, cf. *Inv.* 155.25–156.2.

392 Hermog. *Id.* 216, 222, 279–80, 305, 380.

393 Aphth. *Prog.* 38.1 (Ἐκφράζοντας δὲ δεῖ τὸν τε χαρακτῆρα ἀνειμένον ἐκφέρειν καὶ διαφόροις ποικίλλειν τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ ὅλως ἀπομιμεῖσθαι τὰ ἐκφραζόμενα πράγματα); Nic. 70.20 (Φράσεως δὲ ποικίλης ἐν αὐτῇ δεόμεθα).

394 Cf. **54.3** 'Song of the day' (vv. 2–4): ὅπου γὰρ [….]ῳ συντρέχουσιν οἱ λόγο[ι, / τὸν ποικίλον νοῦν τῶν ποιητῶν σωφρόνως / ἕλκουσιν.

All-inclusive Poetry

We can still draw more consequences from the prologue of the *Dionysiaca*. In *D.* 1.13–15 Proteus joins the chorus of the Muses, identified as bacchants,[395] so that he is included in the retinue of Dionysus, the god with manifold variants.[396] The poet assumes Proteic variety[397] when looking for the parallels to his multiple costumes, and commits himself to finding the appropriate form for each episode (*D.* 1.16–33). The forms should be all epic, but depending on the topic he will draw on different traditions in search for inspiration.

To the transformations of the old man from the sea Nonnus answers with a series of Dionysiac episodes: the god's victory over the Giants (ll. 16–18, cf. 48.1–89), his childhood with Rhea (ll. 19–21, cf. 9.132–205, 10.139–12.397), his war against the Indians (ll. 22–5, cf. 13–40), his passion for Aura (ll. 26–8, cf. 48.238–968), his conflict with Lycurgus (ll. 29–30, cf. 20.1–21.169) and his encounter with Icarius (ll. 31–3, cf. 47.1–264). These episodes do not follow a chronological order, nor do they seem to be related to each other, but they are not brought about by chance.[398] Thus, the Giants refer to everything that is monstrous in the poem, including the Typhonomachy (1.138–320, 1.362–2.712); the childhood with Rhea links up with Dionysus' genealogy, birth and first youth (books 1–12); the war against the Indians, central to the poem, is a heroic fight and a travel novel; the episode of Aura has some parallels in the other love affairs of Dionysus (Nicaea 15.169–16.405; Beroe 41–3; Ariadna 47.265–471; Pallene 48.90–237); Lycurgus looks like one of the outlaws appearing in the novels; the episode of Icarius, besides displaying a bucolic mood (as does the story of Ampelos in 10.130–12.397), is one of a series of narratives related to the Πάτρια, which fill the last part of the poem (40.291–47.741: Tyre, Beryto, Thebes, Athens, Naxos, Argos). These episodes refer to other genres present in Dionysiac epic: heroic literature, genealogy, novel (adventures, travelling, romance), bucolic poetry and πάτρια.

It seems, therefore, that ποικιλία and πολυτροπία as principles of the epic explain that it incorporates and combines the rest of the genres. It is

395 *D.* 1.11–12, 34; also 13.46 (Κορυβαντίδες Μοῦσαι), 15.70 (θιασώδεος ὄργια Μούσης). Cf. the analysis in Gigli Piccardi 1993, 233.

396 Cf. Vian 1976, 9; Harries 1994, 63–4; Hopkinson 1994b, 10.

397 Cf. the analysis of this kind of variety in Cizek 1994, 102–7.

398 Cf. Vian 1976, 9.

not that the author is incapable of keeping a uniform mood,[399] nor is it a simple juxtaposition or accumulation of genres, but their assimilation to create something new.[400] At a time when the sensitivity to the differentiation of the genres decreases,[401] it seems almost natural that the strongest genre assumes the subject matter, formal resources and vocabulary of the 'loser'. Apparently only hexametric poetry is seen as capable of reproducing the characteristics of old independent genres and high culture is equated with hexameter compositions, whose initial premise is the ποικιλία.[402] In his prooemium Nonnus does not reject epic poetry, only its rancid manners, the stinking garments Menelaus and his men used as disguise (*D.* 1.37–8): the Homeric variation is simply not enough for Nonnus[403] and has to be taken to its limit.

One of the most interesting generic variations is that of pastoral genre, which has been fully studied by Harries.[404] The references in the *Dionysiaca* begin in the prologue itself, with the mention of the episode of Icarius (1.31–3), but above all with the rejection of the αὐλός as an instrument of the poet and the introduction of the percussion instruments, more adequate for a Dionysiac song (1.39–40). Pastoral elements are linked to the first half of the poem,[405] until Dionysus invents wine (12.328–93) and finds in it the perfect replacement for pastoral music and poetry, now meaningless.

The change occurs in the story of Hymnos and Nicaea (15.169–16.405):[406] Hymnos' passion has all the characteristics of pastoral poet-

399 Cf. Collart 1913, 133. Krafft 1975, 92–4 revises the critical analyses about the sometimes 'little Homeric' character of the *Dionysiaca*.

400 Cf. the analogous attitude in coeval plastic arts: Elsner 2004, 292, 304.

401 Garzya 1984, 19.

402 This implies, of course, a previous minute work on all the genres in earlier literature, as ποικιλία is not confined to important subjects or formal features, but it requires a deep knowledge of the models used in intertextual allusions. Cf. Harries 1994, 64.

403 This is not a new approach: cf. Heath 1989, 61–2 on the *Wedding of Thetis and Peleus* by Catullus.

404 Cf. Harries 1994, 63–85; 2006, 515–40.

405 Episode of Cadmus in 1.321–2.68; story of Actaion in 5.287–551; story of Ampelos 10.175–11.252 and related with it the narrative of Calamos and Carpos in 11.369–99.

406 Harries 1994, 72–6. 'Reedited' in 48.811–28 (episode of Aura): parallels in Gerlaud 1994, 102–7.

ry,[407] but it is incompatible with Nicaea's masculine nature. What Hymnos does not get by the traditional pastoral means is achieved by Dionysus with his new weapon, wine, so that Pan (16.306–40) complains that he was given the flute instead of the vine. The new Dionysiac religion (i.e. the new ποικιλία, unity in multiplicity) assumes and overcomes the pastoral mood: old forms, already obsolete, are assumed in the creation of a new whole.[408]

The presence of pastoral elements depends on this recreation, which explains the poet's lack of interest in clear pastoral images. Thus, in the episode of Cadmus (1.321–2.68),[409] he is consecutively called νομεύς (1.373, 412, 505; 2.21), ποιμήν (1.424, 463, 513, 521), αἰπόλος (1.427, 474; 2.3), βουκόλος (1.444, 460, 505; 2.9), βοτήρ (1.376) and βούτης (1.387); he tends sheep (1.447), goats (1.449) and cattle (1.453); he plays the σῦριγξ (1.374, 394, 418, 429, 447, 467, 486, 522; 2.2), the πηκτίς (1.389, 431, 434, 444; 2.19) and the αὐλός (1.466). That is all secondary, as he stresses the power of music to seduce (θέλγειν) the giant Typhon. This very power is to be found in adult Dionysus when he turns the water of the river into wine for the first time (14.411 ff.), seducing and inebriating his enemies. In fact, the effects of music in Typhon are described in similar terms to those of wine.[410]

The assimilation of the bucolic / pastoral genre by the epic is perceived also in shorter poems, in particular in **54.3** 'Song of the day' attributed to Pamprepius of Panopolis (*P.Vindob.* 29788) and in *AP* 9.136 (by Cyrus of Panopolis, bucolic threnody on leaving Constantinople)[411] and 363 (description of the spring in 24 hexameters).[412] The 'Song of the day' was probably composed *c.* 500 and comprises a short iambic pro-

407 On the relationship of this episode with the love epigrams of the *AP*, cf. Hollis 1994, 50–5.

408 Cf. Harries 1994, 69–70, 78. On the subsequent evolution in Colluthus, cf. Harries 2006, 540–7.

409 Cf. Harries 1994, 65–9. Something similar happens with Hymnos in 15.212–20, where he is consecutively called βουκόλος, βούτης, ποιμήν and νομεύς.

410 Cf. 2.9b-10 ὁ δὲ πλέον ἡδέι κέντρῳ / ἤθελεν εἰσαίειν φρενοθελγέα ῥυθμὸν ἀοιδῆς ("But all the Giant wanted was, to hear more and more of the mind-bewitching melody with its delicious thrill"), to be compared with 14.419–37. It is to be remembered that Typhon is charmed by Cadmus' flute as a result of Eros' intervention: cf. 1.376–409.

411 Cf. analysis by Cameron 1982, 230–5: he thinks that it is a part of a longer poem; about the genre [231] "while it is certainly not true bucolic, whether in dialect or style, there is an unmistakable bucolic flavour to the poem".

412 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 169.

logue (6 lines) and a long composition of 192 hexameters, in which the changes of the weather and human activities in a single day are described. The subject allows the author to include learned motifs, such as the rejuvenation of the swan, whose song is the effect of the wind passing through its feathers (ll. 10–13), the evolutions of the stars (l. 18 ff.) or the use of speech;[413] he also devotes some time to the description of farm work (ll. 41–9, 116–76) and of tree-nymphs (l. 50 ff.), whose bodies are erotically revealed.[414]

AP 9.363 was also composed by an author who tried to please the learned public with the delicacies of epic language adapted to a subtle subject.[415] *AP* 9.136 is completely different: Cyrus says goodbye to Constantinople wishing he were a bucolic poet, so that he could sing his misfortune in bucolic manner; the mood is political and Virgilian.[416] Beside these, **26.1** 'Hesiod inspired by the Muses' reflects on the relationship between the bucolic and the epic genres and clearly defines the former as a prior and inferior step to the latter. Hesiod abandons his bucolic tools to devote himself to a more important poetic mission, when he receives the visit of the Muses.

Another genre also represented in the *Dionysiaca* is the epigrammatic, found in six funerary distichs.[417] The first of them provides us with the key to understand their inclusion in the poem:

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413 l. 101 θυμοδακὴς ὅτι μῦθος, ἔπειτα δὲ μῆτι[ς ἀμείνων.

414 Cf. esp. ll. 55 (ἀθήλεα πῆχυν ἀεῖσαι), 83 (στέρνα δὲ ν[υ]μφάων ἐζώσατο παντρόφον αἴγλην), 90 (μαζοὶ δ' ἐσφ<ρ>ιγόω[ν]το ῥοώδεες). The description of the shepherdess dressed as a man (vv. 159–76) is very erotic too. That of the tree-nymphs is not the only personification: cf. v. 79 (πᾶσα [δὲ γαῖα γ]έλασσε, πάλ[ιν] μείδησε γαλήνη – reconstruction by Maas from Nonn. *D.* 7.34), 136–8.

415 Cf. conclusion ll. 19–24. Wifstrand 1933, 169 includes 9.363 in a group about which he says: "Es sieht aus wie ein byzantinisches Florilegium von Gelegenheitsversen, Buchaufschriften [170] und anderen Epigrammen, Fragmenten u. dgl., das Kephalas exzerpiert".

416 Cf. line 1 αἴθε πατήρ με δίδαξε δασύτριχα μῆλα νομεύειν. Cf. the revision of the text and analysis by Cameron 1982, 230–5.

417 Cf. Collart 1913: 2.629–30 (epitaph for Typhoeus by Zeus), 11.475–6 (epitaph for Calamos and Carpos, by Calamos), 15.361–2 (Hymnos asks Nicaea to inscribe this epitaph on his grave), 17.313–14 (epitaph for Orontes, Indian leader), 37.101–2 (epitaph for bacchant Opheltes), 46.318–19 (Agaue is going to engrave it on Pentheus' grave). Schulze 1974 analyses them all except 46.318–19. Collart 1913 differentiates two types of epigrams depending on the subject: ἐρωτικά (15.298–302 Hymnos to Nicaea; 34.292–6 Morrheus to Chalcomede; 42.459–67 Poseidon to Beroe; 10.280–6 Satyr to Ampelos; 29.39–44 Di-

2.629–30 Γηγενέος τόδε σῆμα Τυφωέος, ὅν ποτε πέτροις
αἰθέρα μαστίζοντα κατέφλεγεν αἰθέριον πῦρ.
"This is the barrow of Typhoeus son of Earth, who once lashed the sky with stones, and the fire of heaven burnt him up".

Although it parallels some preserved epitaphs,[418] it takes up *Il.* 7.89–90, composed in the style of funerary epigrams.[419] It seems that Nonnus feels compelled to include funerary epigrams because they appear in the Homeric poems and from this archetype he develops several variants. In his compositions he has in mind the characteristic patterns of inscriptional epigrams,[420] but his are literary reworkings. They can be paralleled with several epigrams from the *Palatine Anthology* (7.310, 356–60, 580–1), which exploit the topic of the victim buried by the killer,[421] and also with the *Corpus Bucolicum.*[422]

On the other hand, each epigram has a different sense, depending on the context, although all of them seem to condense the essence of the passage. Thus, the epigram of Typhoeus makes fun of the monster who hoped to seat on Zeus' throne and made a fool of himself pretending to be the lord of lightning. When Calamos devises an epithaph for himself and for Carpos (11.475–6), he intends to unite them both after dying, as they have been separated in life. This contrasts with the story of Dionysus and Ampelos, as Dionysus cannot die. When declaiming his epigram to Nicaea (15.361–2), Hymnos prophesies his own death at her hands (cf. 15.363–9). The Nymphs (17.313–14) pick up the moral of the story:

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onysus to Hymenaios) and ἀναθηματικά / ἐπιδεικτικά (4.238–46 Cadmus's sailor when seeing Harmonia; 7.117–28 engraved on Eros' quiver; 9.149–54 Hermes addresses Rhea to ask her to take care of Dionysus; 17.74–80 encomium on the wine). To be compared with the presence of inscriptions in the novel: cf. Sironen 2003.

418 Cf. Peek 1955, nos. 58, 77, 78, 235; Schulze 1974, p. 128, n. 12.

419 Ancient commentators characterised five Iliadic passages as epigrammatic: 3.156–8, 178–80, 200–2; 6.460–1 and 7.89–90. The last two are composed by Hector as epitaphs, as does 7.301–2. The first three are pronounced by Helen in the τειχοσκοπία and define her as a poet: cf. Elmer 2005, esp. 31–3. References to ancient commentators in Elmer 2005, p. 3, n. 11.

420 17.313–14 and 37.101–2 belong to the type ἐνθάδε κεῖται, represented in Peek 1955, nos. 342, 397, 412, 735. Cf. Schulze 1974, p. 125, n. 4. Similar formulations to the one in 11.476–7 in Peek 1955, nos. 112 and 1846 (cf. Schulze 1974, p. 129, n. 14).

421 Cf. Gerlaud 1994, p. 222, n. to 360–2.

422 *Corpus Bucolicum* XXIII, *Epitaph on Bion* by Moschos, *Epitaph on Adonis* by Bion. Cf. D'Ippolito 1964, 98–9.

Orontes is punished for his impiety.[423] The lines dedicated to Opheltes (37.101–2) summarise the episode and link the end of the funerals and the beginning of the games in his honour, while those for Pentheus (46.318–19) recapitulate the mourning and grief of his mother Agaue, who gave him life and now has taken it from him.

There are more non-funerary inscriptions. After Aion and Zeus' encounter (7.1–109), when Zeus promises the birth of Dionysus, who will heal the human distress with wine, Eros prepares the arrow which will prompt the union of Zeus and Semele (110–35). Nonnus introduces a catalogue of Zeus' human liaisons using the twelve arrows stored in the quiver from which Eros retrieves Semele's one (7.117–35). The catalogue is engraved on the quiver in gold letters (7.115–16) and Aphrodite's son adds a line each time he uses an arrow. We find, besides, oracular inscriptions[424] and one-line quotations or short epigrams of anonymous characters. The latter are introduced in the speeches by ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ as reinforcement of the argument.[425]

The influence of the novel on the *Dionysiaca* has often been observed.[426] Thus Gigli Piccardi 1978 has explored the numerous parallels between Nonnus' poem and *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, echoed strongly in the story of Dionysus and Beroe (42.1–441), whose referent seems to be the initial part of the novel. Other passages presenting clear reminiscences are Pan's *erotodidaxis* to Dionysus (42.205–73), which has a lot to do with Clinias' to Cleitophon (Ach.Tat. 1.10),[427] or the description of Hymnos (15.204–7).[428] Nevertheless, that which has received the designation of novel is the story of Morrheus and the Bacchant Chalcomede, which fills books 33–5.[429]

423 Cf. Gerlaud 1994, p. 256, n. to 312–14.

424 Cf. 12.70–89, 97–102, 110–14.

425 Cf. 2.303–4, 8.249–50, 15.346–7, 21.39–40, 30.184–5, 33.261–2, 46.174–5, 48.548–9, 48.747–8. Cf. Peek *s.v.* εἶπον Ib. Vian 1997a, p. 123, n. 184 and Agosti 2004c, nn. to 29.43–4, 30.185 call them epigrams. Other quotations with different introductions can be found in 39.142–8, 8.89–90, 11.30–2 (cf. *AP* 5.142).

426 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 146–8; Keydell 1936c, 906–7; Dostálová-Jeništová 1962; Vian 1976, xlviii-xlix, 10, 39; Frangoulis 2006a.

427 Cf. also Bion's Frag. 10.

428 Cf. Gerlaud 1994, 56.

429 Cf. Gerlaud 1994, 15–33, excellent analysis, to a great extent basis of what follows. On the function of the Calchomedy in the *Dionysiaca*, cf. Frangoulis 2006b, 24–30; Agosti 2004b, 464 ff.

It is a long episode, prepared for by the previous cantos: Morrheus, an important leader of the Indian side, until then always victorious, is defeated by his love for a woman[430] who does not return his love (33.201–3), but encourages him, to distract his attention and save Bacchic army.[431] Some really tragic passages are included (cf. Chalcomede's desperation in 33.318–47), but the final outcome is comic: Chalcomede reverses their roles and suggests to Morrheus that he should have a pre-nuptial bath (35.109–60). He bathes in the Eritrean Sea wishing the water will turn him white, but he comes out still black (185–98) and he does not reach his aim, because Chalcomede's virginity is protected by a serpent (204–22).[432]

This is not the only subversion of the ideal novel, since the subject matter is an adulterous affair, not a passion with happy ending, and if the heroine preserves her virginity is not for her lover, but at his expense. The thread is a perversion of that proper of a novel from the very beginning: Eros only wounds Morrheus (33.180–94) and condemns him to be the only one in suffering the crazy love proper of a novel, failing his army and embarrassing his wife Cheirobie.[433]

The influence of the novel is also perceptible in certain atrocious details, the inclusion of which does not aim to reflect real events, but, as happens in the novel, to shock and horrify the reader.[434] This must have been difficult to achieve since violence and brutality were seen as ordinary in public shows and circulated in martyrologies.[435]

430 Cf. 32.199–220, Morrheus' *aristeia* (defeat of the Bacchic army). After being wounded by Eros' arrow, Morrheus is incapable of lifting his weapons properly (33.195–9) and gives them and the war up (33.239–61, 313–16; 34.316–37); 35.160–85: Cypris makes fun of Ares because she can win without battle (168–9 ἀπτόλεμος γὰρ / Κύπρις ἀριστεύει πλέον Ἄρεος).

431 As Thetis explains to her in 33.361–5. Chalcomede accepts the challenge and from then on she feigns to be in love with Morrheus and deceives him fearlessly (34.275–8). On the use of lies to escape from peril in the novel, cf. Létoublon 1993, 171–4.

432 On the importance in the novel of the girl's preserving her virginity, cf. Létoublon 1993, 189–94.

433 Morrheus wants to see her dead (34.292–6) and gives her up for Chalcomede (35.148–9). Cf. 40.160–94, Cheirobie's lament.

434 To be compared with Winkler 1980, 167; Agosti 2001c, 142.

435 Cf. e. g. the *Vision of Dorotheus* (**40.1**).

In particular the Lycurgy (20–1) is indebted to this aspect of the novel.[436] The introduction of Lycurgus (20.149–81) could not be more horrifying: he is said to be a human copy of his father Ares, an unscrupulous killer, who does not respect the sacred law ordering him to spare the foreigners and is incapable of controlling himself.[437] Like the gang which sacrifices Leucippe in Achilles Tatius' novel (3.15) or the one which in fr. B of Lollianus' *Phoinikika* sacrifices a *pais* and carries out a carefully described ritual of omophagy, every proper lawless footpad has to be cruel if he wants to be respected. Nonnus is not very clear when explaining Lycurgus' cruelties. He only says that he kills innocent foreigners and decorates his palace with their remains,[438] a real massacre (176 Καὶ φόνος ἦν). This final act of shamelessness and the sacrilege which ruins his career is menacing Bacchus saying that he will add his remains to the exhibited trophies (20.311–13).

Lycurgus is an example of the evils which Dionysus will free the world of,[439] but, as we are not dealing with Heracles' twelve labours, the redeemer hero flees and finds consolation in Nereus' arms (352–69). Neither do the representatives of the law turn up at the right moment, as happens twice in the novel by Xenophon of Ephesus (2.13, 4.5),[440] but, in Dionysiac style, Lycurgus is caught and nearly strangled by the vine shoots of Ambrosia (22.1–61). Thus, although some narrative elements come from the novel, they are reworked and renovated to fit the narrative needs of the *Dionysiaca.*

436 Cf. Dostálová-Jeništová 1994, esp. p. 65. Nevertheless the basis of the narrative is Homeric (cf. *Il.* 6.130–40): cf. Hopkinson – Vian 1994, 11–19.

437 Cf. *D.* 20.149–52: Ἔνθά τις, Ἄρεος αἷμα, μιαιφόνος ᾤκεεν ἀνήρ, / ἤθεσι ῥιγεδανοῖσιν ἔχων μίμημα τοκῆος, / ὀθνείους ἀθέμιστος ἀμεμφέας εἰς μόρον ἕλκων, / αἰνομανὴς Λυκόοργος ("There lived a bloodthirsty ruffian, the ferocious Lycurgos, a son of Ares and the like of his father in his own horrid customs"). Where μιαιφόνος is the Homeric epithet for Ares (*Il.* 5.31, 455, 844) and αἰνομανής an etymological word play with Lycurgos (μανία ~ ὀργή, reconstructed as second half of the name). Cf. Hopkinson – Vian 1994, p. 27 n. 2 and p. 191, n. to 152.

438 Cf. *D.* 20.151, 152b-3, 166–70, 174–5, 176–80. He compares him to Oinomaus (154–65), who hung the heads of the suitors her daughter Hippodamia had defeated on top of the entrance of the palace. Also Cacus had this habit in Virgil's *Aeneid* (cf. 8.196–7). Cf. Hopkinson – Vian 1994, p. 194, n. to 169–70.

439 Cf. Tissoni 1998, 67.

440 Cf. analysis in Winkler 1980, 167–8.

These are not the only unpleasant episodes. The *Dionysiaca* includes several cases of σπαραγμός of the characters' own children,[441] culminating in Pentheus' death (46.176–216)[442] and Aura killing and devouring one of her children (48.917–24). Here we cannot talk of influence of the novel, as these are rather tragic topics, above all Pentheus', where Nonnus' treatment is more Homeric than tragic:[443] he gives detailed accounts of the sacrifices of animals[444] and anonymous killings, but the narration is restrained when dealing with the death of a man (e. g. those of Pentheus and Actaeon at 5.316–69).[445] Also the death of individual fighters in battle is not narrated at length, though Nonnus often fosters the impression that battles are hecatombs by accumulating deaths[446] and calling them massacres.[447]

Still dealing with theatrical genres, we move on to comedy, present in the *Dionysiaca* mainly in two manifestations, iambic elements and irony,[448] about which I refer to G. Agosti's study on late antique iambus.[449] He singles out four different iambic topics in late antique literature[450] (exclusion of those who are different, satire of physical defects, taste for

441 Nonn. *D.* 21.110–23 (madness of the inhabitants of Nisa who kill and devour their own children; interrupted by two lacunae), 47.481–95 (Dionysus sends madness to women of Inachos' family). There were catalogues of mothers who killed their children both on papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 62.4307) and in Hyginus' *Fabulae* (239 *Matres quae filios interfecerunt*). Cf. Van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, no. 72, pp. 146, 337.

442 To be compared with the death of Icarios in 47.116–39.

443 Simon 2003, 486–7; Tissoni 1998, 66–71.

444 14.370–6 (a camel), 14.377–81 (a bull), 43.40–51 (a bull from Poseidon's herd).

445 He does not insist either on the human sacrifices offered the funeral of Opheltes (37.46–50), which have those at the funeral of Patroclus (*Il.* 23.164–76) as models.

446 Cf. e. g.: 17.197–224; 22.187–274, 293–9; 23.11–76; 32.181–239.

447 Cf. e. g.: 22.265–7, 270–3; 23.76, 25.66–74, 32.236–9.

448 On irony in the *Dionysiaca*, cf. Gigli Piccardi 1981. Dionysiac irony includes the derision of the deities, sometimes represented in ridiculous situations: e. g. in the Typhonomachy, during a nightmarish situation we find Typhoeus turned into a music lover (1.415 φιλάοιδος). Cf. Vian 1976, 42. We can also relate to comedy the use of sexual metaphors (cf. *D.* 42.282–312 and Gigli Piccardi 1985, 21–9) and *nomina significantia* (cf. *ibid.* 140–4).

449 Cf. Agosti 2001b, *passim.* Cf. p. 220: "'Iambic,' therefore, referred to a type of composition characterized by λοιδορία and αἰσχρολογία, and by invective against a personal or common 'enemy', which from the very beginning contained γελοῖον and should be placed, as a result, within the broader genre of the σπουδαιογέλοιον".

450 Agosti 2001b, 241–6.

scatological material and the presence of sex). Out of the four of them in the *Dionysiaca* we come across the criticism and mistreatment of those who are different (the Indians in the *Dionysiaca*, the Jews in the *Paraphrase*), the physical derision (35.185–98, where black Morrheus takes a bath trying to become white)[451] and, above all, the insistence on and perversion of sex.

The last type is quite abundant due to the subject matter of the poem, where the whole universe is sexualised[452] and several unions subvert generic expectations. Thus, when Hera tries to divert Zeus' attention to madden Dionysus (*D.* 32.38–75), she reaches her aim, but, contrary to the Homeric model (*Il.* 14.293 ff.), she makes a fool of herself with a feeble excuse and Zeus mocks her implying that he does not yield to her charms, but to the *cestus* she has borrowed from Aphrodite.[453] The scene cannot be summarised as Zeus' yielding to Hera's allure, but rather as Hera's compliance to her role as wife and defender of marriage.

This passage is mild compared with 35.21–78, where an Indian falls in love with a Bacchant he has just killed. It is a morbid obsession bordering on necrophilia, perverting the myth of Achilles in love with Penthesilea's dead body, to which an explicit reference is made.[454] Numerous scenes of voyeurism should be added to this.[455] In the story of Actaeon, the only one in which the bath scene is fully justified by the tradition, Nonnus presents us the young man watching Artemis eagerly, not as a casual victim.[456] To this bath scene we should add those of Zeus and Persephone (5.586–601), Zeus and Semele (7.171–279), Dionysus and Nicaea (16.5–18), Helios and Clymene (38.116–29), and others where a man stares at (part of) the nude body of a young woman, all of them composed

451 Also 21.271–3 (Deriades menaces Pherespondos with using him as a fan because of his long ears).

452 Cf. Braden 1973–4, 866.

453 Cf. Vian 1997a, 80–2, 151 (n. to 60–2).

454 35.27–8 καὶ νύ κε νεκρὸν ἔχων πόθον ἄπνοον, ὥς περ Ἀχιλλεύς, / ἄλλην Πενθεσίλειαν ὑπὲρ δαπέδοιο δοκεύων. To be compared with Lib. *Prog.* 8.401–5 Förster. Cf. Agosti 2001b, 245. The erotic description of the dead recurs also in Philostr. *Imag.* 1.4.3–4, 1.7.2, 1.24.3, 2.4.3–4, 2.6.5, 2.7.5, 2.25.1.

455 Cf. Schmiel 1993, 480–3; D'Ippolito 1962.

456 *D.* 5.305–7 (θηητὴρ δ' ἀκόρητος ἀθηήτοιο θεαίνης / ἁγνὸν ἀνυμφεύτοιο δέμας διεμέτρεε κούρης / ἀγχιφανής: "and gazing greedily on the goddess that none may see, he surveyed inch by inch the holy body of the unwedded virgin close at hand"). Cf. Schmiel 1993, 481; D'Ippolito 1962, 7: the inclusion of bath scenes in Nonnus is due to the influence of the hydromime, a water show very popular in the 4th c.

in a somehow formulaic way.[457] The descriptions include quite daring lines,[458] which go beyond the limits expected, for instance, in the pastoral genre,[459] but contrast with the metaphorical and quick approach to proper sexual relations.[460]

Love in the *Dionysiaca* includes an element of violence linked to Dionysus and previous to his conception: Zeus foretells the birth of Dionysus together with his mother's labour pains (7.80–1); Semele wakes up trembling because she has had a nightmare foretelling her killing by Zeus' thunderbolt[461] and, when she carries out the sacrifice ordered by her father (7.161–5), she gets soaked in the victims' blood (166–74);[462] Zeus undergoes several metamorphoses during the wooing and terrorises the young woman;[463] the first birth of Dionysus is particularly violent (7.367–88), in spite of Zeus' attempts to avoid it. Dionysus' love affairs fit in this violent paradigm preluded by his parents' union. Thus, he avenges the murder of Hymnos by raping Nicaea (16.265–91) and marks the death of the pastoral genre,[464] as had already been predicted by his mother's words when asking Zeus for his apparition in full power (7.377–80).

The poem culminates with Aura being inebriated, bound and raped (48.621–51), punished by Artemis and Dionysus for not conforming to what is expected of her as woman.[465] The birth of the third Dionysus

457 Simile of a young man who sees the body of a young woman (1.525–33), Hymnos and Nicaea (15.221–36), Morrheus and Chalcomede (34.273–80, 305–14; 35.103–8), Dionysus and Poseidon watch Beroe (42.40–97, 447–55), Dionysus and Aura (48.485–6); also the passage of the Indian and the bacchant (35.21–78) and the combat of Dionysus and Pallene (48.108–71, esp. 147–9). Cf. Schmiel 1993, p. 480, n. 25.

458 1.529–30, 7.263–6, 15.224–6.228 (cf. Gerlaud 1994, p. 216, n. to 229), 34.277–8, 38.127–9, 42.447–53, 48.111–20.

459 Harries 1994, 73.

460 Cf. 1.344–51 (Europa), 7.344–9 (Zeus and Semele), 16.267 ff. (Nicaea), 32.83–97 (Zeus and Hera), 47.470–1 (Dionysus and Ariadna), 48.630–2.

461 Cf. Nonn. *D.* 7.155–7, end of the narrative of the nightmare (143–55).

462 On the one hand it means that she will be a victim herself, and on the other it announces her deflowering. Parallels of the blood of virginity: 4.229–330 (Philomela); 16.301, 350–1 (Nicaea); 32.32–5 (Hera); 48.656–7 (Aura). Cf. Chuvin 1992, 79.

463 7.325–6. It should be remembered that the union of Zeus and Semele heralds many features of the future Dionysus: cf. Chuvin 1992, 81–2.

464 Harries 1994, 76.

465 Cf. the comprehensive analysis by Schmiel 1993. Aura's voyeuristic behaviour contrasts with other women's modesty in the *Dionysiaca:* Echo looks away

(786–855) is violent as had been the one of the second and his survival is secured *in extremis* by a deity (924b-7).

Other scenic performances can also be traced in the *Dionysiaca*, especially in book 19, in the funerary games for Staphylos. They begin with a music contest (59–117),[466] in which Erecteus (80–99: Demeter in Eleusis)[467] and Oiagros (100–7: epigrammatic distich) take part. A pantomime competition follows (118–286), and is given much importance, as Dionysus in his opening speech (137–57) explains its rules in detail, but not too clearly (138–42, 153–7). Maron (198–218: Ganymedes and Hebe pouring nectar) and Silenus (225–95a: contest between Aristaeus and Dionysus, honey and wine) take part in it.[468] These passages do not seek an exact reproduction of the real show,[469] but are incorporated as a further proof of Dionysus' supremacy over other deities, especially Apollo.[470] Natatory games (10.148–70, 11.43–55 and 408–11) have been related to the popularity of the hydromime.[471]

Another genre anounced in the prologue is that of the Πάτρια, a combination of geographical, historical, mythological and encomiastic elements, very successful in Late Antiquity. The first practical approach to the relation of Nonnus with his contemporary world can be found in L. Robert's work[472] and later on from a similar perspective Chuvin has produced a systematic study.[473] I shall simply refer to him, noting that he discusses

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not wanting to see Dionysus and Aura (48.642–4) and so does Chalcomede when Morrheus is coming out of the sea after his bath (35.200–3).

466 Cf. analysis in Gerbeau 1992, 78–9, 164–5 (n. to 76–9).

467 Cf. Men. Rh. 338: takes the praise of Athens as a starting point; Luc. *De salt.* 40: subject matter for a pantomime. Cf. Gerbeau 1992, 81.

468 Cf. Gerbeau 1992, 15–18 (relation of pantomime with the *komos*), 92–5 (topics of these mimes). Other similar performances in the *Dionysiaca:* 5.104–7 Polymnia in the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia; 7.17–21 pantomime before the appearance of wine; 30.108–25 Phlogios used to perform the death of Phaethon (cf. Luc. *De salt.* 55). Cf. also Agosti 2006b, 353–4. Metaphors on pantomimic dance are studied in Gigli Piccardi 1985, 150–4.

469 Though the language employed to refer to them is common to other sources reflecting on the pantomime: cf. Montiglio 1999, 268 ff.; Gianotti 1996, 281–6.

470 The *synkrisis* is explicit in the performances of the two winners, first in Oiagros' song (ll. 104–5) and then in the speech preceding Maron's dance (ll. 181–8).

471 D'Ippolito 1962; Chrétien 1985, 70–1.

472 Robert 1958; 1962, 273–8, 297 ff., 306, 313–17; 1975; 1977.

473 Chuvin 1980, 1991, 1994; Vian 1991a.

three different categories:[474] episodes from the literary tradition (Naxos, Attica, Boeotia, Argos, in general all western Mediterranean), living legends preserved by the cities (mainly Tyre and Beryto, but also Tarsus, Coricus, Apamea in Phrygia, Sardes, Constantinople) and the 'Indian' part, built in a completely arbitrary way through the juxtaposition of elements from the Greek tradition.[475]

Together with all these 'serious' genres there is a minor one, the fable. High-brow poetry could be expected to avoid it because of its humble origins, but we find Nonnus using with it his peculiar irony and ability for subverting traditional narratives. Thus, in the end of the story of the Indian prince Morrheus and the Bacchant Chalcomede, she gets him to take a prenuptial bath. In *D.* 35.185–98 Morrheus bathes naked in the sea and prays to Eritrean Aphrodite (192–4):

> λουσάμενος δ' ἀνέβαινε μέλας πάλιν· εἶχε δὲ μορφήν
> ὡς φύσις ἐβλάστησε, καὶ ἀνέρος οὐ δέμας ἅλμη,
> οὐ χροιὴν μετάμειψεν, ἐρευθαλέη περ ἐοῦσα.
> "But he came out still black from his bath, for his body was as nature had made it grow, and the brine changed not the man's body or his colour, itself red though it was".

The origin of this motif is the Aesopic fable which says that someone bought a black slave thinking that his colour was due to the prior owner's idleness and ordered to have him bathed; he did not turn him white, but got him sick.[476] The fable was retold as a proverb, frequently quoted to prove the immutability of human nature.[477] In this case Nonnus transforms the paradigmatic story into a real one with a distinct character: not a black slave, but Morrheus. This is a further sample of the warlike evolutions common in the *Dionysiaca:* Deriades loses his right-hand man, main ally and son-in-law, not because he is defeated in battle, but because he succumbs to adulterous desires. Thus Ares is defeated by

474 Cf. summary in Chuvin 1991, 13–14.

475 Chuvin 1994, 172. To be compared with the geographical references in QS: cf. Robert 1970, 355–75, 377–92; 1984; Vian 1959, 110–44; Vian 1963, ix-xiii.

476 *Fab. Aesop.* 393 Perry. I owe this reference to Agosti 2004b, 469–70, 581; 2003a, 15–17. The same opposition white/black appears in the epitaph of an Ethiopian slave in *I.métriques* 26: cf. Gigli Piccardi 2003b.

477 Luc. *adv. indoct.* 28; *AP* 9.428; Themist. *or.* 32.359b-c; Greg. M. *Epist.* 67, *PL* 77.668c. Cf. *Corpus Paremiographorum Graecorum:* Zenob. 1.46, Plu. *Prov.* 7, Diog. 1.19, Macar. 1.62, Apost. 1.71.

the joined forces of Dionysus and Aphrodite all through the poem,[478] which reminds of the motif of intelligence and wisdom overpowering brute force, typical of the fable.

The fable was very important in the first stages of training from copy exercises, but especially in the προγύμνασμα known as μῦθος.[479] The exercise has a clear relationship with the presence of fable in literature and *vice versa:* the treatises of *Progymnasmata* say that it was originally poetic, although also useful for prose[480] and Theon (73.14–7) assures that Homer knew the Aesopic fables.[481] Even if it is true that no fable is included in the Homeric poems, in *Il.* 19.405–17 one of Achilles' horses prophesies his death and on other occasions they are also attributed human feelings.[482] This anthropomorphisation immediately reminds us of the fable and appears again in Triphiodorus (14–16).

Though Theon finds a fable element in Homer and though this element is transmitted in later epic poems, the presence of a variation of the fable of the Ethiopian in the *Dionysiaca* seems to be Nonnus' own choice and with it he displays his usual dexterity in reshaping tradition.

5. Antecedents to late antique poetics

After having an overall look at the stylistic features in Nonnus and other authors and poems of the period in question, we may wonder if all of these characteristics appear only in them and only at that time. As will be argued below, some of them can be traced elsewhere.

Ethopoea of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (IG XIV 2012= Kaibel, EG 618)

We know Quintus Sulpicius Maximus through IG XIV 2012 = Kaibel, EG 618,[483] the gravestone his parents had inscribed for him with the ethopoea

478 Cf. *D.* 35.160–85, 36.257–72 and 373–4.

479 Theo 72.28–78.13; Hermog. *Prog.* 1.1–4.4; Aphth. 1.1–2.11; Nic. 6.8–11.10.

480 Theo 73.14–25; Hermog. *Prog.* 1.6–8; Aphth. 1.4 (ὁ μῦθος ποιητῶν μὲν προῆλθε).

481 Cf. also Philostr. *Imag.* 1.3.1 ἐμέλησε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ μύθου καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ.

482 Cf. *Il.* 17.426–8 and 23.279–84, horses mourning for Patroclus.

483 Editions and studies: Moretti 1979, 189–93; Fernández Delgado – Ureña Bracero 1991; Döpp 1996; Bernsdorff 1997; Nocita 2000.

with which he had taken part in the third Capitoline contest (94 AD). What is interesting about this poem, entitled "Zeus' Words to Helios censuring him for having lent his chariot to Phaethon", is that it presents a series of features which may be related to Ovid,[484] but also to late antique ethopoeae on papyrus and to Nonnus.[485] Of course, the topic must have been typical in school compositions,[486] but we can also relate the composition to the Nonnian hexameter defined by Wifstrand,[487] because of the profusion of dactyls, long words, few elisions, lines conceived as closed units, abundance of epithets (frequently long, usually prior to the substantive) and the avoidance of the determined article.

Some starting points are similar too: the abundance of figurae[488] and the recurrence of motifs,[489] which we may ascribe to the fact that it is an extemporaneous composition of epideictic nature, appear later in late antique epic poetry. We find them both in the poems known through medieval transmission and those from papyri and inscriptions, not extemporaneous but understood as an exhibition.

Babrius

Probably not long afterwards, Babrius' work also displays features known to be characteristic of Late Antiquity and at the same time associated with school. Thus, the delimitation of the accent in the last *sedes* can be related with Hermogenes' work and maybe with the fixation of the final accent in Nonnus;[490] also the *lexis*, which exhibits some late elements, is an anticipated introduction of Hermogenes' proposals in his treatise on ideas. This explains its similarities with the writers who had a similar rhetorico-grammatical training (Lucian, Alciphron, Heliodorus)

484 Döpp 1996, 112; Bernsdorff 1997, 105–10.
485 Hardie 1983, 75.
486 The story appears first in the *Prog.* in Nic. 16.4 ff., but there are numerous literary treatments: Hig. *Fab.* 152b, Eur. *Phaethon*, Ov. *Met.* 1.747–2.400, Lucretius 5.396–405, Manilius *Astronomica* 1.735–49, Lucan 2.410–13, Lucian *D.Deor.* 25, Philost. *Imagines* 1.11, Nonn. *D.* 38.15–434. On Nonnus and Ovid, cf. Knox 1988. On the relation with the school and other treatments, cf. Fernández Delgado – Ureña Bracero 1991, 24; Döpp 1996, 109–12.
487 Fernández Delgado – Ureña Bracero 1991, 40. Cf. the detailed analysis in pp. 32–52.
488 Fernández Delgado – Ureña Bracero 1991, 27.
489 Döpp 1996, 108.
490 Cf. Luzzatto – La Penna 1986, c; Luzzatto 1985, 126 (including n. 117).

or the use of expressions and *iuncturae* typical of the Second Sophistic.[491] The different patterns of repetition, sometimes in one line, which aim for σαφήνεια,[492] are the same we find in later authors and which become general especially in Late Antiquity.

Theosophia Tubingensis

Another work which can help us to understand better the reason for the common stylistic features in late antique poetry is the so-called *Theosophia Tubingensis*, though the text should be used with caution. Originally, *c.* 500 AD a Monophysite author wrote the Περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως, a treatise on the Incarnation and the Trinity in seven books. He included an appendix entitled Θεοσοφία in four books, where pagan oracles were produced as a proof of the supremacy of the Christian God and of the theology of the Trinity. What we now have is a Byzantine epitome (8th c.) of this appendix.[493]

The first reliable study on some of these oracles was Robert 1968, who demonstrated that at least some of them could be considered authentic as they present the construction and style usual in oracles of this time and because some of the individuals mentioned were already known from other documents. The most interesting text and the one which has attracted more attention is I.2 Beatrice (§13 Erbse), 16-line answer to the question σὺ εἶ θεὸς ἢ ἄλλος; ("are you god or is there another one?") a certain Teophilos asked of Apollo. The last three lines

491 Cf. Luzzatto – La Penna 1986, cvii; Luzzatto 1975, 66–78.

492 Luzzatto – La Penna 1986, cix-cx including "(a) bina vocabula pro uno adhibentur, (b) vocabuli vis vocabulo arte cognato augetur (includuntur figurae etymologicae), (c) demonstrativa ἐκεῖνος vel οὗτος adduntur, (d) 'simplicitatis quodam popularis studio inscito'… Babrius saepe nomen ipsum pronominis loco repetit, (e) verbum participio resumitur, (f) saepius poeta negando contrarium magis significat (litotes), (g) figurae (a) et (f) copulantur, (h) easdem voces (vel parum immutatas in eodem colo (post aliquam interiectionem, cf. Quint. Inst. or. IX 3, 26–29) vel in duobus colis contiguis iteravit. saepe cola eodem verbo incohantur (= ἐπαναφορά) aut eodem verbo concluduntur (= ἀντιστροφή)".

493 Cf. Beatrice 1995, 403–6; 1997; 2001, xx-l; Erbse 1995, xi-xv. Such a work can only be understood against the background of Christian apologetic literature (Lactance, *Divinae Institutiones*; Ps. Justin, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio Evangelica*; Didimus, *De Trinitate*; Ciril, *Contra Iulianum*), answering anti-Christian literature (Porphyry', *De philosophia ex oraculis*).

Αὐτοφυής, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ, ἀστυφέλικτος,
οὔνομα μηδὲ λόγῳ χωρούμενος, ἐν πυρὶ ναίων,
τοῦτο θέος· μικρὰ δὲ θεοῦ μερὶς ἄγγελος ἡμεῖς. [I.2.27–9 Beatrice = §13,14–6 Erbse]

match (save for small variations) the first three of an inscription engraved on the walls of the Lycian town of Oenoanda in the latter half of the third century AD.[494] They also appear in Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.7,[495] where we learn that the oracle comes from Colophon, i. e. the sanctuary of Klarian Apollo.

Similar definitions which resort to several adjectives are found in more oracles in the *Theosophia:*

(I.18.163 B. = § 21.1 E.) Αὐτοφανής, ἀλόχευτος, ἀσώματός ἠδέ τ' ἄϋλος
(I.38.303 B. = § 42.1 E.) Αὐτὸς ἄναξ πάντων, αὐτόσπορος, αὐτογένεθλος

and in a poem by Gregory of Nazianzus where Apollo forecasts the destruction of the oracle by divine hands (Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2.2.7.253–5 [*PG* 37, 1571])[496]

Φοῖβος μαντεύοιτο θεῶν μόρον οὐκετ' ἐόντων·
Αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀλόχευτος, ἀμήτωρ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος,
ὅστις ἐμὸν διέπερσε κακὸν μένος, ὕστατ' ἀείδων…

This is thus the common vocabulary in oracular *corpora*[497] and it appears in hymnic literature too.[498] In fact, the accumulation of epithets is a fea-

494 Cf. Robert 1971; Hall 1978.

495 The oracle was already known from Trajan and Hadrian's times in the West: *CIL* III 2880 (Corinium, Dalmatia), VII 633 (Borcovicium, in the *Vallum Hadriani*, north of the Roman province of Britannia) and VIII 8351 (south-east of Cuicul, in the limits of Oued Bou Selah, Numidia), and a fourth, slightly different inscription in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* I 767 (not far away from Andrinopolis, in a place called Sliven, Thrace). Cf. Monat 1986, p. 85, n. 1. We find it later on in Io. Mal. *Chron.* III 79E, where it is produced as answer of the oracle in Delphi to a question asked by the pharaoh of Egypt.
About the different versions, cf. Robert 1971, 608–9; Guarducci 1972; Pricoco 1987; also Livrea 1998b referring (p. 95) to *VD* 10–15; Merkelbach – Stauber 1996, 41–5.

496 Cf. Cameron 1969, who thinks that Gregory has taken the three epithets of an oracle of Apollo and has attributed them ironically to Christ.

497 Cf. as well in the Sibylline oracles 3.11 f. (Εἷς θεός ἐστι μόναρχος ἀθέσφατος αἰθέρι ναίων / αὐτοφυὴς ἀόρατος ὁρώμενος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα).

498 Robert 1971, 610. Cf. Synes. *hymn.* 9, 54 (p. 102 Lacombrade = *hymn.* 1 Terzaghi); Didym. *Trin.* 3, 2 (*PG* 39, 788 A); *VD* 10–12 Kessels-Horst (ᾧετό μοι προθύροισιν ἐφεστάμεναι [καὶ ἰδέσθαι / ἀμβρόσιον πανάτικτον ἀνὶ μεγάρ[οισιν ἄνακτα / αὐτοφυῆ).

ture shared with hymnic literature, though particularly developed by the *Orphic Hymns*,[499] since they are concerned with the polymorphic nature of the gods (including androgyny), their omnipresence and their cosmic function.[500] In the *Orphic Hymns*, as in the oracle from Oenoanda and in the *Dionysiaca*, the accumulation of adjectives produces an effect of concentration and, as the number of verbs is significantly reduced, the approach to the divinity is not only descriptive, but also timeless and modeless.[501] Late Antiquity has revealed the existence of a unitary 'language of revelation', a theological *koine*.[502]

It is worthwhile to investigate the reasons for this phraseology: these lines were not written by someone (or several people) ignorant in philosophical and theological matters[503] and the patterns of expression are difficult enough to suggest that we are dealing with the cultural élite. The priests, coming from well-off families, had a thorough knowledge of the language of culture in the variant expected of the revelations of the god and used it in the composition of poetic oracles, so that the utterances of the god appeared aesthetically to those consulting the oracle. The author of the treatise to which the *Theosophia* belonged came from Alexandria, across the fifth and sixth centuries and had access to these oracles, produced in Asia Minor: the language and compositional style displayed here was not confined to a certain period and a far-off area, with no contact with the rest of the world.[504]

The presence of such expressions in the *Dionysiaca* comes as no surprise for two different reasons: on the one hand because of Nonnus' dexterity in the absorption of genres to create a new whole; on the other due to the very subject matter of the *Dionysiaca*, because, being Dionysus a god who has his own mysteries, sometimes it is necessary to use difficult and intricate language.[505]

499 Hopman-Govers 2001, 36.
500 Hopman-Govers 2001, 38–9.
501 Hopman-Govers 2001, 46–8.
502 Cf. Athanassiadi 1999b, 177–81.
503 Robert 1971, 614.
504 A further testimony of the success this kind of oracles had in Christian controversy is that a version of the text we know through the *Theosophia* was used as a proof of the authenticity of the Chalcedonian Creed in Constantinople at the beginning of the 6th c., keeping the appropriate language and the Homeric parallels to be expected. Cf. Daley 1995.
505 On the presence of mantics and its expression in the *D.*, cf. Ruiz Pérez 2002.

Thus, αὐτοφυής, the first epithet in the oracle from Oenoanda, is one in a series of compounds with a similar meaning, which often appear in the poem.[506] Some of them are applied to Bacchus in different references to his double birth, sometimes together with the third epithet from Oenoanda ἀμήτωρ, e. g.:[507]

9.8–10 καὶ Διὸς ὠδίνοντος ἴτυς θηλόνετο μηροῦ,
καὶ πάις ἠλιτόμηνος ἀμήτορι τίκτετο θεσμῷ
ἄρσενα θηλυτέρην μετὰ γαστέρα γαστέρα βαίνων
("So the rounded thigh in labour became female, and the boy too soon born was brought forth, but not in a mother's way, having passed from a mother's womb to a father")

9.209–11 Ζεὺς ἐμὸν οἷα λόχευσε καὶ ἀντ᾽ ἐμέθεν πέλε μήτηρ,
σπεῖρε πατὴρ καὶ ἔτικτε, τὸν ἤροσεν, αὐτοτόκῳ δὲ
γαστρὶ νόθῃ τέκε παῖδα, φύσιν δ᾽ ἤλλαξεν ἀνάγκῃ (developed in 9.218 ff.)
(Semele: "Zeus brought forth my son, he was the mother in my place! The father begot, the father brought forth his begotten. He brought forth a child from a makeshift womb of his own, and forced nature to change").

Nevertheless, the closest passage to the text of the oracle and the one by Gregory of Nazianzus[508] deals with Beroe's autochthonous inhabitants in the introduction to the city of Beryto:

41.51–3 Ἐνθάδε φῶτες ἔναιον ὁμήλικες ἠριγενείης,
οὓς Φύσις αὐτογένεθλος ἀνυμφεύτῳ τινὶ θεσμῷ
ἤροσε νόσφι γάμων, ἀπάτωρ, ἀλόχευτος, ἀμήτωρ
("Here dwelt a people of agemates with the Dawn, whom Nature by her own breeding, in some unwedded way, begat without bridal, without weeding, fatherless, motherless, unborn.")

They are, therefore, forms of expression proper of oracular and hymnic literature which belong to a common patrimony also used by Nonnus.

506 Cf. Peek, *s.vv.* ἀλόχευτος, ἄσπορος, αὐτογένεθλος (cf. *P.* 5.69 θεὸν αὐτογένεθλος), αὐτόγονος, αὐτολόχευτος, αὐτόσπορος, αὐτοτόκος, αὐτοτέλεστος, αὐτοτελής. Αὐτοφυής appears as well in **40.1** *Visio Dorothei* line 12: cf. comm. in Agosti 1989, pp. 102–3, n. 4.

507 Cf. also ἀπάτωρ and αὐτοπάτωρ. The same kind of language appears in *D.* 1.1–10, with the references to Zeus' thigh, father and mother at a time.

508 Cf. Cameron 1969, p. 240, n. 1: the similarity is due to the fact that both use a shared language; Nonnus does not imitate Gregory. Cf. also Nonn. *D.*40.423 ff. (Dionysus and Heracles) for a similar context.

We can interpret the last epithet of the first line in the oracle, ἀστυφέλικτος along the same line. It is not a common word:[509] after an isolated occurrence in Xenophon (*Lac.* 15.7.5) we find it in hymnic literature, above all in Late Antiquity,[510] and in Oppian (*H.* 5.679) and Nonnus,[511] across the fifth and the sixth century in **52.** Anthology of ethopoeae (Heitsch 26 1r 11 ἀ]στυφέλικτος ἀπείθανος) and in Paul the Silentiary and John of Gaza.[512] When readers came across this word in Nonnus they would find it both modern and substantial.

Without making a comprehensive study of it, we can quote some more parallels. Two of them were mentioned in Accorinti 1992: ἱππότις Ἠως (I.33.264 = §36.1 E.) appears as well in Triph. 670 and there is a similar turn of phrase in Nonn. *D.* 1.172 ἱππότις Ὥρη;

> παρθενίου τε γάμοιο νεοζυγέων θ' ὑμεναίων
> κοιρανέειν φιλότητος ἀμωμήτῃ γ' Ἀφροδίτῃ (I.37.299–300 B. = §41.5–6 E.),

remind of

D. 48.236–7	καὶ γαμίης δήθυνεν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐγγύθι νύμφης τερπόμενος φιλότητι νεοζυγέων ὑμεναίων ("And he lingered for some time beside his wedded bride, taking his joy in the love of his new marriage")
48.553–4	Σιθονίης ἀλόχοιο νεοζυγέων ὑμεναίων / Παλλήνης, γάμον οἶδα… ("I know how you lately married your Sithonian wife Pallene").

Also, ζωογόνος, thought to appear for the first time in Nonnus (cf. Peek, *s.v.*), can be found already in the *Theosophia:*

> Ἔσθ' ὑπὲρ οὐρανίου πυρὸς ἄφθιτος αἰθομένη φλὸξ,
> ζωογόνος, πάντων πηγή, πάντων δὲ καὶ ἀρχή,
> ἥτε φύει μάλα πάντα φύουσά τε πάντ' ἀναλύει (I.4 B. = §15 E.).

509 *Contra* Robert 1971, 611.

510 Call. *Del.* 26; *Orph. H.* 12.13 (ἀθάνατος, πολύπειρος, ἀπείριτος, ἀστυφέλικτος); Greg. Naz. *Carmina dogmatica* 429.6; Procl. *H.* 1.15.45.

511 Nonn. *D.* 13.495 (Typhoeus); 28.311 (Acmon); 33.340 (Apollo anchors Asteria in the sea); 34.243 (Bacchant); 40.295 (a Bacchant places a child of top of her shoulder), 330 (building); 42.465 (Ortygia); 48.772 (Aura).

512 Paul. Sil. *Descr. Soph.* 266, 543; *Descr. Amb.* 157, 282; *AP* 9.764.7; Io. Gaz. Ἔκφρασις τοῦ κοσμ. πίν. 1.110 and 190, 2.52 and 282. It occurs as well in *AP* 6.163. 5 (Meleager), 7.748.5 (Antipater of Sidon).

6. Conclusions

The analysis above leads to a main conclusion: composing this kind of poetry was difficult, very difficult. Comparing the different aspects we can deduce that it is more difficult to achieve acceptable metrics, due to the rigidity of the hexameter, than to reproduce the aesthetics of the time. The latter could be reduced to the use of turns of phrase (*iuncturae*)[513] and aesthetic notions, all of them learnt at school, in an attempt to display a high cultural level.

Beginning with metrics, the abundance of compositions in epic hexameters is related to its identification as the vehicle of high-brow culture, comprising everything previously shared by all genres. The school, which had Homer as its basis and the composition of passages of Homeric type as one of its main tasks, played an important role in connection with this and in the appropriation of generic features. The application of metric constraints related to the variants of the hexameter, caesurae and word ends, intensity accent, elision, lengthenings and contractions demands a poet who has had a qualified teacher to train him and also requires that the poet has studied metrics in other texts, both in Homer and in authors adjusting to the new rules.

Partly for metrical reasons, the style becomes more nominal: we notice it especially in the abundance, length and frequent composite nature of the adjectives, also linked to the attention vocabulary receives. An important part of the learned effort is concentrated in vocabulary, not aiming to reflect reality, but to shock and provoke an admiring reaction in the reader, overwhelmed by the knowledge the poet seems to display. This explains that lexical fields are exhausted and why the reader is besieged by sensations of all kinds.

We have realised how important the sensorial vocabulary is as the lexical portion of ἐνάργεια (the capacity a text has of making its contents visual and visible).[514] It does not attempt to reflect reality, but to cause the poem to produce an unavoidable experience. To this respect the reader's independence is restricted: his appraisal of allusions to other poets depends on him (on his knowledge), but the poet aims to force the reader to accept what he suggests to him. This too is the reason why the analysis of scientific and technical vocabulary does not reveal any interest in ar-

513 Cf. e.g. Agosti 1998a.

514 Cf. Molino 1992, 378: "Décrire, c'est faire voir et faire croire, c'est faire croire qu'on voit, qu'on sent, qu'on touche, et qu'on aurait envie".

chitectural realities or precious stones, only vaguely shown, or deep knowledge on the subject. The sensation purported is, though, one of technical complexity.

The relationship with the Homeric poems is marked by their rereading according to late antique aesthetics, as a result of the evolution over the centuries. The new forms of expression can only be developed from a thorough knowledge of the Homeric patterns, or, rather, of the Homeric heritage as the shared background.

Just as the hexameter becomes the verse par excellence, the epic becomes almost the only high-cultured language, but the latter is not restrictive: it is mere absorption, as it were, swallowing up what previously had been perceived as independent genres. The motto 'the more difficult, the better' includes a yearning to comprise everything under the name of ποικιλία, already perceived in the poems by the Oppians. It may be thought of as indispensable in the *Dionysiaca* due to the length of the poem, but in the programmatic reflection of the proemium we see that it is also Nonnus' conscious choice.

The ποικιλία has an effect on the overall design of the work, but also at small scale: when in the composition of a particular passage several options are available, instead of choosing one, Nonnus combines them all. For instance, when a male character in the *Dionysiaca* meets a young woman, instead of comparing her to only one goddess, he compares her to them all. This feature, no doubt baroque, is characteristic of Byzantine literature and can be found as well in compositions extant on papyrus.

The fact that this general outline can be applied to most compositions proves that it is widespread aesthetics what we are dealing with, and not an element to be ascribed to a group of poets. To this respect, we cannot talk of a school of Nonnus, because these authors and compositions appear before him and are found in places where we cannot prove a direct influence of the *Dionysiaca* or the *Paraphrase.*[515] As these features appear too in compositions that are close to the school,[516] we can infer that this was an important place of transmission.

We reach the same conclusion when we find similar *iuncturae* spread all around the Greek-speaking area, as can be seen in poetic inscriptions.[517] Apparently some turns of phrase are so successful that they are

515 Cf. the inscriptions studied in Agosti 1997a.

516 Agosti 2005a, 35.

517 Agosti 1997a, 33 about ποικιλόφρων; *ibid.* p. 37 about a *iunctura* widespread around the Mediterranean. κακόρρεκτος, *hapax* in AR (3.595), occurs too in

considered 'mots de la tribu',[518] a *koine* whose development begins in the second century AD, as seen in the works by Dionysius the Periegete and the Oppians.[519]

The data provided by the ethopoea of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus, Babrius and the *Theosophia Tubingensis* show that some of these elements occur in earlier compositions of different genres and are linked to the school. This connection can be direct, as happens with the ethopoea and Babrius, or indirect in the case of the *Theosophia*, but in all cases provides us with a further proof of the relationship with the school.

The school was, therefore, a place for the propagation of stylistic trends, metrical patterns, use of figures and phraseology. In some compositions associated with it we recognise some contact points with high literature: they show that there was a gradual advance towards putting at the same level high culture and the patterns of composition learnt at school. Behind this we recognise a bookish starting point (βιβλιακὴ ἕξις),[520] a notion of poems always related to others, together with an academic disposition (σχολαστικὴ ἕξις), identifiable in the use and development of the same resources studied at school and in the attention to scenes to the detriment of the whole, due to the shortness of school exercises. The exhaustion of the resources applicable to a passage may also come from school, if there the compositions were encouraged to be as complete as possible and students used repertoires to achieve such competence.[521]

We can now obtain a better assessment of Nonnus in his context: we know that he is a link in the development of epic hexameter, that some elements which appear in his work occur previously, without making him less original. This leads me to deny that he is the 'caposcuola' of an alleged school, i.e., the leader of a group of poets who would have learned with him to compose almost in a teacher-disciple relationship. And yet I reckon that poems like his could not go unnoticed and, even though there is only one papyrus of his work left, we know that later authors (Musaeus, Colluthus, Agathias) were familiar with him and took him as a referent for their own compositions.

Nic. *SH* 562.2 and in *Or. Sib.* 3.754 and in the *Codex Visionum* in *C.* 17, *A.* 58, *X.* 17. Cf. Agosti 2002a, 95.

518 Mallarmé's expression used by Hurst 2002, 201.

519 Cf. Whitby 1994, 105–14.

520 Polib. 12.25 h. 3. Cf. also Eun. *Vit. Phil.* 4.1.3 βιβλιοθήκη τις ἦν ἔμψυχος, commented in Pernot 2005b.

521 E.g. the alphabetic dictionary of metamorphoses edited by Renner 1978; cf. also van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, no. 70, pp. 335–6.

As has been shown, there are two main reasons for denying the existence of a 'school of Nonnus': temporal dispersion and the absence of proofs of a direct relationship of the supposed members. We know that some of them came from Panopolis and its surrounding area. There we may find an explanation for the existence of authors of high-quality poems, but also of others for more short-termed and practical purposes, as well as the βιβλιακὴ ἕξις and the σχολαστικὴ ἕξις.

Chapter 3
The role of culture and education in Panopolis (3rd–6th c. AD)

1. Egypt in the 3rd to the 6th c. AD

As for the rest of the Mediterranean, the period from the third to the sixth centuries AD meant a substantial change for Egypt,[1] from the Severan Roman Empire (193–235) to the Byzantine, governed by the Justinianean dynasty. Also, from the concession of the βουλαί at the beginning of the third century to 646, when the last soldiers of the Eastern Roman Empire left Egypt in the hands of the Muslims. Through these four centuries, Egypt became gradually more akin to the other parts of the eastern Mediterranean, in terms of political life, institutions, economic integration of country and towns and its insertion in the empire's sociocultural streams.[2]

The concession to Egyptian cities of the βουλαί, i.e. of municipal councils, in Septimius Severus' time (200/1)[3] was an integrating measure, as the βουλή became the local aristocracy's place of decision making and an expression of the Greek identity of the élite. Yet, Egypt took part in the numerous revolts and usurpations of the third century. One of them, which has been associated with Coptos (now Qift) and Busiris, would have happened in 293/4 or 294/5. Some years later Lucius Domitius Domitianus proclaimed himself Caesar (296/7 or 297/8). Diocletian himself captured Alexandria after an eight-month siege, regained Upper

1 On the advisability of the nomenclature 'Byzantine Egypt' or 'Late Antique Egypt', cf. Bagnall 2003; Giardina 1989. On the connotations of 'Late Antiquity' and the redefinition of the period from its first use by A. Riegl, cf. Giardina 1999; Elsner 2002; Cameron 2002; Liebeschuetz 2004. On the Egyptian provinces from the 3rd to the 6th c. AD, cf. Bowman 1990; Bagnall 1993; Carrié 1993; Heinen 1998a, esp. 37–45; Keenan 2000; Bagnall 2007, esp. ch. 9–14, 16.

2 Cf. Bagnall 1993, 14, 321–5; Alston 2001. See maps 1 and 2 (pp. x-xi).

3 Before Severus there were βουλαί in Antinoopolis, Naucratis and Ptolemais. Cf. Bagnall 1993, 54–62; Bowman 1971. About the cities in late antique Egypt, cf. van Minnen 1996.

Egypt and placed the southern border in Philae.[4] To this we should add foreign attacks such as the invasion of queen Zenobia from Palmyra in 270, but also the continuous pressure exerted by the assaults of the Blemmyes and Nobads, especially on the Thebaid and other southern regions from the middle of the third century.[5]

With Diocletianic reforms Egypt lost its special status and was divided into two provinces, *Aegyptus* and *Thebais*, subject to later subdivisions.[6] The new political-administrative chart was established, firstly with dioceses under the authority of vicars and later with prefectures. The local power was divided between a civil (*praeses*) and a military governor (*dux*). The new system of *indictiones* was inforced and taxes began to be paid not only in currency, but in all kinds of products, which were used as supplies for the army.

The so-called Diocletianic reform affected the army too, as it was divided into smaller units, aiming for a better distribution along the territory to face Berber attacks to the Western oases and the attacks of the Blemmyes and Nobads coming from the south. In the fourth century emerged the figure of the *bucellarii*, soldiers in theory under the orders of imperial authorities, but available for hire to the local landlords nearly as private armies.[7]

The third century also witnessed the surfacing of Christians as a group. They were sometimes victims of the violence caused by local unrest, but the Coptic Church yet now remembers that time as one of government-sponsored uninterrupted attacks. After a questionable persecution under Septimius Severus (202–26), and the so-called Decian persecution (249–51), the 'era of the martyrs' began with Diocletian's accession to the throne (303) and came to an end only with the so-called 'Edict of Tolerance' in 313.[8]

In the fourth century the nome became the *territorium* or χῶρα of the μετρόπολις and the latter became the πόλις, as the first term does not ap-

4 Cf. *P.Panop. Beatty*, x-xv; Barnes 1976; Thomas 1976, 1977; Schwartz 1977; Barnes 1982, 55, 169; 1996, 543–4; Leadbetter 2000.

5 Demicheli 1976, 127 ff.; Updegraff 1988; Keenan 2000, 623–4; Cracco Ruggini 1993, esp. 449–69; M. Weber, *s.v.* "Blemmyer", *RAC* Suppl. Lieferung 9 (2002), 7–28, cols. 12–27; Millar 2006, 62–6.

6 Cf. Vandersleyen 1962, 97–9; *P.Panop. Beatty*, xv-xxi (on the consequences in Panopolis).

7 Cf. Schmitt 1994.

8 Cf. Davis 2004, 28–46.

pear after 320.[9] The βουλεύται were in charge of the management of the whole nome, in direct relation to provincial administration and over the city's and village's magistracies. With the higher degree of local independence came a higher degree of economic liability.[10] The βουλεύται appear progressively less in the documentation from the fourth century, as the magistracies, especially those related to the gymnasium, had to be adapted to the new times and needs.[11]

During the fourth century, Egypt converted gradually to Christianity and as a result of the growth in number of Christians the power of the Church as an institution increased. After a series of laws against the pagans, in 391 Theodosius banned pagan cults and ordered the destruction of their temples. The destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria in 415 became a symbol of change, though pagan individuals and circles still existed and the temple of Isis in Philae was only closed in 535–7 under Justinian.[12]

The rivalry between the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria and Rome and theological differences were always in the background. The pronouncement at the Council of Chalcedon (451) on the double nature of Christ caused the definitive schism of the Coptic Monophysite Church, in conflict with the defenders of the council in its own land, but with outside supporters such as empress Theodora. It was of no use that emperor Zenon issued the "Henotikon" (*Unifying*) Edict (481), trying to temper the differences between the Monophysites and the supporters of the council. The Acacian schism (482–518) that separated Rome and Constantinople was sorted out, but Coptic and Chalcedonian Patriarchs of Alexandria coexisted from 570.[13]

An archetypal figure of the fifth and sixth centuries is the landowner (γεουχῶν),[14] who exerted considerable political and economic power and whose properties were divided among his sons. On their land depends the ἐπανόγραφος γεωργός, but also local well-to-do families, which acted as middlemen for civil and ecclesiastic landowners, who entrusted them

9 *P.Lips.* 19 (319–20), lin. 24.
10 Cf. Bowman 1990, 67; Bowman – Rathbone 1992; Thomas 2001; Palme 2007.
11 Cf. Bagnall 1993, 56 ff.; Liebeschuetz 2001, 169–202; Laniado 2002, 80–7, 91–2.
12 Overview in Choat 2006.
13 Bowman 1990, 50–1; Davis 2004, *passim.*
14 E.g. the family of the Apions, owners of vast properties in the Oxyrhynchite and the Lykopolite in the 5th and 6th c. Cf. Keenan 2000, 625–33; Mazza 2001; Azzarello 2006; Sarris 2006, 29–49, 81–95, 177–99; Hickey 2007.

with the management of their properties.[15] To the sixth and seventh centuries is assigned the emergence of the figure of the pagarch, a landlord retired from the imperial service, who assumed the authority of the collection of taxes for a long period of time, if not lifelong. He was also the warrant of local autonomy in Egyptian towns, as he was not appointed by the *dux*, but by the prefect of the eastern praetory, with the emperor's endorsment.[16]

Another substantial change, this one administrative, was Justinian's reorganisation of Egypt's government with a long edict (537/8).[17] Among several other innovations, he gave back civil and military authority to the *dux*, who had the *praeses* as his subordinate for civil affairs. In theory the Egyptian provinces were independent, but they sent wheat jointly to Constantinople, under the supervision of the prefect of Alexandria. Besides, Alexandria was still Egypt's most important city, the attractive educational, religious, legislative and economic centre, although it was the capital of only two provinces.[18]

At the beginning of the third century the self-styled élite of Greek ancestry in the capitals of the nomes focused their cultural life on the gymnasium, but the subsequent crisis hindered even the supplies in the cities, not to mention the sustainance of luxuries. During the fourth century the culture of the gymnasium, based on the ephebate, gave ground to other forms of education and entertainment and this meant the disappearance of some magistracies related to this institution.[19]

The gymnasium was still in use at the end of the fourth century and during the fifth,[20] but the emphasis seems to have been transferred to the festivals, originated in the panhellenic festivals. Most surprisingly in 265 AD Panopolis organised some games in honour of Perseus Uranius on the basis of a mention in Herodotus (2.91).

The athletic games and spectacles with gladiators did not survive to the fourth century, but theatrical ones (mainly mimes and pantomimes),

15 Keenan 1980, 1985.
16 Sarris 2006, 96–114.
17 Edict XIII of Justinian; cf. *P.Oxy.* 63.4400.
18 Keenan 2000, 615.
19 Cf. Bagnall 1993, 45–109.
20 In *SPP* XX 230 (post 351) the bricks for the boiler of the gymnasium's baths appear as an expenditure.

flourished. Roman-type chariot races became very popular too.[21] The earliest documents about the Egyptian circus date from 315, in Alexandria,[22] and it was fully developed in Oxyrhynchus before the middle of that century. We have information about Hermoupolis (320–4), showing signs of the integration of athletism and traditional entertainment in the circus,[23] which would prove an early unification of athletism, music and races in public leisure.[24]

It was a prerogative of the rich to travel to Alexandria, Constantinople and even Rome, generators of literature and lore.[25] In Alexandria one could obtain books not to be found in smaller provincial towns, through trading networks or copying the manuscripts of friends.[26] The sons of the rich had to be sent to the capital for continuing their training beyond what Oxyrhynchus or Panopolis could offer.[27]

Literary culture underwent a certain transformation when Christian literature began to use classical authors in a conscious way as a part of Christian education.[28] Classical culture was a part of the heritage of all learned men, pagan or Christian, and its acceptance or rejection as literary material was not directly linked to religious beliefs.[29] It seems that Christians and pagans coexisted in the same upper-class circles,[30] though we know of exclusively pagan groups[31] and of Christian cultural contribu-

21 Liebeschuetz 2001, 203–10. About Aphrodisias, cf. Roueché 1989, 218–28; 1993, 5–11, 25–8, 49–54; Green 1994, 153–71.

22 *P.Cair.Isid.* 57 and 58 (*BL*).

23 *CPR* VI 41, 47, 50, 63 (cf. Gascou 1983, 226–8).

24 Transformation proved by Cameron 1976, 193–229, who places it in the 5th c.; cf. also Roueché 1989, 218–19. About the circus in Egypt, cf. Gascou 1976. Other documents: *O.Ashm.Shelton* 83–190, *P.Oxy.* 34.2707 (6th c.), *P.Bingen* 128 (5th/6th c.) and *P.Harrauer* 56. Cf. Bagnall 1993, 104–5.

25 Turner 1952, 1956, 1975; Krüger 1990, 198–204.

26 Turner 1952, 91–2. About this trade, cf. Kaster 1988, 21.

27 Krüger 1990, 208–12.

28 Cameron 1998, 667–73; Kaster 1988, 70–95.

29 Favouring a direct relationship, cf. Rémondon 1952, 67 and Cameron 1982, 239. On Basil's attitude towards classical literature, cf. Chuvin 1986; Kaster 1988, 77. Cameron 1985, esp. ch. 1, 2, 7 shows the complex role played by classicising elements in the works by the Christian literary élite; more general aspects in Cameron 1991, 139; Bagnall 1993, 252.

30 Cf. Watts 2006, 151–68. About the disproportionate emphasis often given to the division Christian / pagan, cf. Cameron 1991, 122; Bagnall 1993, 272.

31 The last well-documented pagan group may be Aur. Ammon's family in the 4th c. (*P.Ammon* 1–2).

tions, such as the 'Catechetical school' (διδασκαλείον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων) in Alexandria.[32]

The Christian and pagan literary vigour in the fourth-century Mediterranean was the result of a complex conjunction of factors: increasing competitiviness in the burocratic system and the readjustments caused by the entrance of Christianity into the public sphere encouraged training. Also, sponsorship and the possibility of social promotion stimulated profane literature, which together with propaganda and internal controversy boosted Christian letters.[33]

In Upper Egypt, a good example of the local interest in culture is Antinoopolis, which in the fourth century maintained its active intellectual life, with training in rhetoric, law, medicine and sciences and theology.[34] We can also mention Hermoupolis.[35] Alexandria itself, according to its description by Ammianus Marcellinus (22.16.7–22), kept a reputation as a lively and intellectual city, where geometry, astronomy, music and medicine were studied. In the second half of the century the Museum was still operating, if we accept the report from the *Suda* (*s.v. Theon*) that the mathematician Theon, Hypatia's father, was a member of this institution. On the other hand, the Library had suffered the city's vicissitudes and was completely lost.[36]

Though the research on the Egyptian literary production has focused above all on the Thebaid, because more texts have been preserved and several authors were related to it, Alexandria maintained a certain cultural level. It was also the place of residence of authors such as Palladas, Claudian, Nonnus, Harpocration and Horapollon. Even at the begining of the sixth century Fulgentius (*Mitol.* I, pp. 8–9 Helm-Préaux) presents the Muse Calliope in her Alexandrian exile, forced to flee from Rome due to the barbarian invasions.[37]

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32 In the beginning it offered only a basic programme for catechumens, but it became a 'school of philosophy', especially under the direction of Clement of Alexandria, Origen (203–31) and Didymus the Blind (313–98). Cf. Scholten 1995; Davis 2004, 22–8.

33 Cf. Cameron 1998, 683.

34 Bagnall 1993, 104.

35 Cf. van Minnen – Worp 1993, 151–86; Drew-Bear 1992.

36 Heinen 1998b, 74–7; Bowersock 1996; Roques 1999, 214–23. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (22.16.15) the whole area of the palace (including the library?) was destroyed *c.* 270 when emperor Aurelianus tried to suppress the Palmyrene invasion. Cf. Bagnall 2002b for a realistic view of our knowledge about the library.

37 Cf. Fournet 2003, 528–30.

Several trends are conspicuous in the reading habits of the Greeks in Egypt: the preponderance of poetry over prose, Homer's popularity, the presence of works by Callimachus, Alcidamas or Dictys Cretensis in far-off villages such as Karanis or Soknopaiou Nesos, the decline in the interest in pagan literature from the fourth century onwards…[38] It seems that from the third century onwards there were important changes in the production of books: the flourishing book trade typical of the second century[39] died gradually and the manufacture and circulation of books was left to a great extent to individuals with enough resources and interest to invest in copying them. To these were added, from the fourth century, the *scriptoria* of monastic communities and probably of dioceses, at least the most important ones.[40] There was a strong development of the liturgical and in general religious uses of written texts.[41]

Aeschylus disappears and we have less of Sophocles. Pindar, Sappho and Theocritus are rare,[42] but the decline in quantity of many prose authors is counterbalanced by the first appearences of Aeschines and more recent authors such as Dio Chrysostom, Themistius, Philostratus, Himerius, Heliodorus and Libanius. We should, however, take into account the hazards of excavation and survival, especially after the recent discovery of three works by Isocrates copied in a book made of nine tablets of acacia (*P.Kellis* 3.95), probably of local manufacture, in the Dakhleh Oasis (former Kellis).

Literary culture in sixth-century Egypt[43] shares many features with the one in previous centuries. Judging by the preserved texts, Homer was still the most popular author, although he had lost ground to the Bible, with the book of Psalms at the top of the list.[44] According to the preserved fragments, Euripides, Aristophanes, Sophocles and Theocritus, in this order, were still copied, but they were not the only ones. Among the Latins, we have fragments of Cicero, Juvenal, Lucanus, Virgil and

38 Roberts 1953; Willis 1968; Clarysse 1983, 144.

39 Itinerant booksellers reached even Karanis in the 2nd c. AD: cf. *P.Petaus* 30.

40 Cf. e.g. *P.Colon. inv. no.* 1473, a letter of the 5th/6th c., in which Dionysius asks the monk Honorius to make a copy of a book in parchment for him. According to Palladius (*Hist.Laus.* 32, p. 96,4 Butler), the *scriptorium* was one of the possible working places for the monks in Pachomian communities. Cf. Koenen 1974.

41 Cf. Bowersock *et al.* 1999, *s.v.* "Books" (pp. 345–7).

42 Treu 1986, 3–4.

43 Cf. Morgan 2003.

44 About the definitive transformation of Greek culture under the influence of Christianity, cf. Liebeschuetz 2001, 239–48.

Latin jurists. There seems to be a parallelism between the relationship with Alexandria and the conservation of culture: as we move to the south, the list of authors is reduced to the most common ones, while in Fayum culture is still flourishing.

2. Panopolis (3rd-6th c.)

Panopolis[45] is the Greek translation of the Egyptian *Hnt-Mn* (town of Min),[46] also known as *Jpw*,[47] and was later called in Coptic *Shmin* and in Arabic *Akhmîm*. Since Pharaonic times, it was the capital town of the ninth nome or Panopolite, although in some authors Panopolis or Akhmim may refer to the city or the city and its surrounding territory, or even the whole nome. It is not easy either to define the nome's boundaries because, though they were relatively steady there must have been some changes, particularly in the transition from Pharaonic to Graeco-Roman times.[48] The nome was divided into six toparchies.[49]

The town is 450 kms to the south of Cairo and *c.* 200 kms to the north of Luxor (ancient Thebes), on the Eastern bank of the Nile, and was divided at least into two administrative districts (*amphoda*).[50] NE of the city there are three burial areas, two of which are cliffs, known by the names of the nearby villages:[51] al-Salamuni (*c.* 6 km to the north of Akhmim, Kuhlmann's Friedhof "C") and al-Hawawish (6 km to the east, Kuhlmann's Friedhof "B"). The third cemetery is in the valley close to the village of al-Hawawish (*c.* 3 km from Akhmim, Kuhlmann's Friedhof "A"). In al-Salamuni there is a stone-cut temple of Min, built by Pharaoh Ay (1323–1319, 18th dynasty), reformed at an unknown date and still in use in Graeco-Roman times. From the cemeteries we have recovered

45 Cf. Calderini – Daris 1987, *s.v.* Πανὸς πόλις, pp. 42–4; Gauthier 1905, 39, 44–7.

46 About the equivalence of Min and Pan and their relation with Perseus, already from Hdt. 2.91, cf. Sauneron 1983, 39–44, 89–90; Morenz 1963; Lloyd 1969.

47 They are thought to be interchangeable names, though Kuhlmann 1983, 9–13 considers they were originally two different settlements.

48 The first descriptions by Gauthier 1905, 1912, 1914 should be compared with later ones at *P.Beatty Panop*, xxxiii-xxxvii; McNally – Dvoržak Schrunk, 1, 18; *CPR* XVII B, 1, n. 6; Kuhlmann 1983, 4–13. On the other bank of the Nile was Athribis, now Sohag, where the White and Red Monasteries are.

49 Cf. *P.Panop. Beatty*, xxv-xxxvii.

50 Cf. *P.Coll.Youtie* 2.71, 73; *P.Panop.* 11 (*SB* XII 10978), 12 (*SB* XII 10979), 27 (*SB* 11220). See Maps 2 and 2b (p. xi).

51 Kuhlmann 1983, 52–3.

abundant funerary material,[52] above all mummy labels,[53] but also such an extraordinary fund as the Empedocles of Strasbourg.[54]

Besides Herodotus 2.91, the city is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (1.18.2), Strabo (17.1.42, mentions its antiquity and the importance of textiles and stoneworks), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 5.11.61), Plutarch (*de Isis et Os.* 356,14), Ptolomeus (*Geog.* 4.5.32) and Stephen of Byzantium (500.10: describes a statue of Pan).

The wealth of sources[55] has its counterpart in their disparity, incomplete nature, often dubious provenance, uneven chronological distribution and dispersion. Thus, even if we are reasonably well informed about some aspects of the city life, the blanks in others are overwhelming,[56] though the latest studies[57] and the editions of new documents (e.g. *P.Ammon*) have expanded our knowledge.

In the extant sources Panopolis appears as a thriving city in which several languages (Greek and Egyptian, transcribed first as Demotic, later as Coptic) and cults (traditional Egyptian and Greek religion, Christianity) coexisted and interacted,[58] though the gradual christianisation of the area, complete in the sixth century, causes a more homogeneous image to appear.[59]

We have limited data on Pharaonic, Ptolemaic[60] and Roman Akhmim until the reign of Commodus,[61] because the whole town has not been fully

52 Depauw 2002.

53 Cf. Chauveau 2002; Quaegebeur 1978.

54 Martin – Primavesi 1998. It comes probably from El-Salamuni: *ibid.*, 27–43.

55 Papyrological sources: *P.Achm.*; *P.Panop.*; *CPR* XVII B, p. 3, n. 14; Bagnall 2002a; Chauveau 2002. Cf. Calderini – Daris 1987, *s.vv.* "Πανοπολίτης" and "Πανὸς πόλις" and their actualizations in subsequent supplements. Translation of some documents in Rees 2004, 148 ff.

Epigraphic Sources: Gascou 2004; Criscuolo 2002; Bernand 1977, nos. 1–14, 79; Bernand 1969, 114–15.

56 E.g., did they all have dark skin like Pamprepius? Cf. Damasc. *Life of Isidorus*, fr. 178–9 Athanassiadi.

57 Above all Egberts *et al.* 2002.

58 On possible cases of artistic syncretism, cf. McNally 2002; Grossmann 2002.

59 Egberts *et al.* 2002, vii-xii.

60 Ptolemaic age: *P.Batav.* 19 (225–31, 232–59: funerary material); *BGU* X (1928), 244 a.C. (official correspondence from Oxyrhynchus); *P.Cair.* 10331, 2nd c. BC (*Quaderni Ticinesi* 16 [1987], 167 s.); *P.Stras.* VIII 741 and 742, 2nd c. BC (unknown provenance); *SB* X 10616, 1st c. BC (Demotic will).

61 1st-2nd c. AD: *P.Giss.* 1.69, 2nd c. AD (dossier of the *strategus* Apollonius of Hermoupolis); *P.Ryl.* 4.608 *verso*, 2nd c. AD (letter written in Panopolis, maybe found at Oxyrhynchus).

excavated yet[62] and due to the plundering the whole area has suffered.[63] The majority of the documentary papyri now extant were preserved because they were reused for different purposes.[64]

In the first place, we count on some administrative rolls from the end of the second century and the beginning of the third (*P.Achm.* 6–9 and *P.Bour.* 41), which were cut in leaves and pasted together *recto* with *recto*, so that the *verso* sides were left free to copy Coptic biblical texts and a Greek homily (*P.Achm.* 1 + *P.Bour.* 3).[65] They were published by Collart 1931 and they probably came from the White Monastery.[66]

P.Achm. 6 (and *P.Bour.* 41b, which was part of the same manuscript), dated from the end of the second century, is a description of lots of land which belonged to a Claudius Polibianus, from whom they were confiscated. Also, *P.Achm.* 9 preserves very fragmentarily three columns of an alphabetical list of tax payers. According to Bagnall,[67] it is a list of the vineyards and orchards the residents in Panopolis owned in the nome, including between 300 and 450 entries. It could be compared to the land register preserved in *P.Panop.* 14,[68] where different types of orchards appear, and with *P.Panop.* 1–10, lending contracts of orchards (298/9 to 341) following a common pattern.[69]

P.Achm. 7 and *P.Bour.* 41a (col. I) are a list of proposals for the municipal liturgies (γραφὴ δημοσίων) which the κωμογραμματεύς sends to the *strategus* for the year 197.[70] *P.Achm.* 8 are copies by the same hand of two official letters of the year 197. A part of the first of them is transcribed in *P.Bour.* 41a (l. 31 ff.), which gathers a series of letters on religious matters apparently coming from the imperial procurator, identified

62 McNally – Dvoržak Schrunk 1993, *passim.*

63 Kuhlmann 1983, 50–2.

64 Cf. Bagnall 2002a; Gascou 1989, 81–3; Turner 1977, p. 50 and n. 17.

65 Reconstruction in Bagnall 2002a, 2; Martin – Primavesi 1998, 46.

66 Collart 1931, 35–7; Bagnall 2002a, p. 2, n. 6. See table *ibid.*, p. 2. After the publication of *P.Bour.* by P. Collart, Wilcken 1927 included in the same ensemble acquired by Maspéro *P.Bour.* 3 and 41 a and b. Blanchard 1991 has proved that in editing *P.Bour.* 1 the Bodmer Menander was used, which makes its analysis more complicated.

67 Cf. Bagnall 2002a, 9–12.

68 Cf. Youtie – Hagedorn – Youtie 1971a, 34.

69 Youtie – Hagedorn – Youtie 1971a, 6. Several orchards appear as well in *P.Ammon* 2.50 (Deklaration von Tempelland, 299 AD). Cf. esp. nn. to I 12 and II 1–2.

70 We have, besides, a list of the liturgies proposed in the nome, in Bompae: *P.Heid.* 2.224 = *SB* VI 9544, Bompae, 322 AD.

in *P.Achm.* 8 as Claudius Diognetus, in his role as *Idios logos.* In this case he is selling sacerdotal posts (ἱερευτικαὶ τάξεις).

We also have *CPR* XVIIB (two rolls of *cheirographa* from 184/5 and 217/8, with which a codex was made, though not it was not used later) and *P.Bodm.* 1.1–2, an unedited land register with references to the years 208/9 and 216/7, reused to copy books 5 and 6 of the *Iliad.*

The ostraka from Edfa,[71] six km. from Sohag, provide a counterpoint to the administrative archives. They include 33 "ordres de livraison" of eggs and hens of an ὀρνιθοτρόφος, 8 "reçus" of the same goods and 9 "bons de sortie" from the years 221–9. There is yet another collection of ostraka, *P.Michael.* 63–124 + *O.PalauRib.* 1,[72] 63 pieces from the first half or from the middle of the third century, most of them authorisations for the sending of goods from a property to different people. They probably came from the nome and not from the city.[73]

As the capital of the nome, Panopolis would have been the venue for the βουλή from Septimius Severus' reform (end of the second century). We do not have documentary confirmation of it, though, until in the third century it hires three glass workers for the replacement of the glazing in the therms of the *gymnasium*, in the *praetorium* (residence for the provincial governors when they were on a visit) and in the κωμαστήριον, as well as in ἄλλων πολιτικῶν ἔργων (line 8).[74]

Another important source of information is *P.Panop. Beatty*,[75] a codex made by pasting together the written sides of the leaves where the official correspondence of Panopolis (years 298 and 300) had been collected, used in a property of Alopex' sons to copy tax receipts in 339–45.[76] Skeat, editor of *P.Panop. Beatty*, published some references from these re-

71 Boyaval 1965 = SB X 10270.

72 Gallazzi 1983 = SB XVI 12984.

73 Bagnall 2002a, p. 2, n. 5.

74 *P.Got.* 7, revised in *P.Panop. Beatty* pp. xxxii-xxxiii. Other sources: PSI 12.1233.1–2 (223/4 AD); *P.Ammon* 5.2–3 (348 AD); *P.Lips.* 1.45.6, 59.5 and 60.r.3 (371 AD). See also Bowman 1992, 500–2.

75 *P.Panop. Beatty* 1 (298) contains copies of letters sent by the *strategos* of the Panopolite to his superiors or to local officials and employees, most of them concerning the forthcoming visit of Diocletian to Panopolis; *P.Panop. Beatty* 2 (300) gathers the correspondence sent by the procurator of the Lower Thebaid, Aurelius Isidorus, to the *strategus* Apolinarius of Panopolis. See *P.Panop. Beatty* xxii-xxv; Turner 1968, 139–40.

76 Too early to have been made at the White Monastery and to have some relation with *P.Achm.:* cf. Bagnall 2002a, 5. About the *codex*, Gascou 1989, 81–3.

ceipts,[77] in which the name Πασνῶς Ἀλώπηκος occurred, a strange enough name to lead the editors of a group of papyri from Köln to suspect that he was the same person appearing in several of them.[78] The lot would include *P.Panop. Beatty* (the receipts were published as *P.Panop.* 19), *P.Panop.* and *P.Dubl.*

Through *P.Panop. Beatty* we know that in 298 the city had a theatre (1.333, 375) and a δημόσιον λογιστήριον where the public accounting was dealt with, but used as well as a temporary place for detention (1.228, 346, 350; *P.Panop.* 29.8). Regarding the local 'industries', there are references to ship repairs (1 and 2 *passim*),[79] metallurgy (1.213–5, 342–6) and textiles (2.20–6). *P.Panop. Beatty* 1 proves that in September 298 the Thebaid was already considered as a province governed by a *praeses* and divided into two procuratorships (Upper and Lower Thebaid), although we do not know since when.[80]

P.Panop. Beatty 2 tells us about the presence of the army in the area: there were units in Apollinopolis (line 180), Ptolemais (260, 266, 285), Tentyra (197, 205), Syene (245), Panopolis (299), Potecoptos (161, 186, 192), Toeto-Psinabla (27, 168), Tmoo (36), Peamu (292) and the τάξις of the *praeses* (57).[81] It also helps us to understand how the *annona* worked, meeting the units' needs, and how, due to the increase of the troops in the area, it became gradually heavier for cities like Panopolis.[82] Beside the usual supplies, we see that Diocletian's visit, anticipated in *P.Panop. Beatty* 1, required calling for a series of extraordinary liturgies, retarded and sabotaged by the *proedros* of the local *boule*.[83]

Many activities were related to the presence of the army in the area. Thus, in two consecutive years ovens for bread had to be built in the vicinity of the theatre to meet its needs (*P.Panop. Beatty* 1.374–6). The bread of the army from Panopolis appears earlier in two documents from Heracleopolis, but found at Oxyrhynchus, where two bakers, Aur. Melas and a second Aurelius, take the oath of serving in supplying with

77 *P.Panop. Beatty*, viii.
78 Cf. Hagedorn 1970, 208–9.
79 Cf. Lewis 2001.
80 *P.Panop. Beatty* pp. xv-xxi; Bowman 1978, 28; 1990, p. 79, fig. 4.
81 Bowman 1978, 30–3. Cf. Worp 1994: in the end of the 4th c. (when the *Notitia* was compiled) the troops were distributed in both banks of the Nile, with posts placed at regular intervals and often one facing other.
82 Bowman 1978, 34–8.
83 Cf. Lewis 2003.

bread the soldiers at Panopolis, probably in 288.[84] Likewise, Oxyrhynchites Aur. Isidorus, Aur. Asclepiades and Aur. Plutinus send to the *strategos* of their nome a receipt acknowledging that they have sent bread to the troops in Panopolis as ordered and receive confirmation of it.[85] In other cases it is the Panopolites who send supplies to other parts of Egypt: in *P.Got*. 4 Aur. Koletis reports to Panopolite administration as the guarantor of Psais, who is in charge of supplying sauce, fine fish preserve and fresh fish for Caracalla's visit to Alexandria in 215–16.[86] The supplies are not confined to victuals, as we notice reading the payments with *vestis militaris* in *P.Panop*. 17, 18 and 19 and *P.Dubl*. 20 and 21, related to Alopex' family.[87]

The family of Alopex, which seems to have inherited his property *pro indiviso*, is known above all through *P.Panop*. 19, 26 tax receipts gathered in the *codex* made with *P.Panop. Beatty* 1 and 2. Fifteen of these[88] are acquittances in *vestis militaris*, eight χρυσὸς τελωνικός, two refer to the sending of 6 papyrus rolls (χάρται ἕξ) to the *praeses.* The family is referred to in the documents with different formulae, which makes it very complicated to reconstruct the *stemma.* We do not know much about them, only that they paid their taxes and leased their land, but we may suppose that they spent part of their money in their sons' education.

Three letters of the year 293/4, probably addressed to the στρατηγός of the Panopolite (the same as in *P.Panop. Beatty* 2), are also useful to know better the administrative organisation in the area. They were

84 *P.Oxy.* 66.4530. Cf. *P. Leit.* 10 = *SB* VIII 10202, in which Hieracapollo and Hieraphapollo protest after receiving their designation for the κτηναρχία, at the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd c.; we know another protest about a κτηναρχία through *P.Panop.* 29–30 (332 AD). Cf. the reconstruction of the process at Youtie – Hagedorn – Youtie 1973, 140–2. The other known Panopolite judicial procedure is the one Aur. Ammon (mid 4th c.) had to undertake at his brother's death to defend his inheritance, which we know through *P.Ammon* 1–2.

85 *P.Oxy.* 8.1115: the receipt is from the year 281, but the signature of the *strategos* is from 284.

86 This document is written in the *verso* of an unpublished count (*P.Got.* 113). *P.Got.* 3, 4 (a *bouleutes* addresses the decaprotes about a collection; the mutilated condition of the papyrus hinders its comprehension; Sept. – Oct. 253), 7 and 113 were bought together. Cf. Bagnall 2002a, p. 2, n. 5.

87 *P.Dubl.* 20 ("Declaration concerning Textiles"; Panopolis, 329 AD) creates more difficulties; *P.Dubl.* 21 ("Tax Receipt for the *Vestis militaris*"; Panopolis, 337 AD).

88 Cf. Youtie – Hagedorn – Youtie 1971b, 217–21.

reused to copy the *Deuteronomy* (*P.Ryl.* 1.1).[89] The third letter was written by the prefect of Egypt Rupilius Felix. The second could be a report by the prefect to the *catholicus* or the *praeses*, conveying the order of celebrating a sacrifice (fr.A l. 3 θύειν), maybe related to Diocletian's *vota decennalia* or to Constantius' victories in Gaul.

From the beginning of the fourth century we have an incomplete inventory of the buildings in Panopolis,[90] which shows the town's quite chaotic aspect,[91] as well as the magistracies[92] and trades of its inhabitants. Several metalworkers and several sailors live nearby, but in general Panopolites do not concentrate in the town according to their trades.[93] The analysis of this papyrus allows us to assess the vigour of the local textile 'industry',[94] of the activities related to food supplies,[95] metalwork[96] and typically urban activities,[97] some of them related to the building and repair of ships.[98]

89 Bagnall – Rives 2000.

90 A roll made of *P.Gen. Inv.* 108 = SB VIII 9902 (ed. in Martin 1962) and *P.Berol. inv.* 16365. Together they are known as *P.Berl.Bork.* or *P.Panop.Borkowski* (the second abbreviation is obsolete).

91 Martin 1962, 53–8; *P.Berl.Bork.* 14–26, 33–6. We will learn more about it when the Panopolite Landregister preserved in *P.Bodmer* 1r is published by T. Derda. We should also add *P.Ammon* 2.50–6, related to the land census ordered by Diocletian: cf. *P.Ammon* 2, pp. 160–2.

92 Cf. Martin 1962, 64; *P.Berl.Bork.* Index IV.

93 Cf. Martin 1962, 63.

94 Λινούφος 'linen weaver' (I 12, XI 16, XII 12, A II 21; γραμματεύς λινούφος IX 7), λινεψός 'linen cleaner' (XIV 24, XVI 2, [X 26]), λινέμπορος 'linen merchant' (X 29, XII 18; cf. *P.Berl.Bork.*, n. to X 29), γέρδιος 'weaver' (II 1, V 18), γναφεύς 'fuller' (V 21, IX 8, XIII 9), ἱματιοπώλης 'seller of clothing' (I 2), καθημενίτης (III 20, VI 28, XVI 23; cf. n. to III 20). Cf. also *P.Dubl.* 31.

95 Bakery (ἀρτοπώλης A II 15; ἀρτοκόπος VIII 10, A II 15; πλακούντας VI 5), olive oil (ἐλαιουργός A III 4, 7; ἐλαιοπωλίσσα XI 25; workshops [ἐλαιουργεῖον] III 15, VI 16; cf. n. to III 15), wine (οἰνοκάπηλος A III 10, A IV 18), meat (μοσχοθύτης V 6, VII 6, XIII 6; cf. n. to V 6).

96 Goldsmiths (χρυσοχόος II 11, 20, V 4, 5, XII 3, 22, XIII 28, XIV 8, 11, 15, A II 27), silversmiths (ἀργυροκόπος I 7), bronzesmith (χαλκοτύπος IV 20, 22–3, XVI 19–20, XVII 10), locksmith (κλειδοποιός IV 12), μεταλλουργός (mining / metallurgy XII 17; cf. n. to XII 17).

97 Cord maker (σχοινοπλόκος XVII 8, 12, 16), carpenters (τέκτων XIII 22, 25; cf. n. to XIII 25; μηχανάριον I 22, A IV 11; cf. to I 21; also PSI 12.1233.3–4), potter (κεραμεύς I 28, III 30), perfumers (μυρεψός XVIII 2, 9, [X 26]), barbers (κουρεύς XV 25), workers of the baths (βαλανεύς III 33, V 2, A II 18, 19), gardeners (κηπουρός V 26), porters (θυρουρός A I 10), musicians (σαλπιγκτής – 'trumpeter' A III 14; [μουσικός XII 21]), doctors (ἰατρός II 6, IX 22, XV 9), bankers (τραπε-

At least at this moment, craftsmen and merchants (also teachers) controlled urban property, while the land in the χῶρα would be owned by the local civil servants.[99] We do not know these craftmen's level of literacy or if they could afford to provide their children with a lettered education and to what level. It is more likely that they would give them a non-lettered education,[100] which surfaces in the papyri in apprentice contracts. In the latest study on this kind of contracts,[101] only *P.Aberd.* 59 (4th-5th c., τῶν πλουμαρισσῶν τέχνη, i. e. to learn embroidery) may come from Panopolis, although its provenance is doubtful. On the other hand, Ulpius Claudianus, a man of some property,[102] could easily afford to give his sons a good literary education.

Fourth-century Panopolites[103] made deals with each other[104] and with people from nearby cities: in *P.Oxy.* 63.4360 (*c.* 295–325), Besas sells a donkey to a dealer from Oxyrhynchus; in *P.Kellis.* 1.30 (363), Aur. Psenpnoutes, from the Panopolite but resident in Aphrodito, makes a contract with Aur. Horus from Kellis. Also, four contracts (*P.Thomas* 23) for transporting liquids in 338, mentioning measures attested in the oases, suggest a transportation from the western oases to Panopolis.

The fifth century causes more problems for historical reconstruction, because we have very few papyri. Probably it is not due to drastic changes or crises, but to hazards of conservation and excavation.[105] We only know,

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ζίτις I 29, X 27), architects (μηχανάριος II 15, V 7; cf. n. to II 5), advocates (νομικός II 34, XII 2). Another banker, Aur. Zoilus, is the owner of the second of the rolls published as *CPR* XVIIB (217–18), but its fragmentary condition does not allow us to obtain more information. On *CPR* XVIIB, cf. Geens 2006. On banking in Egypt, cf. Bogaert 1994, 2000, 2001.

98 Sailors (ναυτικός XII 4, XV 29, 32, 34, XVI 5, 7, 18, 24, 29; cf. n. to XV 19), shipbuilders (ναυπηγός VII 20, XI 13, 27, 28; cf. n. to VII 20). Cf. analysis in Lewis 2001.

99 Cf. Lewuillon-Blume 1985, esp. 143–4.

100 Kaster 1988, 25–6.

101 Bergamasco 1995.

102 Owner of an οἰκία μεγάλη (XIV 28–9) and probably also of a secretary (A I 33), a porter (A I 9–10), non-built lots of land (XII 26–7), and a building (V 16). Cf. n. to XIV 28–9.

103 Unpublished material of this century: *P.Münch.* 2.34 (psalms XV and XVI of the *Septuaginta*) is written in a codex made of an unpublished administrative register from 302–3.

104 Cf. *P.Panop.* 21 (loan contract, 325), to be compared to *P.Lond.* 3.870 and *SB* 5285 (*P.Testa* 2).

105 Cf. Worp 1998, 217, n. 22.

thanks to *P.Grenf.* 2.80 (402) and 81 (403),[106] that the liturgical system was still working and that the relationships between Panopolis and Hermoupolis were still fluent.

In contrast, we have many sixth-century documents, especially from the archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito, where several contracts show the trading relations between this village and the Panopolite.[107] It was frequent for one person to own land in several nomes (e.g. Fl. Theodorus, *exceptor* of the Thebaid, owned land in the Panopolite, the Hermoupolite and the Antinoopolite),[108] but also Panopolite monasteries and churches appear as proprietors in Aphrodito.[109]

In the sixth-century land register of Aphrodito[110] emerges a family of Panopolite *exceptores* with properties in Aphrodito: Triphiodorus and his sons Ioannes and Dios, father of a second Triphiodorus. They appear also in *P.Flor.* 3.281 (land lease, 517 AD) and *P.Strasb. inv.* 1596, an unpublished folio of *P.Flor.* 3.297 (tax payings from Aphrodito), with numerous prosopographic coincidences with the land register.

The nome keeps producing oil[111] and the notaries of the metropolis carry out documented transactions.[112] Purchases and sales are performed and of them we have an example from 599, when Aur. Arsenius sells to Aur. Pachimius one third of a house, of which he sells another third

106 Aur. Victor and Aur. Colluthus certify that Aur. Shenute, from Hermoupolis and living in Panopolis (80.10, 81.10), performed his liturgy in 402 and 403.

107 *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67095 (548), ll. 7–8; *P.Lond.* 5.1692 (555/6), a 7, b 5; *P. Lond.* 5.1716.15 (570), lines 14–16. Cf. also *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67264. For a possible proof of the movement of private individuals between Panopolis and Alexandria in the 6th-7th c., cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.19.3.

108 *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67312, lines 56–8. Cf. Keenan 1985, 149–50. Cf. also *P.Cair. Masp.* 3.67327, commented in Keenan 1985, 147–9.

109 *P.Lond.* 5.1686.8 (565): Dioscorus sells three arouras of non-irrigated land to the monastery of Zmin in the Panopolite. Cf. Keenan 1985, 157–61.

110 *P.Freer* Inv. No. 08.45 a/b, published as Gascou – MacCoull 1986 (= SB XX 14669). Cf. IV 124, 127; V 158–9, 169–73; VI 187–8, 207–9; VIII 267–8 and nn. to IV 124, V 158 and V 169. Note the orthographic fluctuation between the classic Τριφιόδωρος in *P.Strasb.* inv. 1596r.17 and *P.Flor.* 281.13, and Τρυφιόδωρος in the land register (lines 124, 127, 158, 159, 169, 172, 187, 207).

111 *P.Strass.* 229.8 (502): lease contract mentioning Aurelius, oiler, from Phenebitis in the Panopolite.

112 *P.Lond.* 5.1708.167 (567): family dispute on a legacy, in which Dioscorus, author of the draft, may have acted as arbiter. A notary from Panopolis is mentioned (line 167).

years later.[113] Monasteries already received important donations, which increased their wealth and power.[114]

There were soldiers in the sixth-century town, since the corporation of oilers from Aphrodito received the order of suplying oil to the βουκελλάριοι of Panopolis[115] and Plulos, quartered in the city, was the witness of a purchase in Siene (*P.Mon.* 1.16.10–11). Their violent behaviour could be a source of trouble.[116]

Later, in the reign of Heraclius I and his son Constantinus II Heraclius (613–41), we have information about Aur. Theodorus, a wine merchant who lived in Panopolis and signed the sale of a house in Aphrodito, which proves that wine was both produced and sold in Akhmîm.[117] From the same time two contracts in Greek are extant too.[118]

Judging by the inscriptions,[119] at the beginning of the fourth century paganism was still more popular than Christianity. It is difficult to assess how they related to each other, due to the lack of documentary sources alluding to the topic and to the ambiguity of literary sources. In the last years the scholars have moved from understanding that there had been

113 *P.Par.* 21 ter (the house is in the street of the "main church": line 24); the second document is a sale contract from the Collection Jomard, published with *P.Par.* 21 ter because of their affinity.

114 *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67312.39, 57 (31st March 567): Dioscorus' draft of the Flavius Theodorus' will (*PLRE* IIIB, 1253, *s.v.* "F. Theodorus 27"), *exceptor* in the *officium* of the *dux* of the Thebaid, son of a *scholasticus*, who designates as heirs the monastery of the Apa Shenute (ll. 38–40), a subsidiary monastery called Apa Musaeus' and his grandmother Herais.

115 *O.Lund.* 30, ed. in Gascou – Worp 1990, no. 4 = SB XX 14547. Another possible mention of Panopolis occurs in 26.3 (*O.Heerlen BL* 372 = SB XX 14569).

116 *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67005: petition to the *dux* by Sophia, whose husband died leaving a young child and who has lost her second husband at the hands of Shenute, a soldier in Panopolis (ll. 15, 20).

117 A Parisian private collection without an inventory number (Gascou 1985) + *P.Mich.* XIII 665; full text *SB* XVIII 13320. Cf. line 87 in *P.Mich.* XIII = *SB* 13320.96; initial reconstruction E-F (= *SB* 5–6).

118 *P.Testa* 2= *SB* I 5285 (Darlehensvertrag, 607); *P.Testa* 3= *SB* I 5286 (Anmietung eines Hauses, 606).

119 Pagan Inscriptions: *I.métriques* 79; *I.Louvre* 29; *SB* V 8917; *SB* I 237, 238; Bernand 1993. Christian Inscriptions: Bernand 1977, nos. 1b, 12–14; *SB* III 6311; Lefebvre, *I.chrét.Ég.* 237; *SEG* 32, 1588; *SEG* 43, 1128; funerary inscriptions (*SEG* 31, 1521; *SEG* 41, 1633; *SEG* 43, 1125–7, *SEG* 45, 2130; *SB* IV 7304–5, 7316; *SB* VIII 10058–9; *I.Brooklyn* 31; Lefebvre, *I.chrét.Ég.* 238–50). Updated in Grossman 1999; Goehring 1999.

nearly a fight to the death between irreconcilable factions[120] to a less dramatic and more realistic view, without denying the hatred between the two sides, which would place monks and philosophers as rivals in one market.[121]

A paradigmatic example is Gesios, a fierce enemy according to Shenute: Frankfurter[122] sees him as a pagan caught practising the usual rites of the country people, when he must have been a lonely and harmless crypto-pagan (a Christian convert who maintained his original beliefs).[123] It is likely that from the prohibition of pagan cults, most people had very little knowledge about traditional religion.

Traditional Egyptian paganism had as main divinities in the area[124] the god Min[125] in the eastern bank and the goddess Triphis[126] on the western bank. Also the child-god Colanthes,[127] the goddess Aperet-set,[128] Horus who pleases the heart and Horus the great, lord of Letopolis were well known. Bompae worshipped Harudja, a deified human.[129] Close to Atripa, on the western bank, there was a sanctuary of Asclepius, where the *incubatio* was practiced.[130] The worship of sacred animals was also important, judging by the cemeteries of the area.[131] In *P.Berl.Bork.* six temples are mentioned: Persephone's (A IV 12), Ammon's (XIV 27), the one of the Ἀγαθὸς δαίμων (A II 5), Areos' (IX 3), Hermes' (VIII 5) and the one of Χνοῦβις (XV 27). The interpretation of astral phenomena was also very important.[132]

M. Smith thinks that these beliefs and practices reached their peak in the first century BC and the first AD.[133] From then on we have to base our

120 Rémondon 1952; van der Vliet 1993.
121 Rousseau 1985, 163–9.
122 Frankfurter 1998, 77–82
123 Emmel 2002, 99–112; Smith 2002, 245–7.
124 Smith 2002, 241–5. About Panopolite onomastics related to the local devotions, cf. Quaegebeur 1978, 247–50; Bagnall 1998; Bagnall 2002a, 8–9.
125 Helck – Westendorf 1975–86, *s.v.* "Min", IV 136–40; Bernand 1977, 94–6.
126 Cf. Helck – Westendorf 1975–86, V, *s.v.* "Repit", V 236–42. In the Τριφεῖον there was a παλάτιον where Diocletian was quartered in his visit to Panopolis in 298 (*P.Panop. Beatty* 1.259–61).
127 Helck – Westendorf 1975–86, *s.v.* "Kolanthes", III 671–2.
128 Helck – Westendorf 1975–86, *s.v.* "Aperet-set", I 335–6.
129 Chauveau 1992, 106–7.
130 El-Farag *et al.* 1985, 1–4.
131 Kessler 1989, 21–2.
132 El-Farag 1985, 4–8.
133 Smith 2002, 243.

deductions almost exclusively on mummy labels,[134] the comparative analysis of which suggests that traditional religion stood steadier on the western than on the eastern bank.

Concerning Christianity in the area, hagiographic literature and Coptic-Arabic synaxaria mention several Christian figures from Panopolis or martyrs there.[135] No bishop of Panopolis attended the Council of Nicaea (325),[136] though we know that in the beginning of the fourth century Artemidorus was the bishop of Panopolis and that he resigned in 346. Arius succeeded him[137] and asked Pachomius to found a monastery in the diocese.[138] Sabinus attended the Council of Ephesus (431) as bishop of Panopolis in the eparchy of the Thebaid.[139]

The fourth century was crucial in the transition from a polytheistic society to another mostly Christian. Though there have been different attempts to estimate the advance of Christianity, above all from the changes in the onomastics, we do not have concrete data about it.[140] We depend on the testimony of archive of Ammon, a member of a family of pagan priests, who in the middle of the century felt that their survival was menaced, though they maintained their faith in a change of fortune (*P. Ammon* 1.3–4, 7–15).

Shenute's work, with few exceptions,[141] does not make references to the autochthonous cults. In fact, when he mentions his oponents' beliefs, these are Greek, not indigenous,[142] if they are not just standard paganism. We do not know if that is because Shenute, regardless of his affectation of wisdom, did not know what happened around him, because of a deliberate distortion of his enemies' beliefs (as in other Christian polemicists) or because from ancient religion only a few ideas shaped as superstitions were extant in the wider frame of dominant Hellenism.[143]

134 Quaegebeur 1978, 232–59.
135 Timm 1984–92, *s.v. Ahmim*, I, 80–96, p. 80.
136 Munier 1943, 1–10.
137 Munier 1943, 10.
138 Halkin 1932, Vita Prima § 81 (p. 54), Vita Altera § 62 (p. 232). The synaxarion includes several visits of Pachomius to the area: cf. Timm 1984–92, I 81.
139 Munier 1943, 16.
140 Cf. Bagnall 1982; Wipszycka 1986; Bagnall 1987. Cf. also Bagnall 1988 (1992); Wipszycka 1988.
141 He criticises the cult of animals, characteristically Egyptian: cf. Amélineau 1909–14, I 379–83, II 408–9.
142 He uses the Greek names of the gods and only glosses over the Egyptian ones (Amélineau 1909–14, I 383–5).
143 Smith 2002, 244–5.

From early Christian times there were in the area eremitic settlements, attested by the martyrdom of the anchorites Dioscorus and Aesculapius,[144] but monasticism expanded especially with the development of Pachomian foundations.[145] These were not the only monasteries in the area and several of those now extant go back to Late Antiquity.[146] Most conspicuous are the White Monastery[147] and the Red Monastery.[148]

Regarding churches, the first mention is that in *P.Berl.Bork.* (early 4th c.), where a building is defined (III 27) as οἰκία ἤτοι ἐκκλισίας, although the interpretation of the passages is awkward.[149] Nevertheless, the same document mentions several Christian deacons (I 19, IX 29, XI 7, XIV 30, A IV 10).[150]

3. Culture and education

To prove the intensity of cultural life in Panopolis a passage of the *Life of Pachomius* can be cited:

> [*Vita Pachomii, Vita Prima* § 82] Φιλόσοφος δέ τις τῆς πόλεως ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον δοκιμάσαι αὐτοὺς ὁποίους εἶναι ἀνθρώπους… Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ φιλόσοφος "Φημίζεσθε ὡς μοναχοὶ καὶ συνετοὶ καὶ σοφὰ λαλοῦντες. Ἐλαίας ποτὲ τίς φέρων ἀλλαχόθεν ἐν τῇ Πάνος πιπράσκει, ὡς τῆς πόλεως τὸ εἶδος πλέον ἐχούσης;"
> "A certain philosopher from the city came to the monastery, testing them [the monks] to see what sort of men they were… The philosopher said, 'You have a good reputation as monks and as prudent men who speak wisely. Who would ever bring olives into Panopolis to sell, since the city has an abundance of them?'".[151]

This cultural flowering, revealed in the abundant literature we will study later, can only be explained if the city provided its inhabitants with some sort of training. We know that some individuals and families had spare

144 Timm 1984–92, 81–2. See also Gascou 2004.
145 Rousseau 1985, 163. Cf. also Goehring 1999.
146 Cf. *Coptic Encyclopedia* 1, 78–80 ("Akhmīm"); 5, 1654–5 ("Monasteries of the Middle Sa'īd").
147 Timm 1984–92, II 601–33 ("ad-Dēr al-Abyad"); *Coptic Encyclopedia* 3, 761–70 ("Dayr Anbā Shinūdah").
148 Timm 1984–92, II 639–42 ("ad-Dēr al-Ahmar"); *Coptic Encyclopedia* 3, 734–40 ("Dayr Anbā Bishoi").
149 Martin 1962, 66 does not think it is a Christian building. *P.Berl.Bork.*, 73 considers several hypotheses.
150 Cf. *P.Berl.Bork.* n. to I 19, p. 69.
151 Engl. translation: Athanassakis – Pearson 1975.

money they could use to give the following generation a literate education. I shall now turn to what type of education they could offer them, according to the available sources.

This is not the place for an introduction to the history and characteristics of ancient Greek education, so I refer those interested to the related bibliography.[152] However, it is advisable to take into account the specific features of the training at this particular time and what papyri tell us concerning education in Panopolis. Though traditionalism in educational matters is generally assumed for all ages,[153] in the third to sixth centuries we can talk of changes or amplification of previous tendencies in three directions: increasing importance of Christianity, use of Latin and Coptic at school and preponderance of rhetoric.[154]

The christianisation of Egypt, as that of the rest of the Mediterranean world, involved the development of a Christian attitude towards pagan Hellenic culture. Three elements were combined in this respect: a theoretical condemnation of Hellenism, the impossibility of eluding it and the exploitation (masked or not) of its resources to defend and illustrate the Christian faith.[155] Classical *paideia* stood, among other reasons because the Christians could not propound an alternative training, but the Fathers defend it as a preparation for the authentic *paideia* provided by the Christian faith.[156] In the extant school texts we perceive the impact of Christianity in Egypt in the increasing presence of biblical passages in copy and study exercises.

On the use of Coptic at school, Egyptian-speaking youths began their training copying individual letters, then the alphabet, after that syllables, lists of words, formulae (esp. those common in letters) and short edifying texts. They also copied lists of numbers, multiplication tables, arithmetic rules, exercises and problems. The difference with respect to the education in Greek was that Coptic students always copied religious texts and no emphasis was made on grammar, but on epistolary clichés. Besides, it was often expected that they would learn Greek. This explains why we find lists of Greek words with their Coptic equivalents, *sententiae*

152 Classical studies: Marrou 1956, 1972. Later publications: Clarke 1971; Bonner 1977; Kaster 1988; Cribiore 1996; Cameron 1998; Morgan 1998; Legras 1999; Browning 2000; Cribiore 2001a; Too 2001; Watts 2006; Cribiore 2007a; Morgan 2007; Fernández Delgado *et al.* 2007; Derda *et al.* 2007.

153 Cf. Cribiore 2001a, 8; Marrou 1972, 128.

154 Cf. Fournet 1999, 685–7. On changes and continuity, cf. Cribiore 2007b.

155 Cf. Dorival 2000, 419; Watts 2006, 15–23.

156 Dorival 2000, 426–7.

by Menander with interlinear Coptic translations and short texts from the Scriptures in both languages.[157]

As a proof of the interaction of Coptic Christianity and classical formation in the area we can quote the first known Coptic biblical text: a bilingual tablet found in Thebes, containing eight verses of Psalm 46 in Achmimic, together with a Greek paraphrase of the first lines of the *Iliad* and several exercises.[158] There was also a Christian education in Greek, which seems to have increasingly used the *Septuaginta* and the New Testament as materials for training.

The Rule of saint Pachomius states that illiterate monks should be given twenty psalms to be learnt by heart under the supervision of an older monk who would examine them three times a day. After this, they should learn the letters, syllables, verbs and nouns, i.e., the matters taught by the first teacher.[159]

The adaptation of the Greek alphabet for writing Egyptian caused the appearance of a new form of Christian literature.[160] The influence of Greek literature on the Coptic was unambiguous, since, above all in the first period, it consisted of translations from the Greek, of the Bible, apocryphal texts, and patristic and homiletic literature.[161] The use of Coptic expanded only after 330, though it was to remain confined to very specific limits: theological texts and personal correspondence of Christians (in partircular in monastic circles). It was not used in legal documents until the sixth century.[162]

Studying Latin[163] had an eminently practical function: it was the language of the army, the administration and the law, which made it indispensable for the three careers, but it was also the language of the *ciuitas Romana* and this added an element of status. Also, monastic communities

157 Cf. Hasitzka 1990, 15–16, 74–5, 118, 146, 151, 201, 213–14, 231; Cribiore 1999.

158 Crum 1934–7. Cf. Smith 1998, 722.

159 Pachomius, *Praecepta* 139–40. Cf. Browning 2000, 868. Also Basil, *Regulae fusius Tractatae* 15 (PG 21, cols. 935–6).

160 General outlines of Coptic literature in Smith 1998; Orlandi 1998.

161 Besides the well known texts from Nag Hammadi, in 1991–2 new Manichaean texts of the 3rd-4th c. in Coptic, Greek and Syriac were found in Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis), in the Dakhleh Oasis: Gardner 1995. In 1929 some Manichaean codices written in subachmimic Coptic had been found in Medinet Madi, close to Fayum: Giversen 1986–8.

162 Bagnall 1993, 240–1.

163 Cavenaile 1987; Rochette 1997, 177–210.

usually counted among their members with Latin speakers, which implied that they had Latin texts.[164]

At least the towns with more resources offered the means for a decent training in the Latin language and literature, as shown by our information about Claudian, Severus of Sozopolis and Proclus,[165] but also by the Latin papyri preserved:[166] from the humble bilingual Aesopic fable of the swallow (*P.Mich.* 7.457 [inv. 5604b^{v}] + *P.Yale* inv. 1158^{v}), to Cicero (MP^{3} 2918–24), Virgil (MP^{3} 2935–52) and Sallust (MP^{3} 2929–33), but also Juvenal (MP^{3} 2925), Livy (MP^{3} 2926–7), Lucan (MP^{3} 2928) and Terence (MP^{3} 2933.1–2934).[167] We cannot fail to mention the elegy of Cornelius Galus, the Latin poet of the first century BC and prefect of Egypt, found in Quasr Ibrim (Primis, Egyptian Nubia) in 1978.[168] That Galus' poetry reached Nubia so early (1st c. BC/1st c. AD) clearly proves the romanising role of the army and that the hazards of conservation of the papyri hinder our knowledge of high-brow culture.

The study of the Latin language and literature during the educational process of Egyptian youths exerted some influence on their later compositions in Greek, as can be seen for instance in the Vergilian coinage of *P.Bon.* 4 "Catabasi Orphica" (2nd/3rd c. AD)[169] and in **26.1** Hesiod inspired by the Muses (*P.Oxy.* 50.3537r).[170] It also gave rise to the *Alcestis Barcinonensis*, the author of which (probably Egyptian)[171] can produce reasonably innovative poetry of a certain quality.[172] Regarding rhetoric, it pervaded culture and it is the most important educational element.[173] Therefore it is not strange that we perceive so easily its influence on civil and ecclesiastic documentation, epistolography and all literary forms, poetry included.

Another possible development could be an increase in the intervention of the State in educational matters, which would initiate a process

164 Cf. the analysis in Cavenaile 1987, 105–10.
165 Cf. Zechariah, *Life of Severus* (Kugener 1903), p. 11; Marinus, *Life of Proclus* 8. Cf. Cameron 1970b, 19–21, 315–21.
166 Cf. Mertens 1987.
167 Cribiore 1996 excludes Latin texts, gathered in Zalateo 1961: nos. 11, 16, 122–3, 153, 305–22.
168 Anderson *et al.* 1979; Capasso 2003.
169 Lloyd-Jones – Parsons 1978, 88. Cf. ll. 31 and 33 in n. to 33; l. 103.
170 Cf. *P.Oxy.* 50.3537r, n. to l. 25.
171 Cf. Marcovich 1988, 101.
172 Cf. Marcovich 1988, 4, 11–14, 96–8.
173 Cf. Garzya 1984, 14–15; Webb 1997a, 339, 345.

of centralisation.[174] Actually in most cases schools and teachers were self-sufficient and if they benefited of a public salary it was usually provided by town councils,[175] except for very sporadic acts of *euergesia.* It was only the State's tendency to regulate municipal educational policy which was on the increase.[176]

Taking all this into account, let us now analyse the different elements necessary for the flourishing in Panopolis of the cultural life that produced Triphiodorus, Nonnus and Pamprepius, mainly teachers and literary texts.

3.1. Educational infrastructure

Teachers

In Panopolis we find the following references to teachers:

– *P.Berl.Bork.* (298 p.q.) mentions among the landowners three διδάσκαλοι: (primary teachers) Cabrias (I 18),[177] Theon (XII 34)[178] and Eutyches (A II 2; A II 14).[179]
– Paniscos, a διδάσκαλος, Tamuthes' father, appears on a mummy label, dated from the 19th of April 256.[180] Judging by his name, Paniscos came from Panopolis or its surrounding districts, or was at least related to the area in some way.
– We know a Theodosius γραμματικός from a stele in the Cairo Musem no. 8361, for which Lefebvre proposed Akhmim as origin.[181]
– Triphiodorus was, according to the *Suda* (T 1111 Adler), γραμματικὸς καὶ ποιητὴς ἐπῶν.

174 Cf. Vössing 2002, nn. 2 and 3.
175 There were state chairs (*cathedrae* / θρόνοι) only in Rome, Athens and Constantinople.
176 These are the conclusions reached by Vössing 2002. An example of the emperor's intervention in a city's educational matters is the 'School Edict' by Gratian (376), analysed by Vössing 2002, 256–7.
177 Kaster 1983a identifies Cabrias with the one appearing in *P.Köln Panop.* 14, 25 (Landliste, 4th c.): γυναικ(ὸς) Κ̣α̣βρία διδασκάλου. He corrects the first version by Youtie *et al.* 1971a, no. 14. Cf. also Kaster 1988, no. 193, p. 387; Cribiore 1996, no. 28.
178 Cf. Kaster 1988, no. 267, p. 435; Cribiore 1996, no. 31.
179 Cf. Kaster 1988, no. 214, p. 405; Cribiore 1996, no. 27.
180 Boyaval 1976, p. 76, no. 900. Cf. Kaster 1983a, 132–4; Kaster 1988, no. 243, p. 421.
181 Lefebvre 1907, no. 325, p. 62. Also Kaster 1988, no. 153, p. 367.

– Panopolite-born Pamprepius (440–84) became a public γραμματικός in Athens.[182]
– The family of the two Horapollos came from Phoenebitis, a little village in the Panopolite.[183] Horapollon was a *grammatikos*, Asclepiades a *grammatikos* and/or philosopher, Heraiscus a philosopher and Fl. Horapollon a *grammatikos* and philosopher.[184] None of them seems to have worked as such in the nome.
– Musaeus, author of *Hero and Leander*, is said to have been a γραμματικός in three manuscripts of his work from the fourteenth century, but not in the oldest, which renders this information as doubtful.[185]
– *P.Berl.Bork.:* two ῥήτορες, Theodotos (II 4) and Theon (A I 2–3; not to be confused with the *didaskalos* in XII 34).
– *P.Lond*. 5.1716.15 (570): among the witnesses of a loan signed by Dioscorus there appears (lines 14–16) a Fl. Antoninos rhetor.

Traditionally in studies on the school in the ancient world three levels of teaching and their respective teachers have been distinguished:[186]

– Primary, with the γραμματιστής (or γραμματοδιδάσκαλος or διδάσκαλος[187] or χαμαιδιδάσκαλος), dedicated to the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic.
– Secondary, with the γραμματικός (or φιλόλογος or κριτικός), where the student received the training on language and literature, especially poetry.[188]
– Higher, with the σοφιστής or ῥήτωρ, i.e. the school of rhetoric.[189]

It has always been acknowledged that the limits separating them were blurred, depending on the period, place and professionals. It was not infrequent that the same person was in charge of the two first levels. The third one, on the contrary, was perfectly defined as a separate entity.

182 Cf. Kaster 1988, no. 114, pp. 329–32. A similar case, though more evasive, is no. 33 (Colluthus).
183 Cf. *P.Cair. Masp.* 3.67295 (end of the 5th c.); Masson 1992.
184 Cf. Kaster 1988, nos. 17, 77, 78; also Cribiore 1988, 168–9 (nos. 9–10).
185 Cf. Kaster 1988, no. 102, p. 313.
186 On the terminology, cf. Cribiore 1996, 13–14 and her introduction to the different levels, *ibid.* 13–26; Cribiore 2001a, 50–9; also Kaster 1988, 443–54.
187 On the different nuances of this term, cf. Cribiore 1996, 163–4.
188 Cf. Kaster 1988, 12; Agusta-Boularot 1994.
189 About the difference between rhetor and sophist, cf. Cribiore 2001a, 56–7. About the activities of the late antique sophist, cf. Swain 2004, 363 ff.; Puech 2002, 10–15; Cribiore 2007a *passim.*

Since our sources frequently present the γραμματικός (or a similar term) as first teacher, it has been suggested that the first two levels were at the same rank, but had a different social function:[190] of the three schools run in Rome in the first century AD, the *ludus litterarius* would give basic training to less favoured strata, while the other two (*schola grammatici, schola rhetoris*) would teach young aristocrats, who had learnt the rudiments of writing and reading at home or from the grammarian.

What we know is that ancient schools were not always organised in three levels and that there were social differences at school in the cities with a high educational demand. Nevertheless, we can not talk about one single system, because there was no system at all, but local services to meet local needs, even taking into account imperial initiatives to favour education.[191] If in Egypt there were two parallel systems, they would have existed only in highly populated towns.[192]

Thus there existed teachers of all the levels related to Panopolis from the third to the sixth centuries. Nevertheless, only for the διδάσκαλοι Cabrias, Theon and Eutyches and the rhetors Theodotus and Theon do we have some certainty that they lived there (nothing about their teaching). The adscription of Paniscos to Panopolis is due to onomastic reasons. Theodosius' link is not secure either. Triphiodorus is considered a Panopolite because of his name, but nothing proves that he taught there. Pamprepius, though born in Panopolis, developed his career as a teacher, politician and diplomat on an international scale, far away from his hometown. The Horapollos had their properties in Phenebitis, but spent their active life in the big cities of the empire. The Fl. Antoninus in Dioscorus' documentation is only said to come from Panopolis, which does not necessarily imply that he was a rhetor there.

In any case, the fact that they were all related to Panopolis implies that in the city there were enough students to maintain those who offered not only the basic training, but also the possibility of expanding it.[193] Those we now know as poets would stand out, but some authors of verses preserved in papyri and some of whom we only know by name would per-

190 Booth 1979a; Dionisotti 1982. Cf. the graphical representation of the two possible models at Kaster 1983b, 237.

191 Kaster 1983b, 237–46; Pedersen 1970, 205. Cf. also Cribiore 2007a, 174–96.

192 Cf. Cribiore 1996, 14; Cribiore 2001a, 37.

193 On the availability of teachers in small towns: Kaster 1988, 106; Cribiore 2001a, 40–1.

haps be among them too. Their number proves the educational continuity not only in Panopolis, but in Upper Egypt in general, as Panopolis is not an exceptional case: from Hermoupolis we know the grammarians Aurelius Theodorus (4th c.), Heraclammon (4th-5th c.), Fl. Her[… (5th c.), Fl. Pitiodorus (5th c.), another whose name is unknown (5th c.), Hieronimus of Elusa (maybe rhetor, active in Hermoupolis, 5th-6th c.).[194] Even if the χώρα offered more or less solid basic training, the important learning centres (Alexandria, but also Constantinople, Athens, Beryto) kept attracting well-off students for their better reputation and broader educational range.[195]

There is also a double question: where and how did Panopolite teachers prepare for their job[196] and what could they offer their pupils? Indeed, the quality of the teaching they offered had an immediate impact on the quality of the culture of those who could not afford to continue their studies away from their hometown. It surely depended as well on the resources of the future teacher,[197] but this is not at all certain. Neither have we evidence that there was at any time in this period a teacher subsidised with imperial or municipal or funds.[198]

It is noteworthy that all teachers here mentioned are men. This would have been the usual situation, though the odd name of a women teacher is also known.[199] It should also be remembered that Panopolite teachers appearing in documentary sources do not appear in their professional practice, but in their daily life and we know the rest from their political (Pamprepius), religious-philosophical (the Horapollos) or literary activities (Triphiodorus).

Their social status went up with their knowledge.[200] Thus, the γραμματισταί enjoyed little social esteem, while the rhetors were highly respected

194 Cf. Kaster 1988, nos. 68, 69, 128, 150, 173, 231. On Egyptian grammarians, Kaster 1988, 469–73. On orators, cf. Puech 2002: leaving out those names known by their inscriptions in the royal tombs of Thebes (14, 107–8, 110–12, 117, 191, 203, 237, 248–50) and a doubtful one (142), we can add several rhetors linked to Egypt (nos. 4, 28?, 86–87, Horion, 230, 257).

195 Cf. Watts 2004.

196 Cf. Downey 1971, 66–9; Kaster 1988, 35.

197 The authors dealt with at school depended on the access the teacher had or had had to their texts. Cf. Cribiore 2001a, 137–47.

198 Kaster 1988, 114–18; Pedersen 1970, 200–1.

199 E.g. Hestiea of Alexandria, a grammarian who wrote a treatise on the possibility that the war of Troy had occurred in the contemporary Ilium: Str. 13.599. Cf. Cribiore 1996, 22–4; 2001a, 78–83; Agusta-Boularot 1994, 734–8.

200 About the social and economic status of teachers, cf. Cribiore 2001a, 59–65.

and could be promoted if they used their expertise in a diplomatic career or simply in imperial burocracy. In general the γραμματικοί[201] seem to have come from respectable backgrounds, but within the *mediocritas.* From the fourth century some held the rank of de λαμπρότατος / *clarissimus* and the denomination *Flavius:* in the fourth century these titles were due to merits other than teaching and from the fifth century on the usual title for a *grammatikos* seems to be Flavius,[202] although this designation seems to have lost importance.

Their economic status seems to have been similar to their social standing. Diocletian's Price Edict (301) sets a considerably lower salary for the *magister institutor litterarum* as compared with the *grammaticus* and the *rhetor.*[203] Something similar happens in the *Digesta*, where the teachers of the first level (50.4.11.4, 50.5.2.8) are denied the tax exemption given to the *grammaticus.* It also differentiates *rhetores, grammatici* and *geometrae*, i. e. *praeceptores studiorum liberalium* (§§ 1, 4, 6, 8).

Contrary to the financial straits of the γραμματισταί, the γραμματικοί led a comfortable life, judging by the sources.[204] Apparently their pupils' payments could be supplemented by family properties, as happened in the case of the Horapollos and the grammarians and rhetors appearing in *P. Berl.Bork.* The absence of clear conclusions in this respect prevents us from establishing the concrete social and financial position of those of whom we do not have the personal information (e. g. Triphiodorus). Neither can we deduce how their position might have influenced their literary production.

Literary texts in use

The largest library[205] known so far in Panopolis is the one composed of nearly all the *P.Bodm.*, plus papyri from Barcelona, Köln, the Chester Beatty Library, the *P.Robinson* at Duke University and others, forming

201 Cf. Kaster 1988, 99–134, esp. 107–11.
202 Cf. Keenan 1973, 1974, 1983.
203 Lauffer 1971, § 7.66, 70, 71.
204 Cf. Kaster 1988, 111–14.
205 Cf. P. W. Pestman, ap. Martin 1994, 570: "on réservera bien entendu l'étiquette *archives* aux lots (essentiellement) documentaires, l'étiquette *bibliothèque* aux lots (essentiellement) littéraires".

a large ensemble in Greek, Latin and Coptic, discovered and dispersed in the 1950s.[206] The extant collection[207] comprises:[208]

– Frags. of the *Iliad* (*P.Bodm.* 48), frags. of the *Odyssey* (*P.Bodm.* 49), frags. of *Od.* 3–4 (*P.Colon. inv.* 902 = *P.Köln* 40).
– Thucydides (*P.Bodm.* 27): copied at the end of the three bifolios containing *Susanna* and *Daniel* (*P.Bodm.* 45–6), chancellery writing, 3rd-4th c.
– A satirical drama on the confrontation of Heracles and Atlas (*P.Bodm.* 28): "monumental handwriting" (2nd c. AD), wide spacing, revised text, marginal notes, marks the appearances of the characters, 60 lines with not even one sigma (lipogram). Its editor thinks that it may come from the binding of another codex.
– Menander (MP^3 1298)[209] including *Samia* with a final title, *Dyskolos* with a hypothesis by Aristophanes of Byzance and a title, *Aspis* 1–146, 149–400, 405–544: papyrus *codex*, experienced hand trying to make the most of the available space (cf. V. Martin, *P.Bodm.* 4, pp. 8–9), copied with little care, many mistakes, sometimes corrected.
– Ach. Tat. *Leucippe and Cleitophon* 3:[210] beginning of the 3rd c., presents almost continuously 3.17–25; informal hand; revised text, we do not know if by the same scribe.

206 Cf. Martin – Primavesi 1998, 47 ; Kasser 1991, 49: "There are some reasons for thinking that the Bodmer papyri were discovered some years after the end of World War II, in Upper Egypt".

207 Nothing proves that the whole library has been preserved: some folios may have disappeared or have been destroyed when the library fell into disuse or when they were discovered. Cf. Kasser 1991, 48.

208 Cf. the inventory by Robinson 1990, 375–8, centred in the *P.Bodm.* (except 17 and 48–50, probably bought aside). Robinson makes an inventory of the archive copies of the letters by the first abbots of the Pachomian monasteries, purchased at the same time as the rest of this library, but probably from Fāww Qiblī, 5 km. from Nag Hammadi: cf. Robinson 1990, 377–8. Cf. as well the inventory by Kasser 1991, who excludes 1, 17, 28, 39, 42–4, 47. The ensemble includes documentary texts: two rolls of tax receipts from Panopolis, years 339–47 (*P.Youtie* II), forming a *codex* where the correspondence of the *strategos* of the nome in the years 298–300 is collected (*P.Panop. Beatty*).

209 [*P.Bodm.* 25 + *P.Barcin.* 45] + *P.Bodm.* 4 + [*P.Bodm.* 26 + *P.Köln* 1.3 = *P.Köln* 8.331 + *P.Robinson* 38]. *P.Bodm.* 4 dates the *codex* from the 3rd c. AD; Cavallo – Maehler 1987, first half of the 4th c. Cf. the description of the *codex* and its contents in *P.Bodm.* 25, pp. 7–25. About the hypothesis by Aristophanes, cf. van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, no. 27.

210 *P.Colon.inv.* 901 + *P.Duke* 772. Cf. Laplace 1993.

– Greek ethnographic or philosophical treatise (*P.Rob. inv.* 37 + *P.Colon. inv.* 903), unpublished.
– Cic. *Ad Catilinam*:[211] first half of the 4th c.?, hand not used to copying Latin. At the end of *Catilinaria* 2 there is a profusely decorated *tabula ansata* containing the expression *Filiciter / Dorotheo* and in the lower border *Utere felix / Dorotheo.*
– *Alcestis Barcinonensis* (*P.Barcin. inv.* 158–161a):[212] 122 Latin hexameters on the theme of Alcestis, who sacrifices her life to save her husband Admetus.
– Old Testament (in the order of the Bible): Gn. 1–4 (*P.Bodm.* 3, Bohairic, 4th c.); Exodus 1–15 (*P.Bodm.* 16, Bohairic, 5th-6th c.); Deuteronomy 1–10 (*P.Bodm.* 18, Sahidic, 4th c.); Joshua 1–11 and 21–4 (*P.Bodm.* 21 + Chester Beatty ac. 1389, Sahidic, 5th c.), Tobit 14–15 (*P.Bodm.* 21 + Chester Beatty ac. 1389, Sahidic, 5th c.); 2 Macc. + Jonah (Crosby-Schøyen Codex, Sahidic, 4th c.); Psalms 17–118, with lacunae (*P.Bodm.* 24, Greek, 3rd-4th c.); Psalms 33–4 (*P.Bodm.* 9, Greek, 3rd-4th c.); Psalms 72–88 (*P.Beatty* 13, Greek, 4th c.); Psalms (*P.Beatty* 14, Greek, 4th c.); Psalms 76–7 (*P.Yale inv.* 1779, sahidic); Proverbs 1–21 (*P.Bodm.* 6, Paleotheban, 3rd-4th c.); Song of Solomon 1–8 (*P.Bodm.* 40, Sahidic, 5th c.); Jeremiah 40–52 + Baruch 1–5 + Lamentations (*P.Bodm.* 22 + Mississippi Coptic Codex 2, Sahidic, 4th c.); Isaiah 47–66 (*P.Bodm.* 23, Sahidic, 4th c.); Susanna (*P.Bodm.* 45, Greek, Theodotion's version, 3rd-4th c.) + Daniel 1–20 (*P.Bodm.* 46, Greek, Theodotion's version, 3rd-4th c.); Daniel (*P.Bodm.* 44, Bohairic); Song of Songs (*P.Bodm.* 40, Sahidic).
– Apocrypha of the Old Testament: Eleventh Ode of Solomon (*P.Bodm.* 40, Sahidic, 3rd-4th c.), Epistle of Jeremy (*P.Bodm.* 22 + Mississippi Coptic Codex 2, Sahidic, 4th c.), Apocalypse of Elijah (*P.Chester Beatty* 2018, Sahidic), Book of Jannes and Jambres (*P.Beatty* 16).
– New Testament: Matthew 14–28 (*P.Bodm.* 19, Sahidic, 4th-5th c.); Matthew (*P.Bodm.* 50); Luke 3–24 (*P.Bodm.* 14, Greek, 3rd c.) + John 1–15 (*P.Bodm.* 15, Greek, 3rd c.); Luke+John+Mark (*P.Palau Ribes* 181–3, Sahidic papyrus codex); John 1–21 (*P.Bodm.* 2 + *P.Köln* 5.214, Greek, 2nd-3rd c.); John 1–21 (*P.Bodm.* 3, Bohairic, 4th c.); John 10–13 (Chester Beatty ac. 1390, Subachmimic); Epistle to the Romans

211 *P.Barc. inv.* 126–150a (Roca-Puig 1977) + P. Duke inv. L1 (Willis 1963). On the *tabula* ansata, cf. Crisci 2004, 131.
212 Marcovich 1988, 1997.

(*P.Bodm.* 19, Sahidic, 4th-5th c.), 2 Corinthians (*P.Bodm.* 42, Coptic);[213] 1–2 Peter (*P.Bodm.* 8, Greek, 3rd-4th c.), 1 Peter (Mississippi Coptic Codex 1 [Crosby Codex], Sahidic, 4th c.); Epistle of Jude (*P.Bodm.* 7, Greek, 3rd-4th c.).

- Apocrypha of the New Testament: Nativity of Mary or Apocalypse of James or Protevangelion of James (*P.Bodm.* 5, Greek, 3rd-4th c.), Apocryphal epistles of Paul to the Corinthians (*P.Bodm.* 10, Greek, 3rd-4th c.), Acts of Paul (*P.Bodm.* 41, Sahidic, 4th c.), Coptic Apocryphon (*P.Bodm.* 43).
- Homiletics: *Homily on Easter* by Melito of Sardes (*P.Bodm.* 13, Greek, 3rd-4th c.); *Homily on Easter* by Melito of Sardes (Mississippi Coptic Codex 1, Sahidic, 4th c.); Apology of Phileas, bishop of Tmuis (*P.Bodm.* 20 + frag. Chester Beatty ac. 2555, Greek, 3rd-4th c.).
- Liturgy: fragment of a liturgical hymn (*P.Bodm.* 12, Greek, 3rd-4th c.); liturgical hymn (Mississippi Coptic Codex 1 [Crosby Codex], Sahidic, 4th c.), *Psalmus responsorius* (*P.Barcin. inv.* 150b-154a, Latin, 4th c.),[214] Greek Eucologius (*P.Barcin. inv.* 154b-157b).[215]
- Christian poetry: *Codex Visionum* (*P.Bodm.* 29–37, Greek).
- Moral exhortations: *P.Bodm.* 47.
- School texts: Greek mathematic exercises (Chester Beatty ac. 1390); Greek grammar + Graeco-Latin lexicon of Rom. + 2 Cor. + Gal. + Eph. (Chester Beatty ac. 1499);[216] scholia of *Odyssey* 1 (*P.Rob. inv.* 32 + *P.Colon. inv.* 906);[217] a *cahier d'écolier* (*P.Bouriant* 1) and a *livre du maître* from the Chester Beatty Library.[218]

Several contradictory hypotheses have been proposed about their provenance,[219] mainly if they came from a monastic library in the area of Pan-

213 Robinson adds Luke + John + Mark (*P.Palau Ribes* 181–3, Sahidic).
214 Roca-Puig 1965.
215 Roca-Puig 1994. There are four liturgical prayers (154b-5a Anaphora or Eucharistic Prayer; 155b.1–18 Thanksgiving after communion; 155b.19-26-156a.1–5 Laying-on of hands on the sick; 156a.6-b.3 Exorcism of the oil for the sick) and an alphabetic acrostic hymn (157ab).
216 Wouters 1988.
217 Henrichs 1971b, 1–3, no. 8.
218 Clarysse – Wouters 1970. Included in this ensemble by Blanchard 1991.
219 Blanchard 1991, 213–14, n. 11 revises all the hypotheses, 100 km around Akhmîm, to the north (close to Assiut) or to the south (close to Nag Hammadi, close to Dishna, in Abu Mana, not far away from the monastery of Pabau). Cf. *P.Bodm.* 38, p. 11.

opolis or from another place,[220] or from a Christian secondary school from Panopolis itself.[221] In favour of Panopolis we can say that the rolls of the *Iliad* at *P.Bodm.* 1 (3rd-4th c.) are copied on the reverse of a register of landed property in the Panopolite (208/9).[222]

Defining the use of this library has been a far more arduous task. The possibility of a school context was considered since the first editions of papyri from the collection[223] and revived with the edition of *P.Bodm.* 29 by R. Kasser and G. Cavallo.[224] In *P.Bodm.* 38, Kasser modified the arrangement of the folios[225] and J. van Haelst argued that the whole lot came from a 'secondary' school from Panopolis.[226] This codex would have been copied in the latter half of the fifth century by six students as a booklet for internal use.[227] This thesis would be supported by the fact that the *Shepherd* had a catechetical use[228] and was backed by Blanchard 1991 when he included in the ensemble of the library two *cahiers d'écolier*, whose ancient editors would have used the Bodmer Menander and would probably had access to a second triad (*Phasma*, *Heros* and *Epitrepontes*).

Nevertheless, the edition of the final poems of the codex (*P.Bodm.* 30–7) did not back this proposal and the editors reconstructed as addressees of the *codex* a pre-Nicaean community of "righteous" men,

220 Turner 1968, 51–3, 201 (sceptical about the possible origin in a village close to Nag Hammadi); Robinson 1990: from the archives of the Pachomian order, at the monastery of Pbou; *contra* R. Kasser, in *P.Bodm.* 38, p. 106; Giliam 1978 (also Cavenaile 1987, 103): monastic library from the surrounding area of Panopolis. Kasser 1988 collects two contradictory testimonies: the antique dealer who negotiated its sale to M. Bodmer said in his deathbed that they came from Ed-Debba, 5 km. from Nag Hammadi; M. Bodmer's secretary, on the contrary, claimed that they came from *Mina* or *Minia*, in the outskirts of Assiut and that the provenance cited by the antique dealer applied only to *P.Bodm.* 17, from a different lot.

221 Blanchard 1991, 220, n. 24; Stramaglia 1996, 133–5.

222 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 1, pp. 21–2. Robinson 1990, 377 (no. 32) adds *P.Panop.* 19 and *P.Panop. Beatty.*

223 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 4, pp. 9–10.

224 *P.Bodm.* 29, pp. 111, 117.

225 Cf. the resulting reconstruction in *P.Bodm.* 29, p. 107; two folios (XII and XIII) seem to be lost.

226 *P.Bodm.* 38, pp. 105 (n. 5), 108 (n. 10), 118–19, 124.

227 Like two others in the same ensemble: the one containing *Susanna*, *Daniel* and the beginning of Thuc. 6 and the miscellaneous *codex* from Barcelona (*P.Barcin.* 126–81). Cf. Roca-Puig 1977, xviii.

228 Cf. Euseb. *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.3.6; *P.Bodm.* 38, p. 26.

learned enough to appreciate these poems.[229] The *codex* appears to be a coherent selection of Christian poetry, in the atmosphere of the post-Tetrarchical Christian *renovatio* of genres,[230] and its copy would have been the result of the collaboration of several persons of different ages.[231]

Codicological analysis also points in this direction. Although the miscellaneous codex may have had its distant origin in the *livre d'écolier*,[232] the comparison with contemporary codices also made of poor-quality materials, written by several non-professional hands and containing different Christian texts,[233] suggests that a religious community produced it to meet its own needs.

To gather such a library a considerable effort was needed and the extant books, in number and thematic, go beyond the basic needs of the community. We should nevertheless remember what we know about the presence of books in Egyptian monasteries,[234] for which they were a source of income.[235] In fact, a calligrapher was one of the jobs established for the monks, sometimes in weekly shifts,[236] which would explain the diversity of hands.

We have more information about libraries in the Pachomian monasteries of the area. The White Monastery, founded in the middle of the fourth century, must have had a library from the beginning and it soon worked as a copying centre. Abbott Shenute turned it into a centre of Coptic literary culture and undertook the translation of Greek patristic texts.[237] It is supposed that he had the Greek originals and maintained

229 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, pp. 22–3 (it would have been copied in the first quarter of the 5th c.), 70–6; also Agosti 2002a, 76–87.

230 Agosti 2001a.

231 On the contrary, cf. Haines-Eitzen 2000, 96–104, an analysis of *P.Bodm.* 5+10–12+7–9+13+20 as the result of the collaboration of several hands.

232 Cf. Crisci 2004, 111–12.

233 Cf. Crisci 2004, 112–44: *P.Hamb. bil. 1*, *P.Bodm.* 5+7–13+20, *P.Beatty* 12 + *P.Mich.inv.* 5333, the miscellaneous Barcinonenses, Crosby-Schøyen MS 193, codices of Nag Hammadi, PSI 1.6–7.

234 Cf. Gamble 1995, 141, 170 ff.; Scholten 1988.

235 Cf. e.g. Palladius, *Lausiac History*, § 38.10.

236 Cf. Palladius, *Lausiac History*, § 32.12 on the different jobs of the monks in the Pachomian monastery of Tabennesi, among which ἄλλος καλλιγραφεῖον; Callinicus, *Life of Hypatios,* § 42.4–6: Εἴ ποτε γὰρ <δεῖ> κῆπον γεωργῆσαι ἢ ἀμπέλους σκάψαι ἢ ἄλλο τι ποιῆσαι ἐπίπονον, οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι τῷ ἔργῳ εἰς τοῦτο τεταγμένοι εἰσιν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τρίχινα ἐργάζοντα. Ἔστι μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν καλλιγράφος, ὁ δὲ πλύτης καὶ ῥάπτης, ἄλλος ὀστιάριος… Οἱ πάντες δὲ ἑβδομάδας ποιοῦντες ἀλλήλοις τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἀποδιδόασιν.

237 Orlandi 2002. On Shenute's literary corpus cf. Emmel 2004.

Greek training, for which Greek books would be needed.[238] Taking into account how elementary Coptic education was, training in Greek literature and rhetoric, with their respective texts, would have been the only one available for advanced students.

It seems that from this monastery's library came *P.Achm.* and *P.Bour.* 3 and 41a and b, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. Among the *P.Achm.* we are interested in a group of small detached leaves (*P.Achm.* 3–5), coming from codices, reduced to one size and pasted together to be used as the binding for another codex, in the White Monastery according to Collart.[239] As we do not know much about the pagan funds of the library we cannot prove that they came from the monastery. Another option is that they came from Panopolis, as did the old administrative rolls, which would give us more information about the works some Panopolite had access to.

Probably at least some of the numerous monasteries of the area kept libraries for internal use, though we do not have information about them, and local churches would own some books too, judging by inventories from other places.[240] Also other forms of Christianity would have produced and preserved their own literature. The nearest library is that of Nag Hammadi:[241] a group of thirteen codices in Sahidic and Subachmimic Coptic, from the middle of the fourth century, which were discovered in 1945 in Gebel el-Tarif, close to Nag Hammadi. They comprise 52 treatises, translations of Greek originals, which show a significant contribution of the Greek school.

It is to be expected that members of Panopolite élite had books at home besides the texts they had copied at school, i. e. some kind of private libraries, which would give them a means of standing out as élite.[242] But libraries cause problems from their very name,[243] we have

238 Orlandi 2002, 224.

239 *P.Achm.*, p. 27; cf. Guichard Romero 2005, 190–1.

240 Cf. Otranto 2000, 123–44.

241 Robinson 2000. For a summary of the possible relationship of this library to the Pachomian monastery of Pbou, cf. Gamble 1995, 171–2. Cf. also Crisci 2004, 137–8.

242 Cf. Bertelli 1998, 41.

243 Βιβλιοθηκή appears often in documentary papyri, nearly always meaning "record office" or "archive depository". Cf. Turner 1968, 76 (and nn. 5 and 37 in ch. VI), 134, 136.

very little direct information about them, and it is really difficult to assign extant literary papyri to institutions or individuals.[244]

Even when literary texts are found among the documents of some individual or family, their survival is not accidental. They are often those their owner needed to have at hand (models for letter writing or conjugation tables) and to which he felt personally attached, not necessarily the most interesting ones from a literary point of view. It would be a mistake to conclude after the scarcity of literary texts in their archives that they were not interested in literature.[245]

In Panopolis we only know of one person who owned books, Ammon, and we have only fragments of a codex of the *Odyssey*.[246] Nevertheless, *P.Ammon* 1.3 (Ammon's letter to his mother) and 1.7–15 and 2.27–49 (drafts of legal documents) are physical proofs of a training which needed books and both his brother Harpocration and his nephew Apollon made a career in literature. Although we lack confirmation of it, probably other upper-class families also had some books among their possessions: we may think of the signers of *P.Oxy.* 27.2476 (on which cf. infra) or of the family of the Horapollos.

We cannot reconstruct the level of their literary interests, but we may establish a comparison with Dioscorus of Aphrodito's library,[247] *mutatis mutandis* because of temporal and spatial distance. From him we have a full copy of the *Iliad*[248] and a whole codex with the *Scholia Minora* to the *Iliad*, a codex of Menander,[249] remains of another codex of comedies which included, among others, the *Demoi* by Eupolis,[250] a brief biography of Isocrates[251] and a poem about the panhellenic games (*AP* 9.357, *P.Cair. Masp*. 2.67188.6–10). Regarding paraliterary texts, he had a little codex made of useless documents he used as an exercise book for Greek conju-

244 Turner 1952, 89. We also have lists of books preserved on papyrus: cf. Otranto 2000, 63–119.

245 Cf. Clarysse 1983, 60–1; Turner 1968, 77–8; Bagnall 1993, 102.

246 *P.Ammon* 1.2, 2.26.

247 Clarysse 1983, 56–7; Fournet 1999.

248 *P.Cair.Masp* 2.67172–4, *codex* with accents added by a second hand.

249 MP^3 1301: manuscript form the 4th-5th c. which was more than a century old when it reached Dioscorus. It appeared covering the vessel where the archive was preserved. It contains parts of *Heros, Epitrepontes, Samia, Perikeiromene, Fabula incerta.*

250 MP^3 375. Fournet 1999, 670 (esp. n. 3), differentiates this codex from the previous one; *contra* Gagos – van Minnen 1994, 20.

251 *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67175 = MP^3 2080. According to Fournet 1999, 670, n. 4 this manuscript was copied by Dioscorus himself.

gations[252] and, written by himself, a Greek-Coptic glossary, a metrological table also in his own hand, a phylactery against evil spirits, a medical prescription and an anthology of four texts (*P.Cair. Masp.* 3.67295: a petition by philosopher Horapollon, two letters and an illegible document) he would have copied due to their literary interest.[253]

Nevertheless, though we have so much information about him, it is not completely certain that he only owned these books.[254] It is especially strange that, being a σχολαστικός and son of the founder of the monastery of Apa Apollon, there is not a single legal or Christian text among them. Besides, the allusions in his poems and documents are not only Homeric and Menandrean,[255] but some features suggest that he had also read Hesiod, Euripides, Nonnus and *Paraphrase of the Psalms* by Ps. Apollinar of Laodicaea.[256]

3.2. Reconstruction of school contents in Panopolis

Introductory courses

Panopolite students, like many others in the Graeco-Roman world, learnt to read and write, as confirmed in the booklets from the Chester Beatty and *P.Bour.* 1, by copying words of increasing length in alphabetic order. In doing so, they revised or learned the necessary vocabulary for the subsequent study of literature, with an emphasis on mythology.[257] Of all the materials collected in Cribiore's catalogue, only one item could come

252 *P.Cair.Masp.* 67176 + 2.67275 + 3.67351 + 3.67350 a,b,c + *P.Alex. inv.* 689 + Cambridge Corpus 806, 801, 007C (= MP^3 355). It includes the dual of the first person of passive future! Fournet 1999, 670 distinguishes a codex of conjugations of contract verbs (no. 7), from a roll of conjugations of contract verbs and two booklets with excerpts of these conjugations (nos. 8, 8 bis and 8 ter), none of which was copied by Dioscorus.

253 Cf. Fournet 1999, 671.

254 Although Gagos – van Minnen 1994, 20 have a contrary opinion, Fournet 1999, 672 thinks that the vessel containing the preserved copies was closed when Dioscorus died, so that he himself could have got rid of some books in the course of his lifetime or some of them may have not been put into the vessel.

255 Fournet 1999, 298–303 and 674–5 (Homer), 676–7 (Menander).

256 Fournet 1999, 676 (Hesiod), 677–8 (Euripides), 678–80 (Nonnus), 679 (Ps. Apollinar).

257 Cf. Clarysse – Wouters 1983, 228.

from Panopolis,[258] but we should take into account the hazards of conservation and the unknown provenance of much of this material.

Grammar

Grammar[259] was the domain of the γραμματικός and its aim was the mastery of correct Greek (*hellenismos*), in its different literary variants. Definitions, parts of grammar and different forms were learned by heart.[260] We have declension and conjugation tables from the first centuries AD and after the Arabic conquest[261] and, through manuscript transmission, the supplements to the *Grammar* by Dionysius Thrax, Theodosius' *Canons* on the conjugation of the verb[262] and the *Tabula* with the forms of τύπτω, composed using them.[263] The γραμματικοί relied on handbooks the quality of which was probably not uniform and were engaged in the general trend of summarisation and comment of previous studies.[264] The τέχναι extant on papyrus focus on the μέρη τοῦ λόγου and their morphology and provide the reader with examples, a necessary element in the teacher's explanation on grammar.[265] The students would copy some

258 Cribiore 1996, no. 343 = LDAB 2173 = MP^3 1158 (school glosary of *Il.* 1.1–12; it comes from Fayum: cf. Martin – Primavesi 1998, p. 45, n. 5). On the contrary, several from Hermoupolis and the Hermoupolite (120?, 155, 346), from the Thebaid (19–22, 61, 163) and from Upper Egypt (44, 50, 52, 64, 65, 103–5, 189, 269, 273–5, 351) are extant.

259 According to the definition beginning the Γραμματική Τέχνη by Dionysius Thrax (*GG* I.1, pp. 5–6) as ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων.

260 Cribiore 1996, 358–78.

261 Cf. Weems 1981, Table 5 (p. 265): *MPER* n.s. 3.33b, *AmtlBer* (1913) 219, PSI inv. 204 = Cribiore 363, B.M.Add.MS.37516 = Cribiore 364, B.M.Add.MS.37533, Bodl.Gr.Inscr.3019, *O.Mich.* 1.656, *P.Ryl.* 3.533 = Cribiore 366, *P.Rein.* 2.81, *P.Ryl.* 3.534, *MPER* n.s. 3.34, PSI inv. 2052 = Cribiore 374, PSI inv. 479 = Cribiore 372, *PERF* 534 (= *SPP* 2.15) = Cribiore 375, *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67275 and 3.67350a-c, *CGT* inv. 1422 obv. = Cribiore 378. Cribiore adds 365 (*MPER* ns 15.126), 367 (*P.Col.* 8.206), 376 (*P.Hamb.* 2.166), 377 (*MPER* n.s. 15.139). On conjugations, cf. Wouters 1988, 32–5, 80–1.

262 Εἰσαγωγικοὶ κανόνες περὶ κλίσεως ῥημάτων: *GG* IV.1, pp. 43–99.

263 *GG* I.1, 125–32. Cf. Wouters 1988, 78–80; 1979, 225–73 (nos. 18–24).

264 Wouters 1979, 43–4, 312–15; nos. 10 (pp. 156–62), 11 (pp. 163–74).

265 Wouters 1979, 37–41.

texts[266] and worked on them following the question-answer pattern which we can trace in some of the preserved treatises.[267]

In the Panopolite library of the *P.Bodm.* there is a papyrus codex from the 4th century (Chester Beatty Ac. 1499) containing the conjugation of ποιῶ, βοῶ, χρυσῶ and πλέκω,[268] together with a Graeco-Latin lexicon. Wouters defines this codex as "[166] a language study book" "[167] written by a [Christian] Greek who in the same notebook tried to improve his native language and to study Latin".

Literature

We may wonder why Egyptian youths from the third to the sixth centuries studied the literature transmitted by these texts. It is obvious that gnomic literature is insisted on as a basis for their ethic education, but why do the other texts appear? Morgan 1997, after analysing literary passages copied with an educational purpose, especially those by Homer and Euripides,[269] reaches the conclusion that they did not aim "[741] to teach a great love of literature, or even a great deal of literature". It was not a 'literary training', though literature was its main component, and what they pursued was to acquire a varnish of Greek culture and literature: knowing Homer, the symbol of Greek culture, implied that you were Greek. Therefore, it was a question of status and social standing, as an intimate knowledge of Greek literature and the command of its language was the necessary proof of high status.

There were practical reasons too:[270] in public life literary language was used systematically[271] and we find an increasing number of literary uses in documents. Thus, in the edict preserved in the *recto* of *P.*

266 Cf. Cribiore 1996, 358, 369 (= Wouters 1979, no. 15), 370, 371. Also included in Cribiore 1996: 362 (= Wouters no. 9), 368 (= Wouters no. 14), 373 (= Wouters no. 16).

267 Cf. Wouters 1979, nos. 2 and 7.

268 Cf. commentary in the *ed. pr:* Wouters 1988, 64–78.

269 The most used parts from Homer are the beginnings of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and their respective books; catalogues, similes, prodigies and battle scenes; excerpts of 'important' parts (e.g. the dispute in book 1 of the *Iliad*). From Euripides a quarter of the preserved text is gnomic, another quarter is made up of battle scenes with many proper names, and another quarter consists of the first lines or the final chorus of the works. Cf. Morgan 1997, 739–40.

270 On the use the members of Egyptian élite could make of what they had learnt at school, cf. Cribiore 2001a, 238–44; Vössing 2002, 249–50.

271 Cf. Liebeschuetz 2001, 223–4.

Ryl. 1,[272] line 2 we read πέφυκεν χαίρ̣[ειν, a literary construction present in Sophocles (*Trachiniae* 440), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Dem.* 39.18), Philo (*Spec.* 2.185.3) and Plutarch (*Mor.* 1088E6). The editors think that the prefect, Rupilius Felix, had Sophocles in mind, although they do not rule out that it may have been Plutarch.

Traces of literary readings in documents prove that the so-called Greek élite did not confine the culture received in their training period to contexts we would consider literary. In fact, their use in legal documents became more frequent and de rigueur[273] as we realise when reading Dioscorus.[274] Also, the letters which the circle of the Hermoupolite Theophanes and his friends wrote, with their literary references, epistolary *topoi*, juridical-bureaucratic words and turns of phrase, atticisms and poetical terms,[275] show us the practical application of what they had learnt studying literary texts in the daily relations of upper-class hellenised Egyptians.

Of course, literature was the preliminary step to the study of rhetoric and literary texts were models for the student's future literary productions.[276] Through them the student got to know the literary usages and techniques he could later apply to his own creations. If we had a full knowledge of the literature circulating in Panopolis from the third to the sixth centuries we would have a better understanding of the influence these models exerted on the contemporary Panopolite authors.

Unfortunately, we do not know what the commentary of literary texts was like exactly: in fact, not a single continuous commentary of any late antique Greek poetic text has been preserved. The closest thing we have is Servius' commentary on Virgil, in Latin, on Latin poetry, from the first half of the fifth century, though it includes previous material: it comments on the text line by line, focusing on linguistic aspects (he often slips from description to prescription) and only secondarily touching on mythologi-

272 Bagnall – Rives 2000, 80–1. Another example is the incorrect quotation of Euripides' *Ion* in the welcome letter the Hermoupolite βουλή sent to Aurelius Plution (*CPHerm.* 125.B.7, in *Stud. Pap.* IV). Cf. also Papathomas 2006.

273 Cf. Zilliacus 1967, about the 4th-6th c., esp. pp. 64–83 (sayings, poetic reminiscences and words).

274 Cf. Fournet 1999, 684.

275 Cf. Moscadi 1970, 96–9, and nn. in *P.Herm.* 2–6; Rees 1968, 174–8. General commentary in Matthews 2006.

276 About models and the use of imitation in ancient education, cf. Cribiore 2001a, 132.

cal, historical or literary questions. In all likelihood, it reflects the school system.[277]

Besides this, what helps us most are the notes the γραμματικοί and their pupils took in the texts:[278] we have some copies of Homer,[279] a sixth-century copy of *Pythica* I (*MPER* n.s. 1.23),[280] the Isocrates from Kellis (*P.Kellis* III Gr. 95),[281] texts of Aristophanes,[282] the Theocritus from Antinoe (*P.Ant.* 3.207)[283] or the Berlin Aratus.[284] Aiming to make the contents comprehensible for the student,[285] they include mythographic glosses and 'translations' of difficult terms. They also mention other authors frequent at school and sometimes they have a moral tone.[286]

Which authors were likely to have been dealt with at school in Panopolis?[287] The usual quotation is Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* 10.1–2, on the authors the would-be orator should know, since eloquence is obtained through the frequent reading of important writers. However that is a *desiderandum* for the future Roman orator, not for the Greek writer. Libanius (*Ep.* 1036.4–5) says that in his school Homer, Hesiod and other poets (Pindar and dramatic authors?),[288] Demosthenes, Lysias and other orators,[289] Herodotus, Thucydides and other historians[290] were used. The

277 Browning 2000, 859–60.
278 McNamee 1995, 414; 2007b, 55–92.
279 McNamee 1992b, 25–6; 2007b, 269–86.
280 McNamee 1994; 2007b, 95–9, 305–49.
281 McNamee 2001b; 2007b, 288–96. It includes moral notes (McNamee 2001b, 908). On how Dioscorus appreciated Isocrates and his relation with Menander, cf. his poem 4 Fournet, commented in van Minnen 1992; Fournet 1999, 478–9.
282 *P.Oxy.* 11.1371 (Ar. *Nub.* 1–10, 38–52; 5th c.), *P.Oxy.* 11.1402 (Ar. *Eq.*, 5th c.); McNamee 2007b, 184–99.
283 Its profuse notes do not reach the level of the scholia on Theocritus: cf. McNamee 1995, p. 400, n. 7; 2007b 108–12, 376–443.
284 *P.Berol. inv.* 5865 = MP^3 119. Cf. McNamee 1995, p. 400, n. 7; 2007b, 173–83.
285 McNamee 1994, 182; 1992b, 19.
286 Cf. Cribiore 2001b, 205–10.
287 Cribiore 2001b, 204–5; Cavallo 1986, 91–101.
288 Cf. the 4th-c. 'grammarian' and poet Palladas in AP 9.175.1–2 (Καλλίμαχον πωλῶ καὶ Πίνδαρον, ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὰς / πτώσεις γραμματικής). He no doubt knows Menander (*AP* 11.263), but we can not prove he used him in his lessons. Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 18.6–8) suggests a rich and influential man who would like to take part in public life, Menander for his ability in character portraits and Euripides for his προσήνεια and πιθανότης. Cf. also Quint. 10.1.65–72.
289 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 18.11–12: Demosthenes and Lisias are the best, but more is learnt with Hyperides, Aeschines and Lycurgus. Cf. Quint. 10.1.22.
290 Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 18.9–10; Quint. 10.1.33–4.

philosophers were set aside for higher specialised courses, though Plato and Xenophon were drawn on for their stylistic significance more than for their contents (*Or.* 2.24.).[291] Nevertheless, Libanius and his school are a special case: obviously not all γραμματικοί and ῥήτορες at that time had such a literary knowledge nor could they offer the educational quality he did.

We cannot forget the opinions of the authors of *Progymnasmata*, Theon in particular. He is the only one who includes the exercises of accompaniment, among them the exercise on reading (134.10–137.21), focused on the orators (Isocrates, Hyperides and Aeschines first, Demosthenes later) and historians (135.24–137.17). This would complete the programme of readings with the γραμματικός and prepare the student for the subsequent study of rhetoric.[292] Theon advises (137.17–21) the student to memorise and repeat often the most pleasing passages of the works studied to assimilate them better.

The pupils from Panopolis studied Homer above all.[293] Probably they did not read and work on the full *Iliad* and *Odyssey*:[294] the *Odyssey* was less successful and from the *Iliad* only the first twelve books were really taken into consideration. Certain passages were especially known and studied for their structural significance (books 1–2), πάθος (Hector and Andromache's meeting in book 6) and, simply, charm (similes). Subsidiary texts, such as scholia, were also recurrent.

The library of the *P.Bodm.* contributes fragments of the *Iliad* (*P.Bodm.* 48) and the *Odyssey* (*P.Bodm.* 49, *P.Köln* 40) and some scholia to *Odyssey* 1 (*P.Rob. inv.* 32 + *P.Colon. inv.* 906). Also from Panopolis, from the 3rd-4th centuries, *P.Achm.* 2[295] is a summary and glossary of the *Iliad* for school use.[296] We also find fragments of the *Odyssey* in the archive of Panopolite Ammon (*P.Ammon* 1.2, 2.26). No doubt, owning such a text was a mark of Hellenism and of belonging to the upper-class literate élite.

A papyrus roll containing books 5 and 6 of the *Iliad* (*P.Bodm.* 1) by the same copyist is also part of the Bodmer collection. The roll was

291 On the contrary, cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 18.13–17, who advises the Socratics, esp. Xenophon.

292 Cf. Patillon – Bolognesi 1997, xcviii-c; Patillon 2007.

293 Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or* 18.8; Cribiore 2001a, 194–7.

294 Cf. Cribiore 1994.

295 First line of the *Iliad* + *hypothesis* in 100 words (lines 2–20) + glossary (lines 22–36). Cf. van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, no. 29.

296 Cf. already *P.Achm.* 2, p. 44; n. to lin. 21 ff.

made pasting the *rectos* of two previously used papyri, containing a still unpublished land register of Panopolis with references to the years 208/9 and 216/7. Bagnall suggests the possibility that it was found at the beginning of the 1950s together with *CPR* XVII and the papers of the familiy of Alopex making it part of the family's library.[297]

Also from Panopolis are two fragments with verses 75–105 and 108–44 of Hesiod's *Theogony* (*P.Achm.* 3, 4th-5th c.),[298] which suggests that somebody had direct access not only to Homer, but to Hesiod too. Passages from Hesiod appear in some copy exercises, showing that they were used at school, and at all stages he was drawn on for his mythographic contents.[299]

Regarding the theatre, the Bodmer library preserves the famous Menander containing *Samia*, *Dyskolos* and *Aspis* (MP^3 1298, LDAB 2743). This codex must have been worked on at school,[300] as shown by the misspellings, the writing, the use of only one *cahier*, the comparison with *P.Oxy.* 33.2656,[301] and its influence on the composition of the Chester Beatty *cahier* and of the *P.Bour.* 1.[302] Menander appears at all levels of Greek education: in the first place children would learn his maxims in their first copy exercises[303] and then the Προγυμνάσματα presented him as a model for certain kinds of composition.[304] In poetry it became very trendy to introduce panegyrics with iambic prefaces, where the gravity of the hexameter is contrasted with iambi inspired in the comedy and quoting Menander and Aristophanes.[305]

A satyrical drama on the confrontation of Heracles and Atlas (*P.Bodm.* 28) is dated to the second century by Turner, who noticed that it was a lipogram (no sigma is included in the preserved lines). Whether we are dealing with a play deliberately written without sigmas

297 Bagnall 2002a, 3, 5.

298 *P.Achm.* 3, pp. 47–52. Cf. as well Turner 1977, 20, 105 (no. *90). *P.Achm.* 3.i seems to be the final (or initial?) title of the same codex: cf. Dorandi 1994, 230–1; Guichard Romero 2005, 191–3.

299 Cribiore 1996, no. 234 (3rd BC), 386 (3rd AD); Cribiore 2001a, 197–8.

300 Cf. Blanchard 1991, 212–13.

301 Cf. Blanchard 1991, p. 211, n. 8.

302 Blanchard 1991, 213 ff.

303 Cribiore 1996, nos. 136, 159, 194–7, 220, 228, 229, 257, 262, 272, 277. Only two long copy exercises: 244 and 290 (*Misoumenos*). Cf. Cribiore 2001a, 199–201.

304 Hermog. *Prog.* 9 and Aphth. 11 praise his characterisation of personified *Elenchos*; Theon 68 presents him as a model together with Homer and Plato for his creation of characters; in Hermog. *Id.* 324 he is an example of ἀφέλεια.

305 Cf. Cameron 1970a, 122 ff.

or a reworking of an already existing play without sigmas,[306] it is an erudite game far beyond the expectations of any school student. We know that the *grammatikos* Triphiodorus indulged in it, when writing his lipogrammatic *Odyssey*.

Euripides' poetry was very important at school,[307] but the *P.Bodm.* offer no fragment of his, though the remains of his *Rhesus* in *P.Achm.* 4 show that there there was somebody in Panopolis in the 4th-5th centuries who had direct access to his work. The tragic representation with three actors was replaced in the third century by the performance by a *tragoidos* who recited or sang passages.[308] Late antique references to theatrical authors allude to stage performances and not to the reading of these texts, reserved to restricted élites as part of high-level culture.

We should now mention *P.Köln*. 6.245 (*Ptocheia* or *Odysseus in Disguise*), an autograph manuscript in not very careful handwriting with numerous variants by the same hand.[309] It has been dated to the third century AD, but the overall impression of the manuscript may suggest a later date.[310] The text, in iambic trimeters,[311] reveals a strong tragic influence, but is too short to be ascribed certainly to any genre.[312] Since it was purchased as part of a lot contaning documents from Pathyris (*P.Köln* 1.50, 51), it may have been found in Upper Egypt (in the environs of Luxor?). In any case, it would show a possible literary application of the study of dramatic works.

The only historiographical text found is the beginning of Thucydides' book 6 (*P.Bodm.* 27), copied after *Susanna* and *Daniel*, making use of the spaces left blank.[313] The papyri of Thucydides published so far concentrate between the end of the first century AD and the beginning of the third century: from then onwards the number of texts diminishes, though we still have two late *codices* from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 1621) and Antinoopolis (*P.Univ. Giss.* 12).

306 *P.Bodm.* 28, pp. 21–2.
307 Cribiore 2001a, 198–9; Cribiore 1996, nos. 129, 130, 182, 192, 234, 236, 240–2, 244, 270, 277?, 282, 301, 304. On Euripides' popularity, cf. *P.Oxy.* 67, pp. 2–15; hypotheses in van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, no. 1–16. Most popular was the *Phoenissae:* Cribiore 2001b.
308 Cf. Easterling – Miles 1999.
309 *Ed. altera.:* Parca 1991, 3.
310 Parca 1991, 8.
311 Parca 1991, 8–12.
312 Parca 1991, 95–9. Cf. Gianotti 1996, 273–7.
313 *P.Bodm.* 38, p. 29, n. 7.

The school curriculum did not include the teaching of history as such, but it did include historical contents and students read and worked on historiographical texts,[314] as we notice in the surviving papyri[315] and in references in the *Progymnasmata.*[316] They are mentioned especially in the διήγημα, *synkrisis*, ethopoea and the *ekphrasis*, sometimes with an exegetical or a chronological purpose, but usually considered from an aesthetic point of view. The most quoted authors are Herodotus (esp. *Histories* 1–2) and Thucydides; Philistus, Ephorus or Theopompus are also known, while Xenophon is given little space. The periods most frequently referred to are the time previous to the Persian Wars, the Persian Wars themselves, the Peloponnesian War and the fourth century until Alexander the Great. Later ages seem to have attracted little interest.[317]

It is possible that *P.Michigan inv.* 918 (MP^3 266, LDAB 745) also comes from Panopolis. It is a careful fourth-century edition of *In Philippum* 3 with numerous diacritical signs.[318] Demosthenes was often used at school, not only in copy exercises,[319] but also as a basic author to be committed to memory (Theon 66.28–31) and to be read aloud,[320] a model for narration (81–4, 91–2), paraphrase (63–4, 69–70), *chreia* (104.33–6), *topos* (107.5–13), *thesis* (69.14–16) and the introduction of a law (69.19–21). When progressing in the studies of oratory, he was a topic and model[321] and Alexandrian commentaries and lexica could be used as supporting materials.

Regarding more recent literature, we have the remains of book 3 from *Leucippe and Cleitophon* (*P.Colon. inv.* 901 + *P.Duke* 772) among

314 Nicolai 1992, 2007. On the starting points for the analysis of the presence of history in Greek classes, cf. Gibson 2004, 104–8, 126.

315 Cf. e.g. *P.Köln* 250: A.I.1–16 (Clearchus to Cyrus the Young), B.III.1–20 (on Athens and Pericles), B.III.21–6 (On Alcibiades). Overall study in Stramaglia 2003, 226–7. Cf. also *P.Oxy.* 71.4808–9 and especially 4810, a 3rd-c. rhetorical exercise based on a speech by Thucydides.

316 Cf. Gibson 2004, 108–18, 126–8.

317 Cf. Legras 1997, 599.

318 Turner 1977, no. 41 (4th c.).

319 It appears in copy exercises of short (Cribiore 1996, 188, 287). We could possibly add *P.Ryl* 1.58.

320 Theon 134 (p. 102 Patillon-Bolognesi): the youth should begin with the simplest speeches by the orators (Isocrates, Hyperides and Aeschines) and then follow with Demosthenes (cf. n. 503).

321 *P.Oxy* 6.858 = MP^3 2498, *P.Oxy.* 45.3235 = MP^3 2510.1, *P.Oxy.* 45.3236 = MP^3 2510.2; BKT 7.4–13 = MP^3 2511. Cf. Cribiore 2001a, 236–8. On his divinisation in Late Antiquity, cf. Pernot 2006, 129–75.

the texts in the *P.Bodm.* library. If we place Achilles Tatius in the second century[322] and we see the swift appearance of papyri in Hermoupolis and Oxyrhynchus in the second and third centuries,[323] we should not be surprised that he was included in the school canon.[324]

P.Achm. 5 (4th-5th c.) is an oracle on Menelaus and Paris, already identified by Collart as *AP* 14.100.[325] It was copied in the margin of a papyrus already defective when the epigram was copied, and not in the margin of *P.Achm.* 3 as Pack claimed.[326] It is very doubtful that this text came from school,[327] although we know three copy exercises of epigrams preserved in the *AP*[328] and other riddles of school use.[329]

The appearance of the *Codex Visionum* (**40.**) in the area would remain unexplained if we did not relate it to the variety of preserved texts of the Old and New Testaments. The composition of this *Codex* would also require complementary bibliography on exegesis and readers trained to understand compositions such as *P.Bodm.* 29–37 and more complex types of paraphrase.[330]

Poetry vs. Prose. When establishing the curriculum the *grammaticus* should follow, Quintilian refers only secundarily to prose authors, as he has in mind the students' subsequent rhetorical training: deep knowledge of poetry gives a touch of refinement to the work by important orators (1.8.5–12) and rhetoric and literature should be intertwined (2.1.12–13). Dionysius Thrax prefers poetry, although prose, especially history and philosophy, are appropriate for private study.[331] Poetry was studied

322 Cf. Plepelits 1996, 388–90.

323 Hermoupolis: *P.Schub.* 30 (= P.Berol inv. 16971); Oxyrhynchus: *P.Oxy.* 56.3836, *P.Oxy.* 10.1250 + *P.Oxy.* 56.3837, *P.Oxy.* 7.1014, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.124 (Oxyrhynchus?). Cf. Plepelits 1996, 391–4.

324 Cf. *O.Bodl.* 2.2175 = MP^3 2622.1 = Cribiore 281, an ostrakon of the novel of Metiochus and Parthenope, maybe a soliloquy or a rhetorical exercise based on this novel. Cf. Stramaglia 1996, 122–4, 147. The novel has progymnasmatic influence: Hock 1997, 454–5.

325 *P.Achm.* 5, pp. 56–7. The text is slightly different of the one in the *Parisinus.*

326 Guichard Romero 2005, 193–4.

327 Cf. Guichard Romero 2007.

328 Cribiore 1996, nos. 66, 253, 287. Perhaps they were not popular because they did not have the required old aspect. Cf. Pordomingo 2001b; Wißmann 2002, 228–9.

329 *P.Rein.* 2.84 (2nd c. AD), *O.Narm.* 128 (inv. 956) (2nd-3rd c. AD) and *P.Lond. Lit.* 63 (2nd-3rd c. AD). Cf. the analysis in Guichard Romero 2007.

330 Cf. Agosti 2001d.

331 Cf. McNamee 2001b, 910–11.

with the *grammatikos*[332] and the rhetor and was often referred to in the *progymnasmata.*[333] Besides, poetry and prose were not watertight compartments and usually influenced each other: thus verse panegyrics replaced prose ones and the prose epideictic genre was very much influenced by poetic forms.[334]

It may seem a poor and limited selection, above all if compared with our contemporary list of classical authors. However, pessimism is futile, since we only know very isolated and distant points both in space and time of the range of literary culture in the area, due to the vicissitudes of conservation and excavation. There may have been more copies, but not many more authors in circulation; nor should we forget that Late Antiquity elevated Homer and Menander as *compendia* of Greek literature: poetry was put together in Homer and Menander was the peak of the theatre.[335]

Latin

A proof of Latin influence in the area is the presence of the Barcelona miscellaneous codex including Cicero's first two *Catilinaries*, a very common text at school.[336] The *Alcestis* shows that the community who owned the library also kept up to date with contemporary Latin poetry and did not confine themselves to the traditional canon. Besides this, the main reason for copying it had doubtless something to do with the ethical teaching it proposes, compatible with admonishments of the Gospel about loving one's neighbour.[337]

However, Latin had more functions, among them the liturgical, as shown by the inclusion of *Psalmus responsorius* (*P.Barcin. inv.* 150b-154a) in the same codex. To the same library belongs Chester Beatty ac. 1499, containing a bilingual lexicon based on the Greek and Latin text of some Pauline letters (2Cor, Gal, Rom., Eph.),[338] to which some

332 Cf. Haslam 1976, about BKT V.2, 17, 6.
333 Cribiore 2001a, 225–30; Clark 1957, 177–9. *Contra*, Roberts 1985, 70–1.
334 Cf. Webb 1997a, 339–40; Roberts 1989a, 49, 63–5.
335 As early as the 4th c. AD the *Iliad* was seen as a prototype of tragedy and the *Odyssey* as a prototype of comedy. Cf. Evantius, ap. Donatus, *Comm. Ter.* (ed. Wessner), I, p. 14, lines. 1–2. About Menander, cf. Quint. 10.1.69.
336 Cf. also the uncial Latin alphabet of Chester Beatty ac. 1499, probably copied by the same hand as the grammar and the lexicon: cf. Wouters 1988, 164–5.
337 Cf. Cavenaile 1987, 104.
338 On this definition, cf. Wouters 1988, 92–106.

Graeco-Latin glosses selected from a bilingual juridical treatise were added.[339]

Progymnasmata and Rhetoric

In the last centuries of classical culture, the main features of the teaching of rhetoric remained unchanged in the East and the West, but many of the innovations in the Greek East did not pass onto the Latin West.[340]

Before beginning to study rhetoric itself, students spent some time between the lessons from the *grammatikos* and the rhetor practising literary composition with an ensemble of preliminary exercises or *progymnasmata*, having in mind the models studied with the *grammatikos*.[341] The προγυμνάσματα were of assistance for literary creation, as they could appear as minor literary entities, almost rhetorical wild cards, integrated into broader and more important literary genres or be a prototype for them. There was a bidirectional movement between literature and προγυμνάσματα,[342] but it would be unreasonable to understand an adult's literary production as the direct, immediate result of the school practice. Besides, there is a general lack of documents related to education, especially regarding the more advanced phases, only superficially represented.

Thanks to the papyri there remains some 'Aufsatzbücher' or 'Musterbücher' of *progymnasmata* – i.e. series of exercises which were used as models.[343] Nevertheless, handbooks are our main source of information about the theory and applicability of the exercises and the influence they may have had on later literary creations by those who learnt to compose following their guidelines. From this epoch four manuals are extant, those attributed to Theon, Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus of Myra.[344] We know with all certainty that there were more[345] and it is pos-

339 Above all ll. 1290–1303 and 1420–54. Cf. Wouters 1988, 162–3.

340 Cf. Browning 2000, 861.

341 Cf. Quint. 7.10.8–9. Among contemporary studies, cf. Clark 1957, 177–212; Kennedy 1983, 53–70; Bonner 1977, 250–76; Webb 2001, 289–92; Cribiore 2001a, 221–5; Fernández Delgado 2007.

342 Cf. Cichocka 1992.

343 *P.Köln* 6.250 (MP^3 2528.01, 2nd ex.–3rd in.), *P.Mil.Vogl.* 20 (MP^3 1996, 2nd/3rd c.), *P.Vindob. G. inv.* 29789 (MP^3 2528, 3rd ex.–4th in.), *P.Lit.Lond.* 193 (MP^3 2524, 2nd c.). Cf. analysis in Stramaglia 2003, 225–7.

344 On the preserved rhetorical treatises and their editions, cf. Kennedy 2003a.

345 Cf. Heath 2002–3, 129–41; 2004, 3–89.

sible that different opinions on style and rhetorical *praxeis* disappeared with those non-extant.[346]

Theon, identified with Aelius Theon of Alexandria, was, according to the *Suda* (Θ 206), the author of a *Rhetoric*, the *Progymnasmata* (or a rhetoric of *progymnasmata*),[347] commentaries on Xenophon, Isocrates and Demosthenes and other works. He is usually dated to the first century AD.[348] His handbook[349] is the most thorough and prolix and was addressed to the teacher of rhetoric. That is why it includes a pedagogic reflection on the exercises and the way they should be taught, but not examples. As envisaged by Theon, the book included a presentation of the book and the exercises (59.1–65.26), some pedagogic considerations (65.30–72.27), 15 fully developed exercises and a conclusion (144.20–1). At some point of the transmission the work was reorganised so that it was closer to the ones by Hermogenes and Aphthonius. Thus, the last five exercises were omitted and the rest relocated in a similar order to that of the other treatises. Our Greek text comes from the second edition, but the original was preserved in the Armenian translation.[350]

Another handbook was attributed to Hermogenes,[351] alleged author of five rhetorical treatises (Προγυμνάσματα, Περὶ στάσεων, Περὶ εὑρέσεως, Περὶ ἰδεῶν, Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος), assimilated by the tradition to Hermogenes of Tarsus (*c.* 160–230), a child prodigy whose biography is known through Philostratus (*VS* 2.7). Patillon[352] makes him a different person from a Hermogenes Rhetor, datable between the second and the third century and author of Περὶ στάσεων and Περὶ ἰδεῶν, to which the other three treatises were added later on to make a rhetorical *corpus*. Between the *Progymnasmata* and the other works of the corpus there are stylistic differences and lack of coherence concerning the contents. Actually, the fact that a scholiast attributed this treatise to Libanius[353] proves that its authorship was not clear already in Antiquity.[354]

346 Cf. Stramaglia 2003, 232.

347 Cf. Heath 2002–3, 141–2.

348 Cf. Patillon – Bolognesi 1997, viii-xvi. Heath 2002–3, 141–58 places it at the turning of the 5th c.

349 The last edition, including the part preserved only in the Armenian translation: Patillon – Bolognesi 1997. Cf. also Butts 1986. Eng. transl.: Kennedy 2003b, 1–72.

350 Cf. Patillon – Bolognesi 1997, cxiv-cxv.

351 Rabe 1913, 1–27. Eng. transl.: Kennedy 2003b, 73–95; Kennedy 2005; Wooten 1987.

352 Cf. Patillon 1988, 8–23; 1997a, 216; Heath 2004, 36–51.

The handbook included in the Hermogenic corpus is the shortest and does not afford examples of each exercise.

Aphthonius was a student of Libanius, which places him in the fourth century. His[355] was the most successful collection, due to the simplicity and clarity of the exposition and because each exercise was followed by a full example. Besides this treatise, a collection of forty fables is attributed to him.[356]

Nicolaus of Myra (Lycia)[357] was a student of the Neoplatonist Plutarch in Athens and of the sophist Lachares, close to Syrianus. From his time as a student he maintained his friendship with Proclus. Nicolaus taught rhetoric under the emperors Leo, Zeno and Anastasius, that is, from before 474 until after 491. In the preface to his Προγυμνάσματα[358] he states that he relies on what others have written before him, but none of the other extant handbooks reflects, as he does, on the order of placement of the exercises, the kind and part of the speech where they can be introduced and if they are part of a bigger rhetorical composition, self-standing, or both. Consistent with his training, he perceives rhetoric as an introduction to philosophy and stresses the logical organisation of each topic and its parts, according to Neoplatonic teachings.[359]

Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* replaced previous handbooks, but were not replaced by Nicolaus'. Aphthonius' and Hermogenes' works were often commented on, as we can see, in the commentaries on Hermogenes by Syrianus and Sopater (4th- 5th c.) and they appear together in medieval manuscripts, probable descendants of late antique teachers' handbooks. The collection of exercises attributed to Libanius[360] and the two treatises of epideictic oratory ascribed to Menander Rhetor[361] were also used at school. Few papyrus scraps of these theoretical texts are extant: only a

353 *Rhetores Graeci* VII, 511.1–5 (Walz).
354 According to Heath 2002–3, 158–60 and 1996, it could have been written by a different author (he suggests Minucianus).
355 Rabe 1926. Engl. transl.: Kennedy 2003b, 95–127.
356 Hausrath – Hunger 1959, I.2, 133–51.
357 Felten 1913, xxi-xxvii; Heath 2002–3, 139–40; Kennedy 2003b, 129–31. The *Suda* includes two entries, N 394 and N 395.
358 Felten 1913. Eng. transl.: Kennedy 2003b, 129–72. He is also attributed a collection of examples of *progymnasmata* (*RG* I, 266–420 Walz) and some of the collection ascribed to Libanius: Hock – O'Neil 2002, 125–6, 198–233.
359 Cf. Sheppard 2000, 839.
360 Förster 1903–27, vol. VIII.
361 Russell – Wilson 1981. Cf. also Heath 2004, 93–213.

papyrus of Theon and another two anonymous papyri, a third-century one on the fable and another on the *chreia*.[362]

Back to Panopolis, we can see the pupils' first steps when they began to work with short texts including moral teachings and the first προγυμνάσματα. In *P.Bour.* 1 we read 5 χρεῖαι of Diogenes (ll. 141–68), 24 γνῶμαι μονόστιχοι (ll. 169–239)[363] and the first prologue of Babrius (ll. 240–72, vv. 1–11),[364] which, besides an ethical objective, would seek the learning of the language.[365] In this part of the school *curriculum* the works by the γραμματικός Orion of Thebes, active in Alexandria in the first half of the fifth century, may have been used:[366] a Συναγωγὴ γνωμῶν we know partially through the codex *Vind. phil. gr.* 321, fol. 264*r*-266*v*, which preserves 36 quotations of Euripides and 17 of Menander; an Ἐτυμολογικόν of which we have three different summaries.[367] Also from Panopolis we have the papyrus fragment (*P.Mich.* 6) on the theory of the fable, ascribed to the codex of the Barcelona *Alcestis*.

Unfortunately, in the case of Panopolis, we have no texts related to the intermediate steps of the *progymnasmata* and we have to move from this first level to literary creation, though (cf. Chapter One) several papyrus compositions use progymnasmatic forms and they are also present in longer poems, as we will see in Chapter Four.

What had been learnt in the *progymnasmata* was practised in the μελέται or *declamationes*, the composition and development of which was the rhetor's most important domain.[368] They were prose compositions, which, in the Greek East, were divided not into *controversiae* and *suasoriae* but into historical and fictitious. Most of those preserved in

362 *P.Cairo temp. inv.* 26/6/1–41: cf. Gronevald 1977. Winter 1922, 136–41; Heath 2002–3, 141. On PSI 1.85, cf. Heath 2002–3, 141; Hock – O'Neil 2002, 94–7; Bastianini 2004. Cf. also *P.Oxy.* 72.4855 on the *thesis*.

363 Some are new or appear in different forms, cf. Jouguet – Perdrizet 1906, 158–60. Analysis of the structure by A. Blanchard *ap.* Legras 1996, 62.

364 Cf. Jouguet – Perdrizet 1906, 160–1. Legras 1996, 60, thinks that Babrius' prologue is here an exercise of recitation of a text, corresponding to the final phase of the first school level. The text reproduces (cf. Legras 1996, 79–80) the first 13 lines of Babrius' prologue, but ll. 4–5 have been omitted. They deal with the myth of the human races in a slightly different version.

365 Cf. Legras 1996, 63.

366 Cf. *Suda* Ω 188 and 189. Cf. Kaster 1988, 322–4 (no. 110); Haffner 2001, 11–18. I thank F. Pordomingo for drawing my attention to this *grammatikos*.

367 Kaster 1988, 323–4.

368 Cf. Cribiore 2001a, 231–8. Cf. also Webb 1997a, 349–50; Clark 1957, 213–61. Cf. Quint. 2.10.

Egypt are historical (because of their historical starting point, not because they reflected the events faithfully), usually located in Demosthenes' Athens or around Alexander's time.

The complexity of the study of rhetoric had prompted the writing of handbooks,[369] but in Late Antiquity many of them[370] became obsolete after the appearence of the four treatises in the Hermogenic corpus – Περὶ στάσεων, Περὶ ἰδέων, Περὶ εὑρέσεως and Περὶ μεθόδου δεινοτήτος. These introduced a more subtle stylistic analysis than the previous teaching of the three stylistic levels. Unfortunately we do not have anything of this level from Panopolis.

3.3. Training in other fields

As we have seen so far, literature and rhetoric were the main focus and objectives in the ancient educational process and learning about other fields was considered ancillary and, in most cases, associated with the personal pursuits of each individual. Even so, we should take into account subsidiary subjects, as the motto 'the more difficult, the better' apparently found a practical application in the composition of poems on technical topics, as, e.g., in the poems by both Oppians.

Mathematics

Who needed mathematical knowledge from the third to the sixth centuries? The administrators of large estates, the secretaries of the well-off classes,[371] some bureaucratic employees,[372] bankers, astrologers,[373] *geometrai* (i.e. surveyors), architects, technicians of different specialities[374]

369 Russell 1989 enumerates the types of school texts: 1. *Progymnasmata*; 2. Treatises on *inuentio*, focused on *staseis*; 3. Stylistic guidelines (*ideai*); 4. Treatises on figures; 5. Treatises on epideictic oratory; 6. Collections of declamation models. To these should be added the *prolegomena* and commentaries on *progymnasmata* and *staseis*.

370 For instance the so-called *Anonymus Seguerianus* or Apsines of Gadara.

371 Cf. *P.Ryl.* 4, p. 106.

372 Above all if we take into account the impact of the so-called Diocletian's reforms: cf. Cuomo 2001, 214. They are usually *numerarii* or *tabularii:* cf. Cuomo 2001, 217. Cf. Cuomo 2000, 26–30.

373 Cuomo 2000, 10–16.

374 Cuomo 2000, 16–25.

and teachers of mathematics.[375] Judging by the abundance of mathematical exercises in school papyri,[376] it was expected that everybody with some level of training (emperors included) should have a minimum algebraical competence,[377] while high-level geometry and mathematics, related to philosophy, were reserved for upper levels.[378]

The lower stages of Mathematics at school began with the learning of numbers.[379] Later the pupils moved on to basic operations, learnt by reciting tables.[380] Fractions were of great importance for their usefulness in daily life, as properties were divided into minuscule portions. That explains as well the existence of systematised tables of fractions.[381]

All this coincides with what we can gather from the so-called Akhmim mathematical papyrus (*P.Cair.* inv. 10758 = MP^3 2306), a series of mathematical problems (addition and decomposition of fractions), necessary for the systems of fractional numeration. The codex Chester Beatty ac. 1390 (LDAB 2763), also from Panopolis, from the third or fourth century, contains some mathematical exercises in Greek and three chapters of the Gospel of John in Subakhmimic, another instance of the daily coexistence of Coptic and Greek at school and of the miscellaneous uses of codices.

Engineering and Mechanics

Knowledge in Mathematics and Physics could be put to use in engineering and mechanics, which were necessary in planning water supplies for both human consumption and agricultural needs,[382] in the design of buildings and civil works[383] and in war.[384] Mechanics, understood by the ancients as the design and use of technical devices and instruments, provid-

375 Cf. Lauffer 1971, § 7.67. On this edict, cf. Cuomo 2000, 30–41. On the methods of teachers of mathematics, cf. Clarke 1971, 51–2.

376 Fowler 1983, 1988, 1995.

377 Cf. Quint. 1.10.34–49. Cf. Cuomo 2000, 41–2, 46–56.

378 Clarke 1971, 47–9. Mathematics and philosophy are related in Neoplatonism through Pythagoras. Hypatia taught mathematics and philosophy.

379 Cf. Cribiore 2001a, 180–2; *P.Rain. Unterricht*, IX a. Zahlübungen (nos. 143–9).

380 *P.Rain. Unterricht*, tables of additions (nos. 150–1), tables of multiplications (nos. 152–7).

381 Cf. the introduction to *P.Mich.* XV (= *P.Amst.*) 686, p. 3; *P.Rain. Unterricht*, tables of fractions (158–70) and operations with fractions (171).

382 Landels 1978, 34–83; Schürmann 1991, 93–127; Hill 1984, 36–45.

383 Including architecture and building devices such as cranes: Landels 1978, 84–98; Schürmann 1991, 140–57; Hill 1984, 47–115; McKenzie 2007, 322–8.

384 Landels 1978, 99–132; Schürmann 1991, 60–92.

ed a means of entertainment in banquets and public processions with the design of *automata.*[385]

The fascination with *automata* is present in Greek literature since the description of a tripod which moved by itself (*Il.* 18.372–9) and several *automata* in the *Odyssey* and it grew as technical treatises developed and refined the discipline.[386] It is not surprising, thus, that Nonnus evoked them including in the description of Harmonia's palace the statues of young lit torch bearers (3.169–71 ~ *Od.* 7.100–2) and intelligent metal dogs (3.172–89 ~ *Od.* 7.91–4). Besides, such prodigies were probably expected when visiting the imperial palace at that time.[387]

Magic, Astronomy, Astrology

Astronomical literature at that time was related to the *Mathematical Systematic Treatise*, known as *Almagest*, by the Egyptian Claudius Ptolemy (2nd c. AD). We know the accompanying essays written by Pappus of Alexandria (*c.* 320 AD) and Theon of Alexandria (latter half of the fourth century), helped by his daughter Hypatia.[388] Astronomy was strongly associated with Mathematics[389] and also with philosophical and theological ideas (cf. the case of Hypatia). An example of an astronomical text of school origin is the Berlin Aratus (*P.Berol.* inv. 5865 = MP^3 119 = LDAB 312, 3rd-4th c.).[390]

In late antique astrology converged the Chaldaean or Babylonian belief in the power of planets and stars, Egyptian speculation on the nature and influence of weather and Greek astronomy and mathematics.[391] We have very little information about the training of astrologers: only Vettius

385 Schürmann 1991, 158–251; Hill 1984, 199–222.

386 Cf. the work of Heron the Alexandrian, on whom cf. Landels 1978, 199–208.

387 Though we can only quote later evidence: cf. the description Liutprand of Cremona (*Antapodosis* 6.5 lines 66–77) makes of the audience he, the merchant Liutfred and a Spanish embassy are given by Constantine VII in the Magnavra palace; also Const. Porphyr. *De cer.* 2.15.

388 Cf. Bowersock *et al.* 1999, *s.vv.* "Astronomy" (pp. 319–20) and "Hypatia" (pp. 502–3).

389 Wright 1995, 145–62.

390 Cf. Maehler 1980, 22: the scholia come, not directly from a copy of Aratus' work, but from a commentary on him; McNamee 1995, p. 400, n. 7.

391 On the astronomical basis of astrology, cf. Barton 1994, 86–92. On mathematics, cf. Bowersock *et al.* 1999, *s.v.* "Astrology" (pp. 318–19).

Valens mentions in his treatises the existence of pupils[392] and, seeing the difficulty of using the preserved treatises for self-taught learning, it seems reasonable to think that it occurred as an apprenticeship.[393]

In Late Antiquity there were four kinds of magic activities:[394] ritual actions of different nature (including human sacrifices); the use of special words, often written, to control invisible powers; the use of natural objects, especially plants, but also parts of human and animal bodies; and the manipulation of artifacts such as dolls. Late antique papyri show that magic occurred in a syncretistic religious context, with pagan, Jewish and some Christian elements, giving rise to a rich vocabulary of powers and concepts.[395]

Magical practices, under the name of theurgy, were central in late pagan contexts such as Hermetic writings and Neoplatonic philosophy.[396] It seems to have been common among adult males with high cultural level to show some interest in magic, as our information about the possession of books of magic formulae shows.[397]

The astronomical-astrological tradition was represented in Panopolis by zodiacs from the end of the Ptolemaic and the beginning of the Roman period.[398] There are six representations on the ceilings of the tombs in the cemetery of el-Salamuni, in Atripa is the famous tomb of the zodiac, which has horoscopes too, and close to it it is the tomb of Psenosiris, with two astronomical representations. Also, in 1908 Petrie discovered in the area several Demotic ostraka, among which there were "interesting astronomical ones, with entries of stars".[399] Although they were still visible in tombs and temples, this tradition had already died by the fourth

392 Vettius Valens, *Anthologiae* (ed. Pingree), III.13, p. 149, 23–7. Cf. Barton 1994, 59.

393 Barton 1994, 134–41.

394 On the relation between magic and astrology, cf. Barton 1994, 191–7. On the restrictions of magical practices in civil and canonical law from Constantine, cf. Dickie 2001, 251–72.

395 There are very striking texts such as *P.Oxy.* 1152, a Christian magic invocation in Coptic. Charms are a very common magical device in Late Antiquity: Dickie 2001, 304–7. On the type of practitioners in Late Antiquity, cf. Dickie 2001, 273, 320.

396 Cf. Bowersock *et al.* 1999, *s.v.* "Magic" (pp. 552–3); Dickie 2001, 416–19.

397 Cf. Dickie 2001, 314–15, 320. The attraction of those interested in philosophy for the occult existed already in earlier centuries: Dickie 2001, 202–19.

398 Cf. Kuhlmann 1983, 25–38, 41–4.

399 Cf. Smith 2002, 242–3. They are still unpublished.

century.[400] We read Shenute attacking his local opponents, accusing them of being astronomers and making horoscopes, but, since this was a common practice among Christian polemists, it is probably a rhetorical topos, rather than a literal description.[401]

In analysing astrological contents in the *Dionysiaca* several authors[402] agree that though using serious-sounding vocabulary Nonnus' intentions are clearly not to be scientific and e. g. the horoscope produced by Astreus for Demeter (6.1–108) is not feasible. Greek mythology already in Homer includes a cosmological element from which Nonnus systematically profits in his frequent references to catastherisms[403] without any theoretical purpose. He also includes physical explanations of natural phenomena, such as the origin of the lightning[404] and displays well-known theories, such as the absorption of solar light by the Moon.[405] Schmiel[406] says that the allusion to the origin of the lightning is based on the idea that a device sounds more effective when its origin is mentioned: scientific lore at the service of the argument.

Alchemy

Panopolite Zosimus (end of the 3rd / beginning of the 4th c.),[407] the most important compiler of alchemical traditions, lived in an eclectic atmosphere, combining Platonism, Gnosticism, Judaism and the 'oriental' wisdom of Hermes and Zoroaster.[408] With Zosimus, under the influence of Hermetism and Gnosticism, alchemy acquired a religious dimension and the extant part of his work shows many parallels with the texts from Nag Hammadi and Hermetic texts in general.[409]

Fowden[410] believes that there were also Hermetic circles in Upper Egypt and that their existence is proved by the papyrus finds, especially

400 Kuhlmann 1983, p. 74, n. 376.
401 Cf. Smith 2002, 243–4; Barton 1994, 71–83.
402 Feraboli 1985; Chuvin 1992, 5–12, 36–9.
403 Fayant 2000, 26–38.
404 Mentioned in *D.* 2.448–50 and 24.55–6 and developed in 2.480–507. Analysis in Vian 1976, p. 185, n. to 2.482–507.
405 Cf. *D.* 40.375–8, 41.90–6, but also Triph. 518–19. Comm. in Gigli Piccardi 1985, 229–31.
406 Schmiel 1992, 373–5.
407 Cf. Bowersock *et al.* 1999, *s.v.* "Alchemy" (pp. 284–5); Mertens 2002.
408 Cf. Fowden 1986, 120–6.
409 Mertens 2002, 170–5.
410 Cf. Fowden 1986, 168–76.

the 'Thebes cache'.[411] This is an ensemble of papyri from the third or beginning of the fourth century, which shared with the philosophical *Hermeticum* from Nag Hammadi the combination of technical and philosophical approaches, present in Zosimus too. We are talking of the so-called 'Theban Magical Library', acquired by Anastasi at the beginning of the 19th century and coming apparently from a Theban tomb, of an unknown date and location.[412]

The author we are interested in, Zosimus, wrote *Final Account* (ἡ τελευταῖα ἀποχή); *Alchemical Matters* (Χημευτικά), a 28-book treatise containing a systematic exposition on the spiritual dimension of alchemy entitled "On Apparatus and Furnaces: Authentic commentaries on the letter omega"; *According to Energy*; *Imouth.*[413] In them he often refers to earlier authors' writings, suggesting that he had access to them. If we add to this that on several occasions he alludes to rival schools and that the earliest extant alchemical papyri come from Thebes, 150 km south of Panopolis, and seem to be contemporary of Zosimus, we can deduce that Zosimus was not the only practitioner of alchemy in Panopolis and its surroundings.[414]

Natural Sciences

What we would now term natural sciences had much literary use in Late Antiquity.[415] It was very popular to illustrate the desirable behaviour with stories of animals and plants, as we see in the second century in authors such as both Oppians or Claudius Aelianus.[416] Christians[417] and pagans alike resorted to the material on natural history which had been accumulated since Aristotle, and the already mythicised accounts of Alexander the Great's expedition: an ensemble of stories passing from one author to another and being transformed in the process.[418] Even though animal

411 *P.Brit. Mus.* 10070 + *P.Leid.* 1.383 (= *P.Graec. Mag.* 14), Bibl. Nat. Paris. suppl. gr. 574 (*P.Graec. Mag.* 4), *P.Berol.* 5025 (*P.Graec. Mag.* 1), *P.Berol.* 5026 (*P.Graec. Mag.* 2), *P.Leid.* X/I 397, *P.Leid.* V/I 384 (*P.Graec. Mag.* 12), *P.Leid.* VI / I 395 (*P.Graec. Mag,* 13), *P.Holm.* Cf. Fowden 1986, 169.

412 Brashear 1995, 3401 (Anastasi) and 3402–8 (on the library).

413 Mertens 1995. On the different levels in the alchemical corpus, cf. Mertens 2002, 166–7.

414 Mertens 2002, 169–70.

415 Cf. French 1994, 256–303.

416 On Claudius Aelianus in particular, cf. French 1994, 262–76.

417 Cf. French 1994, 276–89.

418 French 1994, 259–60, 289–303.

stories were present in Greek education from the first stages in the fables, what we find in the literary production of this time is usually the result of literary influence of certain authors on others, not basic learning from school. Nothing implies, in fact, that in Panopolis there was school material of this type.

Nature is present in the *Dionysiaca* in different ways: as we will see in Chapter 4 the arrival of Dionysus to India and his fight with Deriades prompts references to the local flora and fauna, a reflection of the marvels Dionysus is going to conquer. Nonnus seems to have had access to them in Herodotus and the historians of Alexander (maybe in some kind of *compendium*). We have already seen (Chapter 2: *Verse as provocation*) that Dionysus defeats other gods because his plant (the vine) and his drink (wine) encompass all the benefits of those offered by other gods, among them the perfume of many flowers (cf. 12.229–89).[419] Wild animals such as panthers and lions are regular companions of Bacchus and special friends of the Bacchants and are chased by several hunters (Actaeon, Nicaea, Beroe, Aura).

The type of stories told by the Oppians and Claudius Aelianus are mentioned too. Thus, we find several references to the profound love of the lioness for her cubs, which makes her a fearsome beast when she is protecting them.[420] The account goes back to *Il.* 17.133–5 and can be also read in Opp. *Hal.* 1.709–718 and QS 3.201–3. Nonnus uses it to show the bravery of several characters who are not afraid even of the newly-delivered lioness. Another motif is that of the *echeneis* (Lat. *remora*), capable of retaining ships despite its small size.[421] Nonnus seems to have learned this motif from Opp. *Hal.* 1.212–43 and the phraseology

419 On the meaning of the flowers, cf. Vian 1995, p. 168, n. to 232–9. On catalogues of flowers in the *Dionysiaca* and elsewhere, cf. *ibid*, pp. 164–5, n. to 167–84.

420 *D.* 5.293–4 (Actaeon is not afraid of the lioness defending her young), 9.173–9 (Dionysus presents Rhea with lion and tiger cubs), 15.194–203 (the newly-delivered lioness respects Nicaea), 45.304–5 (the Bacchants take the lion cubs away from their mothers and nurse them), 48.736–40 (Aura goes into the dens of just-delivered lionesses searching to be killed by them, but they flee abandoning their cubs), 48.910–13 (Aura leaves her children in the den of a lioness, but they are fed by a panther).

421 Cf. *D.* 21.45–58 (Ambrosia fighting Lycurgos compares herself with the *echeneis*), 36.367–9 (Deriades' elephants are forced to stop by suddenly grown vines, just as a ship is held up by an *echeneis*).

from Aesch. *Ag.* 146–58[422] and uses it in comparisons, though other authors give it a paradoxographical treatment.[423]

Music

Music had in Late Antiquity the 'pedigree' given by Aristotle[424] and the tradition of musical theory including Architas of Tarentum, the Pythagoreans, Aristoxenus, Dydimus or Aristides Quintilianus, culminated in the period we are studying in Claudius Ptolemy. Music and gymnastic exercises were basic elements in the gymnasium and the corresponding agones. Male members of the élite took part in these competitions as trumpeters,[425] a figure completely different from the one appearing in the contracts of lower-class musicians.[426] The extant documents on musical education from the third and fourth centuries feature the same learning system through combination and permutation used for learning the letters,[427] but none of them comes from Panopolis.

Vian rightly pointed out that Nonnus was not interested in pretending to be a theoretician of music.[428] Thus, the references to Cadmus playing several musical instruments in the Typhony (bks. 1–2), to the different musical modes (12.147–9) or the divine inventors of instruments[429] are built according to the rules of *poikilia*, not of technical knowledge and they serve different narrative needs.

Medicine

Medicine was practised at several levels:[430] at the bottom were the doctors of villages and small towns, simple 'craftsmen' who enjoyed little social consideration; on a higher level were the *archiatroi*,[431] who signed

422 Cf. Zoroddu 1997. The *echeneis* is mentioned in Plut. *Mor.* 641b (*Quaest. Conv.* 2.7), Claud. Ael. 2.17.
423 Rebuffat 2001, 139–40 on Opp. *Hal.* 1.217–43.
424 Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 8.3–7 (1339a11).
425 Cf. Perpillou-Thomas 1995, 233 (+ catalogue of artists pp. 233–41, n. 1–202 and p. 251, no. 425–6).
426 Cf. e.g. *P.Vindob. G* 2077 = *CPR* XVIIA 19 (contract of a musician, 321 AD), from the Aurelius Adelphius' archive (Hermoupolis, 4th c.).
427 Pöhlmann – West 2001, nos. 32–7.
428 Vian 1995, 193–4. On the presence of musical elements in the *Dionysiaca*, cf. Fayant 2001.
429 Cf. Fayant 2001, 79–81.
430 Kleijwegt 1991, 138; Nutton 1995, 71–85.

medical certificates,[432] received public subsidies (besides charging their patients for their services) and had more or less the same privileges and rank as teachers. Apparently, to be allowed to practise they were tested by the *boule* or by their colleagues.[433] Finally, some people had a mere intellectual interest in medicine and did not make of it a profession, but a learned pastime, which is understandable due to the relationship among philosophy, rhetoric and medicine.[434] One could acquire medical knowledge as a doctor's trainee or student,[435] by attending the lessons given by specialists in centres such as Alexandria,[436] or by reading medical texts privately.

The presence of medical elements in the poems dealt with here is not related to a direct familiarity with or interest in medical lore. The most frequent condition referred to in the *Dionysiaca* is madness,[437] but the foundations are tragic and epic and the remedies equally mythical: Ino is given ointments (9.275–89) and Dionysus is nursed to health by Hera (35.319–35). To this we should add war medicine, to be expected in a warlike poem, and here the result of the combination of motifs from the literary tradition (especially Iliadic episodes).[438] However, some, such as the use of the *kentauris* (17.357–9) and of wine and honey to clean wounds, could have made sense in contemporary practices. The medical interventions of Aristaeus (17.357–75) and Dionysus (bk. 29) insist on the civilising aim of the Bacchic expedition[439] and on the advantages of joining the new religion.

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431 E.g. Phoibammon, a public doctor in 6th-c. Antinoopolis, known through his will (*P.Cairo* 67151).

432 List of doctor's reports in *P.Oxy.* 63.4366 (introd.), to which 64.4441, 66.4528 (reed. 63.4366 + add. frag.) and 4529 should be added.

433 Cf. Pedersen 1970, 201–2.

434 Cf. Kleijwegt 1991, 138–43; Penella 1990, 109–17.

435 *CTh* XIII. iii. 3, 333 on teaching by public doctors.

436 Cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 7.6–7, *Ep.* 13.44.

437 Cf. Triph. 358–443 (Cassandra); Nonn. *D.* 9.37–54 (Hera maddens the Nymphs in charge of Dionysus), 9.243–89 (Ino), 10.1–138 (Athamas), 32.102–50 (Dionysus).

438 *D.* 17.357–75 and 29.87–103, 153–61, 264–75 should be compared with *Il.* 4.212–19, 5.401–2 = 900–1, 11.844–8, 15.390–4. Cf. Gerlaud 1994, 148–9, 258–60; Vian 1990, 213–14, 347–8. Cf. 35.59–75 where an anonymous Indian who falls in love with the Bacchant he has just killed wishes he had the remedies to heal her (parallels with medical passages in bks. 17 and 29 studied in Frangoulis 2006b, 119–20).

439 Cf. Gerlaud 1994, 149. Though we read in 39.357–60 that the Indians have their own medical staff: a Brahman heals Deriades with incantations.

Legal Training

To explain the situation of legal studies in Late Antiquity the Antiochene rhetor Libanius is often quoted when he complains (*Or.* 11.43–4) that the young 'skip' rhetorical training and devote themselves entirely to the study of law. Law schools,[440] then, were thriving. The school in Constantinople and, above all, the one in Beryto were especially important for the Eastern part of the empire, though Law was taught also in Athens, Cesarea of Palestine and Alexandria.[441]

Even though it is true that legal training receives an unparalleled attention for practical reasons such as the enlargement of bureaucracy and the proliferation and complexity of the imperial legislation, we should not forget that the laws and their different applications are almost impossible to understand without taking the rhetorical trends of the time into account.[442] In the same way, laws were continuously present in the studies of rhetoric, as one of the *progymnasmata* is the introduction of a law and the judicial rhetorical genre plays an important role.

Those wishing to become public advocates needed to have had a 'liberal education' which could have taken place in a school of rhetoric or of law, as the reference letters they produced when applying for a post show.[443] Five papyri containing notes and speeches by advocates who were preparing to defend their clients are extant,[444] including one from Panopolis (*P.Panop.* 31). The advocates drew up the defence, but left a broad left margin to sum up the facts. They also underlined the most important information in the text and made some notes. It is possible that they learnt this system during their training years.[445] Besides, in the collection of Köln there is also a register of a trial (*P.Panop.* 30).

At this point we cannot forget the *scholastikos* Dioscorus of Aphrodito,[446] who would have received some training to enable him to offer his services in his native village or in Antaeopolis or its surroundings,

440 Cf. Liebs 2000, 253–5. On the texts used in them, cf. McNamee 1995, 402–4, 406–7; 1998.

441 Until it was forbidden by Justinian in 533: cf. *Digest Const. Omnem* 7.

442 Cf. Harries 1999, 42–7.

443 Cf. Pedersen 1970, 202–3.

444 Cf. Hanson 1971: *P.Prin.* 119 (*c.* 325 AD, unknown provenance), *P.Lips.* 41 (= Mitteis, *Chrest.* 300, latter half of the 4th c., Hermoupolis), *P.Thead.* 16 (*terminus post quem* 307 AD, Arsinoite).

445 Hanson 1971, 17; Lewis 1983.

446 Cf. van Minnen 2003. On the figure of the *scholastikos*, cf. *CPR* XXIV, p. 27 (n. to 4.4); *P.Ammon* 2, p. 21.

though later he would have expanded his knowledge in his stays in Antinoopolis and Constantinople.[447] In his legal texts, he uses a prolix style, highly influenced by rhetoric. It is interesting to note that, besides imperial instructions, he appears to have used other people's documents, such as *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67295, as models for his own, and that he kept his drafts to take them into account later on or, maybe, for educational purposes.[448] Style and techniques of composition would be transmitted in a similar way.

Philosophy

In this period philosophy was a luxury affordable only to those who had sufficient time and money to be trained, due to the complexity of what we now call Neoplatonism,[449] though the term is a modern coinage. Late antique Platonists, headed by Plotinus (3rd c.) and later by Porphyrius and Jamblicus (4th c.) saw themselves as interpreters of Plato, heirs to his tradition, not as innovators. Philosophy focused on dialogue and discussion, but also made a constant use of books, which meant that schools needed a full-size library at their service.[450] The two main schools were in Athens and Alexandria.[451]

The most conspicuous teachers in Alexandria in this period were Theon and his daughter Hypatia, both pagan, though their students were mixed.[452] We do not know much about the lessons of philosophy themselves, though it is possible that the annotations to Plato in *P.Oxy* 15.1808 are the notes made by a second-century student in class.[453]

Some information leads us to think that there was also a school of philosophy in Panopolis, though nothing confirms the presence of philosophers in the town at all times:

– *P.Colon.* Inv. 903 + *P.Robinson* Inv. 37 (2nd c.): volume of Cynic diatribes, related above all with philosophical questions.[454]

447 Cf. van Minnen 2003, 114, 130.
448 Cf. van Minnen 2003, 117; Fournet 1999, I 236–7, 325–6, II 688–90.
449 Cameron 1998, 680–2; Sheppard 2000; Browning 2000, 862–6; Dillon 2004.
450 Hoffmann 2007.
451 Blumenthal 1993, on the differences of Alexandrian and Athenian Neoplatonism (esp. 323–4). About the presence of schools in Athens, cf. Watts 2006, 24–142; on the interaction of philosophy and society in Alexandria, cf. Watts 2006, 143–256.
452 Haas 1997, 154–5.
453 McNamee 2001a, 114–15; 2007b, 349–50.
454 Martin – Primavesi 1998, 47

– *P.Strasb. gr.* Inv. 1665–6: fragments of books 1–2 of Empedocles' Φυσικά, literary library hand datable from the end of the 1st c. AD, a work by a professional scribe and, judging by the corrections or variants of two other additional hands, a "scholar's text". The editors think that it comes from the plundering of a tomb "type C-3" (2nd-3rd c.) in the necropolis C, close to El-Salamuni.[455]
– Ptolemagrios' monument (**1.** *I.Milne* 9267) praises among his and his children's virtues that they led a life characteristic of a philosopher, frugal, with all kinds of hardships, with no wealth nor envy.[456] It is a vague reference to the idealised existence of a philosopher, but it does not determine their actual knowledge of philosophy.
– In *P.Berl.Bork.* (298 p.q.) appears a ἱερὸν Περσεφόνης, located ἐν διατριβῇ Πανοδώρου (A iv, 12); according to Pelletier it would be "un établissement où l'on enseigne la philosophie".[457]
– *P.Ammon* 1.1 (4th c.): list of philosophers, by Aur. Ammon. Col. i, the bottom of which is lost, enumerates several Presocratics; col. ii (the upper part is lost) is devoted to the representatives of the Academy, the first Cynics, the Peripatetic and in line 27 appears the heading "Stoics with Cynics"; col. iii, completely lost, would continue with the Stoics and Cynics, maybe as well with the Epicureans. Willis (*P.Ammon* 1, p. 6) thinks that late Cynics were the ones who had more influence on Ammon, since he quotes *sententiae* in Cynic style, not otherwise extant (e.g. *P.Ammon* 1.3.15–17). If Ammon copied the list when he was living in Alexandria (348), the papyrus would prove that his home town did not offer this type of training and that the members of the élite had to move to Alexandria to acquire it.[458] It is also possible, as Willis himself suggested (*P.Ammon* 1, p. 7), that he received his training in Panopolis.
– When Pachomius founded his first monastery in the area surrounding Panopolis, according to one of his *Vitae* (*Vita Prima* § 82), a group of philosophers tested the monks.

455 Martin – Primavesi 1998, 39–43.
456 In the end of side II: πολλῶν καθη|γητῆρες εὐσεβῶν ἔργων, | /ἐξ ὧν ἀεὶ ζώουσι φιλοσο|φῶς λίην / πόνοισι παν|τοίσι λετιὰ πρήσσοντες| / ἄτερθε πλούτου καὶ φθό|νου κακοζήλου. Ed. Criscuolo 2000.
457 Pelletier 1967, 175–80.
458 Cf. van Minnen 2002, 187–8, though he quotes the opposite opinion of Martin – Primavesi 1998, 51.

– The *Turba philosophorum*[459] sets on stage several Presocratic thinkers debating, with Pythagoras as their chairman, cosmological (*sermones* 1–9) and alchemical topics (9–72). Plessner has shown that its first part is inspired by a Greek doxographical tradition unknown in other areas[460] and has identified as the author of the *Turba*'s Arabic original the alchemist Utman Ibn Suwaid, active in *c.* 900 in Akhmim.[461] This would imply that in the alchemical milieu of Akhmim two centuries after the Arabian invasion, the authority of Presocratic thinkers was still appealed to.

Obviously, the cultural life of Panopolis could not be compared to what Alexandria or any other important city of the Eastern half of the Mediterranean basin could offer, but we should not underestimate the interest in culture of the Egyptian provicial citizens or their effort to lead a learned life according to their means.

3.4. Training for the élite

Having access to literacy was itself a concern of the élite, who displayed it with learned quotations, correct use (and according to stylistic rules) of the Greek language and ethical superiority. Nevertheless, in this group of the privileged we can isolate a second group of those who moved on to higher training, although both limits are blurred and permeable, often depending on circumstances.[462]

The pride of belonging to this class was shown individually and as a family. Thus, for instance, the Panopolite Besas refers to himself as a σχολαστικός and adds two dactylic hexameters in a graffito at Memnon's tomb in the Valley of the Kings.[463] In other graffito in the same tomb, Besas, alias *Bourichios*, places himself in Plato's wake: Βήσας σχολαστικὸς Πανοπολ(ίτης)… μετὰ Βουριχίου διὰ Πλάτωνος.[464]

459 Cf. Martin – Primavesi 1998, 50.
460 Plessner 1975, 101–5.
461 Plessner 1975, 129–30.
462 Kaster 1988, 40.
463 *C.I.G.* III 4792 = *I.Syringes* II 1277 = *I.métriques* 147; cf. *I.Syringes* II 1403 = *I.métriques* 151.
464 *I.Syringes* II 1266. *I.Syringes* IV, pp. lvi-lvii, mentions the graffiti left by 'Platonising' visitors in Memnon's tomb; their concentration on the image of the judgement of the souls invites us to think that some saw there the origin of Plato's es-

We have already talked at length about Ammon's family,[465] which includes Harpocration, the panegyrist who travelled with the royal court,[466] his brother Ammon, the *scholasticus* who lived in Egypt, and Apollon, the poet and nephew of the latter.[467] Among Ammon's papers were the remains of a codex of the *Odyssey* (*P.Ammon* 1.2, 2.26) and the list of philosophers by Ammon himself (*P.Ammon* 1.1). He introduces himself as a σχολαστικός[468] and sees himself as part of the intellectual élite: the composture achieved through rhetoric and philosophy separates him from the unlearned masses.[469] In this family we trace the evolution from hieratic priestly posts to a series of governing positions in their place of origin (Ammon is a *scholastikos* in the Thebaid) and on an international level (Harpocration is an imperial panegyrist, *curator* and *procurator*), as part of Diocletian's and Constantine's new bureaucracy. The transition was only possible if they had access to Greek literary culture, if they could speak and write properly, which depended to a great extent on their access to training.[470] Harpocration, Ammon, Apollon and probably Horion II received advanced training, well beyond the level of the *grammaticus*.[471]

Van Minnen makes an interesting remark about another member of the family, Senpetechensis *alias* Nike, Ammon and Harpocration's mother:[472] Ammon sent her such a complex letter as *P.Ammon* 1.3, no doubt trying to impress her, probably because she had had the necessary training to appreciate the beauty of the calligraphy and the rhetorical flourish. Nevertheless, the comparison with other women of upper social standing does not suggest that they received a systematic training similar to the one the male members of their families got.[473]

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chatological accounts. Bourichios, also σχολαστικὸς διὰ Πλάτωνα, is the author of *C.I.G.* 3.4781b (p. 1209) = *I. Syringes* 2.1279. Cf. Martin – Primavesi 1998, 45.

465 For the family cf. *P.XVCongr.* 22 and for the preceding generation *P.Coll.Youtie* 2.71–3 (281); Bagnall 1993, 109. Family tree in *P.Ammon* 1, p. 3.

466 Cf. Browne 1977.

467 *P.Ammon* 1.6.5, 7.42–5.

468 *P.Ammon* 1.4.2, 5.1, 6.2, 7.2.

469 *P.Ammon* 1.7.3–4 and 13.9–10. Cf. the reconstruction and translation of *P.Ammon* 1.7–15 (pp. 163–79); also Browne 1977, 192–3.

470 Cf. van Minnen 2002, 198.

471 Cf. *P.Ammon* 1, p. 3.

472 Van Minnen 2002, 189.

473 We cannot generalise from the few known cases of lettered women. Cf. Sheridan 1998, 191. Other lettered women from the bouleutic class are studied in Sheridan 1998, 196–7.

Thus, also in the fourth century, the Hermoupolite Aurelia Charite, judging from the preserved samples,[474] did not have much practice in writing. She could afford to pay a professional who did the job for her, though the fact that she could supervise the task would strengthen her independence and authority.[475] And what is more, if *P.Charite* 38.1–12 was really written by her mother Demetria, taking into account the resemblance of the *ductus* of the letters, it is possible that Charite learnt to write from her, which would prove a domestic training.[476] The editor of the collection supposes that, due to her social standing, she had the basic administrative skills, though he cannot say anything about her cultural interests further than noting that very Greek names, gymnasiarchs and *bouleutai* appear in her social circle.[477]

With this rather pessimistic view we can contrast figures such as Hypatia of Alexandria, even given that she is an exceptional case. Bagnall suggests that the third-century Oxyrrhynchite Aurelia Ptolemais owned several literary papyri.[478] Another interesting literary image comes up in *P.Köln* 6.245.19: Odysseus enters Troy in disguise with some letters for Helen, an element which did not appear in the Homeric passage (*Od*. 4.241–51), which means that the author may have imagined Helen as an upper-class lady, who is expected to be literate.[479]

We should also take into account that, besides a literate training, women, both slave and free, could learn a trade and obtain thus certain economic independence.[480] For instance the fourth-century Panopolite Aurelia Theodora, ἐλαιοπράτισσα, deals personally with her business in *P.Panop.* 11, 12, 13 and 24.

The condition of the sources which transmit information about individuals of the élite often forces us to consider them as isolated cases, but they belonged to social circles connecting financially, culturally and

474 *P.Charite* 8 (24–5), 27, 36, 37 (11) and probably 41.

475 Cf. Sheridan 1998, 200.

476 But cf. the education of Heraidous, daughter of Apollonius, *strategos* of the Apollinopolite under Trajan: *P.Giss.* 80, *P.Giss.* 85, *C.Pap. Jud.* 2.442.

477 *P.Charite*, p. 9.

478 Bagnall 1992. Cf. also Hagedorn 1997: the sender borrows a copy of *Esdras* from a woman.

479 Cf. Parca 1991, 56–7, 78–9.

480 Cf. van Minnen 1998: he analyses three apprenticeship contracts of free women (*P.Heid.* 4.326 from 98 AD, *SB* XVIII 13305 from 271 AD, *KSB* 1.045 from the 8th c.), asserting that it was perfectly possible that free young women received this training in the family, which would explain why we often find in the documentation free-born women practising a paid job.

religiously similar people. The classic example is the second-century Oxyrhynchite circle reconstructed by Turner from *P.Oxy.* 2192,[481] but the Hermoupolite Theophanes is closer spatially and chronologically.[482] He was a *scholasticus*[483] whose properties enabled him to lead a well-off life,[484] who made a trip to Antioch (*c.* 317–23)[485] of which we have the itinerary and the expense sheets (*P.Ryl.* 627–39). We also have a series of letters (*P.Herm.* 2–6), written on good-quality papyrus and with rhetorical flourishes, that were sent to him by his acquaintances. Some of them belonged to what appears to be a high society pagan circle, probably residing in Hermoupolis,[486] who venerated Hermes Trimegistos.[487]

The language and culture displayed in these letters are a long-term result of a good literary training and a conscious means of social interaction[488] among high-society equals in the *metropoleis.* Even though it does not reach the level of second-century Oxyrhynchus,[489] this type of individual justifies the existence of private libraries, such as the one we partly know through *P.Turner* 9, including history-related and literary history works, perhaps the property of a scholar or an advocate. It may be somehow excessive to talk about communities, but we can certainly talk about social networks in which the individuals shared among other things cultural elements and which were carefully cultivated through travelling and epistolary communication.[490]

481 Turner 1952, 91–2.
482 Extant documents related to him: *P.Ryl.* 4.616–51, *P.Herm.* 2–6; another letter was published in Rees 1968. Cf. Moscadi 1970; Matthews 2006.
483 As we see in *P.Lat.Argent.* 1 (line 4) and *P.Ryl.* 623 (line 4).
484 Cf. *P.Ryl.* 640–9.
485 Cf. *P.Ryl.* 4, p. 105.
486 Moscadi 1970, 91 thinks that Theophanes lived in Alexandria at least for some time and Anatolius lived in Alexandria. *Contra* Fowden 1986, 176.
487 Fowden 1986, 176 thinks that only Theophanes, Sarappion, Ambrosius and Nilus would be worshippers and priests of Hermes; as in *P.Herm.* 4–6 no reference is made to this cult, John and Leon, Hermodorus and Besorus would simply belong to Theophanes' broad circle of acquaintances. Moscadi 1986, esp. 99–100 believes that it is a Christian group, but the clear allusions to Hermes Trimegistos discredit this theory: cf. Fowden 1986, p. 176, n. 94.
488 Cf. *P.Herm.* 3, lines 1, 4, 5.
489 Turner 1956 (reed. 2007); McNamee 2007a; Houston 2007.
490 Cf. Ruffini 2004; Bradbury 2004.

Gymnasium

The institution of the gymnasium was closely linked to the training of the élite. From *P.Got.* 7 we know that third-century Panopolis had a gymnasium, as the βουλή orders the glazing of the windows of its thermae. The appearance of several gymnasiarchs in *P.Berl.Bork.*[491] confirms that the institution still existed at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century.[492] Unfortunately no document tells us of the functions of the magistracy in the town, nor the services offered by the gymnasium, so that we have only the information from other *metropoleis*, above all Oxyrhynchus and Hermoupolis.

The gymnasiarchs paid for the expenditures of the gymnasium (oil for gymnastic exercises and wood to heat water in the thermae), as well as the celebration of ephebic festivals,[493] although the town was responsible for the maintenance of the building, as in *P.Got.* 7, in Panopolis. During the third century these expenses became more and more onerous for a single individual, which made it necessary to divide the year between several gymnasiarchs.[494] The final result was the disappearence of the institution, its magistracies and even the building in some cases.[495]

We can assume that the usual procedure of inscription in the gymnasium in Panopolis was the εἴσκρισις, as happened in Alexandria, Antinoopolis, Hermoupolis, Arsinoe and Oxyrhynchus. Those complying with a series of conditions and passing some sort of entrance exam, began the *ephebeia* when they were 14 years old.[496] During this year they were trained in gymnastics by the *paidotribes*[497] and showed off their gymnastic expertise in ephebic festivals.[498] Practicing a sport was

491 Πανισκίων (V 24, VII 1: are they the same one?), Πετετρῆφις Μώρου (X 6–7), Πρωτᾶς (XII 30), Τρίμωρος (XV 20) and other two (XIII 11 γυμν]ασιαρχ.; A I 20]τίωνος γυμ.), whose names are lost.

492 The last appearence of a gymnasiarch up to now is from 370 (*P.Oxy.* 2110). Cf. Lewis 1997, *s.v.* γυμνασιαρχία, γυμνασίαρχος, p. 19; also p. 132.

493 Perpillou-Thomas 1986. The gymnasiarchs also supervised the process of inscription in ephebic lists and the constitution of a guard of honour. Cf. Legras 1999, 182–5. On the *kosmetai*, cf. *ibid.* 185–7.

494 Cf. van Groningen 1924, 66–7, 73–7.

495 Cf. Sijpesteijn 1986: in the latter half of the century we only know seven cases.

496 Cf. Legras 1999, 151–79; Kleijwegt 1991, 91–101.

497 Cf. the four epigrams devoted to Hermocrates, *paidotribes* from Hermopolis, at the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd c.: *I.Métr. Gr.* 22, I-IV, esp. I 2. 5–6, II 9–10, III 1–3, IV 3–5.

498 Cf. Legras 1999, 242–51.

considered in Egyptian metropoleis a sign of distinction and belonging to a Hellene or hellenised population which had access to Greek education linked to the gymnasium.[499]

There is no proof that at this time ephebes received any other kind of training at the gymnasium.[500] In fact, ephebic festivals do not seem to have included any literary contests. Some entrance declarations of the *ephebeia* mention explicitly that the teenagers μανθάνειν γράμματα (*SB* 5.7561, *P.Oxy.* 22.2345, *P.Flor.* 3.382): this does not mean they were still learning to write, but they had already begun to study literature.[501] It is possible that *ephebeia* and higher training overlapped at least in some cases,[502] but we also have some information about members of this class who were illiterate or 'slow writers',[503] contrasting with the slaves who had received a literate training.[504]

The games of Perseus

The utmost expression of the élite's Hellenic eagerness in Panopolis was the organisation of the games of Perseus. Herodotus (2.91) mentions the town of Χέμμις as an exception to the rule of the Egyptians rejecting what is foreign.[505] According to his account Panopolis had a big temple,[506] where Perseus[507] was worshipped and honoured with Hellenic games, in their purpose (to honour a hero), their character (ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν… διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα) and the prizes (παρέχοντες ἄεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα).[508]

499 Cf. Perpillou-Thomas 1995, for a revision of the appearances of the athletes in the papyri (230–2) and a list of individuals (241–51, ns. 203–424, 428–36).

500 Cribiore 1996, 19–20; 2001a, 34–6. Nicolai 1987 does not find data leading to think that gymnasia had always ascribed libraries. Nevertheless it was not necessarily like this in all cases: cf. Brenk 2007.

501 Cf. Sijpesteijn 1976.

502 Kleijwegt 1991, 117.

503 Youtie 1971, 174–6, above all on *P.Tebt.* 2.316 (99 AD).

504 Cf. Booth 1979b, 14; Forbes 1955.

505 That is the first Greek transcription of the Egyptian name of the town (*Hnt Mnw*). Herodotus places it in the area of Thebes (νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ), in the surroundings of a Νέης πόλις. Lloyd 1969, 80 thinks that it can be a small Greek settlement in the place where Ptolemais Hermiou stood later.

506 On this temple, cf. Lloyd 1976, 368.

507 On Perseus' relationship with Egypt, cf. Lloyd 1969, 81; 1976, 367–9.

508 Lloyd 1976, 369.

The existence of the games was confirmed in 1962 by the edition of *P.Oxy.* 27.2475–7,[509] a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος from the Oxyrhynchite senate, reproducing three documents relative to the privileges of athletes and Dionysiac artists. Among them, 2476[510] certifies that Aurelius Hatres is a member of the ἱερὰ μουσικὴ οἰκουμενικὴ περιπολιστικὴ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸ Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, with which Hatres intended to obtain the exemption of taxes and liturgies, a privilege of the members of this society. He copies the letters from Claudius (lines 1–4), Hadrian (4–7), Severus (7–11) and Alexander (11–12) ensuring these privileges and adds an open letter (12–17) from the society to its members in which they are informed of the appointment of Hatres as high priest, after having met the corresponding payments.

In lines 17–33, a ratification of the previous letter, those officers who held positions in this association at that time appear as witnesses and are confirmed by the organiser of the games. The ratification is written in Panopolis and dated in the first year of the seventh Pythiad of the games.[511] As the document was written in the year 289, we can assume that the games were (re)founded in 265.[512]

The *Paneia* were international festivals, which included sports (lin. 17, 31, 35, 44 γυμνικοῦ), theatrical (lin. 17, 25, 31, 35, 44, σκηνικοῦ, which proves that certain theatrical forms still existed) and musical contests (lin. 25 θυμελεικοῦ, 31 θυμελικοῦ),[513] of a Pythic type (lin. 17, 35 πυθικοῦ, 44 πυθοῦ). The signers in *P.Oxy.* 2476 boast several citizenships and victories in the agones of the games. These games[514] furnished them with personal satisfaction and glory (δόξα), also benefiting the status of their cities, which repaid them with certain privileges, among which not the least important was a triumphal entrance into their town.[515]

509 Iconomopoulos 1889 published the contents of a little fragment of "peau de veau tannée": Ἱερὸς εἰσελαστικὸς οἰκουμενικός ὀλύμπιος ἀγὼν Περσέως οὐρανίου τῶν μεγάλων Πανείων. Bernand 1977, no. 82, pp. 233–41 declared it a forgery. *Contra*, *Pap.Agon.*, p. 64, n. to 3.18.

510 Cf. the revision in *Pap.Agon.*, no. 3.

511 Lin. 17–18, 24–5, 28–9, 31, 34–5 and 44–5.

512 Cf. van Rengen 1971 for a reconstruction of the history of the *agones*.

513 In fact they are more complex terms, cf. *Pap.Agon.*, p. 63, n. to 3.18: "Σκηνικός bezieht sich auf die Darbietungen der σκηνή, die Theateraufführungen; θυμελικός bezieht sich auf die in der Orchestra stattfindenden Darbietungen (Musik, Tanze, Pantomime)".

514 Cf. summary by *Pap.Agon.*, pp. 7–12.

515 *P.Oxy.* 2476 lin. 25 and 44 (ἱεροῦ). The combination εἰσελαστικοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ appears in lin. 17, 25, 35 and 44. Cf. Bernand 1977, 240.

The golden age of agonistic institutions was the third century.[516] Apparently they originate in inner contests in the gymnasia, which already existed in Ptolemaic times and opened the way to international games when Egyptian *metropoleis* were granted the βουλή under Septimius Severus.[517] The interest in this kind of competitions was sustained only until Constantine's time, although some of their characteristic elements occurred later under different shapes.[518]

4. Conclusions

At this time Egypt became gradually more akin to the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean, under the same reforms (such as the so-called Diocletian's reform or that by Justinian) and trends (ongoing christianisation, importance of the figure of the landlord), but exhibited some distinctive traits (the power of the local Coptic Church, inner invasions of Blemmyes and Nobads). The relationship with the rest of the Mediterranean was in the hands of the cultural élite, self-defined as of Greek descent and having as meeting places gymnasia and other training places and festivals. Also they read the classics, especially Homer, and the increasing presence of the Bible presented them as equals to learned élites from other areas in the Eastern Empire.

Numerous and diverse sources from Panopolis are extant. They reveal the existence of the βουλή, a gymnasium with thermae, a theatre, a δημόσιον λογιστήριον where public accounts were dealt with, but used as well as a temporary place of detention. We can also reconstruct the presence of the army in the area and the running of the liturgic system. Thanks to a description of the town from the end of the third century (*P.Berl.Bork.*), we perceive the vigour of textile activities and oil produc-

516 Cf. for instance the games in Oxyrhynchus: *BGU* IV 1074 = *SB* I 5225 (275 AD), which took place once every five years, following the model of the Capitoline Games and including horse races, not mentioned in Panopolis. On the *Antinoeia*, cf. *Pap.Agon.*, pp. 87–8 (n. to 4.17, 18). We should perhaps relate to the popularity of the games the existance of catalogues of games, both in papyri (*P.Yale* 2. 108, 2nd c. ex.–3rd c. in.; *P.Oxy.* 62.4306, 1st-2nd c., frs. 3–9) and in Hyg. *Fab.* 273. Cf. van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, nos. 67 (pp. 136–7, 321–2) and 69 (pp. 139–43, 328–34).

517 Bagnall 1988, 44.

518 Bagnall 1988, 44; *Pap.Agon.*, pp. 12–13.

tion. During this period the Panopolites were in contact with other Egyptian areas through commerce or migration.

All this proves that it was a dynamic area, where surpluses of production would yield substantial profit, proportional to the extant tax payments. Besides small proprietors, who would have limited access to training in general, we get to know landowning families, such as Aurelius Ammon's (*P.Ammon*), Alopex' (*P.Panop.* 19), Ulpius Claudianus' (*P.Berl. Bork.*) and Triphiodorus' (*P.Freer* Inv. 08.45 a/b). They surely devoted part of their profit to giving the following generation a training, as did the family of the two Horapollos, better known in intellectual circles. Thus, it is the family which gives the individual a high status providing him with the means for a literate upbringing.

In this period the area of Panopolis, from a cult area of Egyptian pagan (esp. Min) and Greek (cf. the temples mentioned in *P.Berl.Bork.*) divinities, became an almost completely Christian society, which maintained a considerable number of monasteries. We do not have precise information on the process of christianisation, but the latest studies favour a gradual and not terribly dramatic development.

The study of educational infrastructures, basic school contents and training in other fields reveals that at least the first school stages were covered in the area, although those wanting to extend their training may have needed to move to Alexandria. Teachers of all levels are linked with Panopolis, which proves that, although in many cases we cannot demonstrate that they did teach there, some kind of formal education was guaranteed to an undetermined level. Those who worked as teachers appear in our sources as real-state proprietors or displaying their public profiles in politics, religion, philosopy or literature. Each individual seems to have been unique and of none have we a complete picture.

Besides, a significant number of literary papyri from Panopolis are extant, which must be considered with caution, since we do not know to what extent they are representative. The best known library is the one formed by part of the *P.Bodm.* and the papyri held in Barcelona, Köln, the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin and the Duke University, including Greek, Latin and Coptic, pagan and Christian texts. This ensemble includes copies of the Homeric poems, Thucydides, Menander, Achilles Tatius, Cicero and the Old and New Testaments (both in Greek and Coptic, including very interesting apocryphal books). It has also yielded the until now unknown *Alcestis Barcinonensis* and the new poems of the *Codex Visionum.* This codex is an extraordinary collection, the context and use of which can only be guessed at. In spite of the possibility of linking several

compositions to the educational sphere, the latest research points to the library of a religious community, probably not the only one in the area.

We have very little information about the books owned by individuals, though some evidence and the comparison to Dioscorus of Aphrodito suggest that they were a valuable part of their possessions and no doubt a mark of status. With some exceptions, the sources do not allow us to study the interaction of learned individuals, but they all belonged to social networks of people who had studied together and/or shared interests and were in contact through letters. Literary texts would circulate in these networks too.

What we can reconstruct of educational issues in Panopolis is not a complete picture either. In addition to some data on the first school stages, we are certain of the presence of Homer and Menander, essential in Greek education. About the rest of the authors of which we have some copy in Panopolis, it is not known if they had some educational use, but their presence means that they were available. Likewise, the *Codex Visionum* shows that the training to compose literature in classical inspiration, exercising with the *progymnasmata*, was offered to Christians, too, and it is possible that it existed in some religious communities. Also, the teaching of Latin is certain to have existed, but we do not know up to what level.

Training in other fields (e. g. mathematics, astronomy, natural sciences) was found in a very embryonic form in the first school stages, but it required specific training in specialised centres (e. g. mathematics in Alexandria). The training which became more and more common was legal preparation, for which Egyptian students had to go abroad. Neoplatonic philosophy was reserved for an élite, which rejected those individuals who did not fully integrate (e. g. Pamprepius) and was worn down by persecutions and endogamy (cf. the case of Horapollon the Younger). On reviewing these features we understand why Nonnus and in general all epic poets show no interest in technique: technicalities reached them mostly through literature and are perceived only through it.

The main incentive to invest in education was, no doubt, that it was considered a mark of high status. Thus, it is not strange that those Panopolites who could afford it tried to obtain at least a learned veneer and displayed it through quotations in legal documents and in institutions such as the gymnasium or Perseus' games, revived from Herodotus' reference (2.91). If Panopolis boasted a thriving cultural life it is because its élite sponsored and enjoyed it. Also, if such cultural life went beyond

the town when its intellectuals travelled or emigrated it is because they thought it was the appropriate appearance for those of high status.

Thus, the Panopolite origin of the poets discussed in Chapter 1 and the texts extant on papyri and inscriptions makes sense as an expression of culture marking a difference with the mass of the illiterate and 'unrefined'. Perhaps the style studied in Chapter 2 had a certain component of ostentation: it may have attempted to enlarge the gulf between those who appreciated it and those considering it completely alien and abstruse.

The context does not reveal a need to claim a school of Nonnus. It rather leads us to deduce that some well-off Panopolite families invested part of their surpluses in giving the following generation a literate and literary training. They probably thought that it was the means of securing for them a place in the cultural élite, both in town and beyond it. This type of upbringing and education enabled individuals to understand, appreciate and compose poetry and, given the popularity poetry enjoyed at that time, it prompted the composition of poetry as a learned pastime for adults.

Chapter 4
Influence of school-practice on poetry: The *progymnasmata*

1. School influence on poetic composition: The *progymnasmata*

Poetry was an integral part of education in Antiquity from the very first level, as proved by the copy exercises in which students reproduced verses following the teacher's sample (cf. e. g. **14.** Mythological Acrostic). The reading of poets, especially Homer, had a strong influence on their first compositions, particularly when the subject matter was taken from the Trojan Cycle,[1] but it remained a constant feature later. In fact, the insistence on the composition of hexameters at school might have been in part responsible for the overwhelming presence of this meter in the period from the third to the sixth centuries.[2] Hexametric compositions could be combined with iambic prologues, the poetic counterpart of prefaces to prose compositions.[3]

Handbooks of *progymnasmata* are essential to understand how students learned to write literature. Though they referred students systematically to prose, significant attention was paid as well to poetic models and certain guidelines were useful to all genres, so that it is no surprise that we notice a mutual influence between these exercises and literature. In Late

1 We realise how popular they were when going through our corpus of papyri: **10.** Hector (*P.Oxy.* 30.2514), **12.** Achilles and Hector (PSI 6.722), **13.** Odysseus'? return (*P.Oxy.* 15.1821), **18.1** Reunion after Troy (*P.Ant.* 1.17 verso), **19.** Odysseus' ethopoea (*P.Ryl.* 3.487), **20.** Penelope? (BKT 9.116), **21.** Trojan Cycle (BKT 9.126), **24.** Priam (*P.Bingen* 15), **25.1** On Odysseus (PSI 15.1867), **28.** The war of Troy (*P.Ant.* 2.57), **29.** Athena's words to Achilles (*P.Oxy.* 42.3002), **30.** Helen and Hermione (*P.Berol. inv.* 13239), **31.** Heracles and Penelope (*P. Hal.* 2), **33.** Homeric Parody (*T.Kellis inv.* D/2/46), **35.** Aphrodite and the Trojans (*P.Laur. inv.* III/ 277), **36.** Polyxena (*P.Flor.* 3.390), **52.** Anthology of ethopoeae (Heitsch 26), **53.** Achilles claims his γέρας (Heitsch 38), **55.** Anthology of six ethopoeae (*P.Heid. inv.* 1271 v).

2 Wifstrand 1933, 174–5.

3 Viljamaa 1968, 96.

Antiquity more than ever rhetoric goes poetical and poetry rhetorical[4] and quite a large number of compositions is extant which follows progymnasmatic schemes and are the work of adults. We should however bear in mind that not every literary composition has by design a direct relationship with the rules and models referred to at school: personal inclinations, inspiration, readings and compositional choices should be allowed some influence.

This chapter is devoted to collating the theorisation of exercises as known through the manuals with those examples extant on papyri and the passages or literary works on which they may have some influence. My aim is to assess to what extent the features shared by the authors of the so-called school of Nonnus and papyrus compositions may be due to school influence. I do not mean to debase literary creation to what is learnt at school, but to evaluate their interaction.

According to their main use, *progymnasmata* can be divided as follows:

– For deliberative oratory: fable (μῦθος), narrative (διήγημα), *chreia* (χρεία), maxim (γνώμη), thesis (θέσις), introduction of a law (νόμος).
– For judicial oratory: confirmation and refutation (ἀνασκευή καὶ κατασκευή), common-place (κοινὸς τόπος).
– For epideictic oratory: description (ἔκφρασις), ethopoea (ἠθοποιία), encomium and invective (ἐγκώμιον καὶ ψόγος), comparison (σύγκρισις).

Although the rest are useful for literary creation also, the exercises designed for the epideictic genre are the most important, so this study will concentrate on them. However, talking about description necessarily leads us to start with the analysis of narrative (διήγημα) and paraphrase (παράφρασις). Description, narrative and paraphrase combine the whole range of resources learned by a Greek student to present the contents of his future literary work. On the other hand, I have excluded invective to focus on encomium and one of its main elements, comparison. Ethopoea and encomium are crucial for the construction of characters.

4 Cichocka 1992; Webb 2001, 289–92; Patillon 2007.

2. Narrative

2.1. The theory of narrative

According to Theon, "a narrative is a description of events which have happened or as though they had happened",[5] a definition which reflects the difficulties presented by the term. The first theorisations are those of Plato and Aristotle. Plato distinguishes two ways of telling (λέξεις): διήγησις (*R.* 393a), i.e., what the poet says when talking in his own name, and μίμησις (393e), i.e., what he says when impersonating someone else. This produces a completely narrative mode (the dithyramb), a completely mimetic mode (theatre) and a mixed mode (the epic). As far as poetic imitation (μίμησις) is concerned, Aristotle (*P.* 1448a) distinguishes a direct imitative mode present in dramatic genres, in which actors perform for the public, and secondary narrative imitation (διήγησις), found in epic poetry. Imitation is, therefore, the basic element in the definition of poetry both of them represent.

In this case, terminology is an added complication: the name of the exercise is διήγημα, but it appears in competition with διήγησις, having the same root but a different suffix.[6] Theon uses the former to name the exercise, but uses both when talking about it.[7] Nicolaus offers three different explanations of the terms (11.16–12.6), which proves that there was not an unequivocal definition.

Except for Hermogenes, the rest of the authors mention the six elements (στοιχεῖα) of a narrative:[8] person (πρόσωπον), event (πρᾶγμα), time (χρόνος), place (τόπος), manner (τρόπος) and cause (αἰτία). Accord-

5 Theon 78.16–17: Διήγημά ἐστι λόγος ἐκθετικὸς πραγμάτων γεγονότων ἢ ὡς γεγονότων. Cf. also Hermog. *Prog.* 4.6–7; Aphth. 2.14–15; Nic. 4.16, 11.14–15. On its function: Nic. 4.17–18 ἔργον δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τέλος τὸ παράδοσιν καὶ δήλωσιν ποιῆσαι τῷ ἀκροατῇ τοῦ πράγματος ("Its function and end is to provide the hearer with an account and clarification of the action"). Among Latin authors, cf. *Rhet.Her.* 1.4; Cic. *Inv.* 1.27; Quint. 4.2.31.

6 Ignoring subtler differences such as those presented by the *Rhetoric to Alexander* (1438b.14–25), differentiating ἀπαγγελία ('narrative', if it is a narration of past deeds), δήλωσις ('exposition', of present deeds) and πρόρρησις ('announcement', of future facts).

7 Cf. Butts 1986, p. 361, n. 2. The only moment when he appears to make some difference is Theon 60.3: cf. Butts 1986, p. 128, n. 14.

8 Theon 78.17–79.19; Aphth. 2.23–3.2 (Παρέπεται δὲ τῷ διηγήματι ἕξ); Nic. 13.14–14.3 (στοιχεῖα διηγήσεως). Only Theon offers a classification and examples of each of them.

ing to Nicolaus, others add a seventh, matter (ὕλη), detaching it from manner. As for the classification of the narrative, Theon distinguishes (66.16–67.30) between μυθικὰ and πραγματικὰ διηγήματα (mythical and factual narratives). The other three rhetors catalogue narratives according to their subject, and Nicolaus adds a second classification:

Hermogenes (4.16–20)	Aphthonius (2.19–22)	Nicolaus (12.7–13.13)
μυθικόν (mythical) πλασματικόν / δραματικόν (fictitious / dramatic) ἱστορικόν (historical) πολιτικόν / ἰδιωτικόν (civil / private)	δραματικόν το πεπλασμένον (dramatic, fictitious) ἱστορικόν (historical) πολιτικόν (civil)	μυθικόν (mythical) πλασματικόν (fictitious) ἱστορικόν (historical) πραγματικόν / δικανικόν (factual / judicial)
		ἀφηγηματικόν (narrative) δραματικόν (dramatic) μικτόν (mixed)[9]

Another important element are the virtues (ἀρεταί) of a narration. Theon (79.20–85.28) finds three:[10] clearness (σαφήνεια), conciseness (συντομία)[11] and credibility (πιθανότης), and explains how to attain them, providing specific counselling related to content and style. Hermogenes does not allude to it and Aphthonius (3.3–4) mentions these three and correct language (ὁ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἑλληνισμός). Nicolaus (14.4–15.11) refers to three different opinions, which makes it difficult to tell the virtues of a good discourse from those typical of narration. Nevertheless, Nicolaus, when suggesting how to achieve the balance of the different virtues (14.9–15.11), says that the most important one is clarity, "for a speech will not be harmed so much from length as from obscurity" (15.6–7).

9 That is, 'narrative', when everything is referred by only one person, as in Pindar; 'dramatic', when only the characters are involved and not the author (tragedies and comedies); and 'mixed', when there is a narrator and some characters (Homer and Herodotus).

10 Cf. Quint. 4.2.31: a narrative should be *lucida* / *perspicua* (4.2.36–9), *brevis* / *probabilis* (4.2.40–51) and *veri similis* / *credibilis* (4.3.53–60), though he mentions other virtues such as *magnificentia* / μεγαλοπρέπεια (4.2.61–2) or that it should be *iucunda* and *evidentis* (ἐνάργεια, 4.2.63–5).

11 Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1416.30–5.

2. 2. Overall presence of narrative in epic poems

The presence of narrative in late antique epic is very restricted, due to its progressive slide towards description, but it does not disappear, as we verify through an attentive reading of the *Sack of Troy*, the *Dionysiaca*, *Hero and Leander* and the *Abduction of Helen.* In the *Sack of Troy* the narrative structure of events is presented in chronological order and two long descriptions are inserted:

6–56	Prologue: Quick introduction to the narrative and its background
57–107	Making of the Horse of Troy → 1st *ekphrasis*
108–234	Day 1 (Achaeans): Decision making about the war and its start
235–505	Day 2 (Trojans): Process of self-deception hindered by Cassandra and Helen
506–663 and 668–91	Nyktomachy → 2nd *ekphrasis*

Each of the three long narrative blocks unfolds with a different character and purpose. The function of the prologue is to specify the starting point and to summarise previous events. The chosen form is the catalogue, which enables the poet to convey a general abbreviated view and to make brief references to earlier episodes which will not be treated fully. It begins with a catalogue of the effects of the long years of war on the contestants (6–16 Enyo's drunkenness, weakening of the fighters exemplified in their weapons,[12] downheartedness of the horses), followed by another on victims from both sides (17–39). After the flashback, the action returns briefly to the present (40–2): despite all these years of war Troy is still standing and it would not have been conquered had it not been for Helenus' arrival at the Achaean camp (45–8). His prophecies are the salutary lesson necessary for the end of the war, as the Greeks then break the deadlock demanding the presence of Neoptolemus (51–3) and stealing the Palladion (54–5). The chronological structure followed is therefore present – past [– present] – future, typical of the ethopoea (cf. 5.1 Theory of the ethopoea).

This passage is easily divided due to the absence of transitions between every two parts, replaced by links in the argumentative development. Thus, horses mourn their dead comrades (15) and charioteers

12 To be compared with Triph. 427–31 and 498b-505.

(16), like Achaeans, Trojans and their allies mourn their dead chieftains (17–39). The transition to the present in 40–2 opposes the immutability of Troy (Εἰστήκει δ' ἔτι… Ἴλιος) to the weakening and pain experienced by the contestants. The construction of the horse (57–107) is linked to Athena's designs (55–6).

If this first narrative block is synthetic, the second, focused on the Achaeans, can be defined as persuasive or imperative, being a concatenation of events originating in Odysseus' orders (120–51) and leading to the end of Troy. The catalogue of the heroes who climb into the horse (152–83) and their preparations (184–203) follow as an answer to his orders. Later, the Achaean army gets ready to leave (204–18: demolition of the wall enclosing the horse, launching of the ships, fire of the camp) and Sinon is left stranded on the beach (219–34).

The section devoted to the Trojans, on the contrary, could be defined as a dramatic narrative,[13] as they waste chances of salvation one after the other. In the first place they turn down the judgement of those who suggest that the horse should be destroyed (251–4), allowing Sinon to persuade them with his lies (258–304). Then, they do not listen to nature's ominous foreboding (317–29) and laugh at Cassandra's auguries (358–443), when she describes the end of Troy (379–409). Aphrodite attempts to frustrate the Greek stratagem using Helen, but she is halted by Athena (463–97). Sinon's and Helen's torches (510–21) prove the Trojan failure due to the blindness against which Cassandra had warned them (410–11): light for the Achaeans, while the Trojans sink in the perpetual darkness of death and destruction.

We easily discern the plot in the *Sack of Troy*, but the *Dionysiaca* presents a completely different prospect, due to its length and because the ποικιλία is its main stylistic motto. Plot development is important, but somehow hidden in the narrative magma, created by the compulsion to include everything, which gives way to a narrative "à tiroirs" inherited from the novel.[14]

It is clear that the first twelve books form an independent unit, rendering the preliminary events and Dionysus' conception, birth and ado-

13 The poem by Musaeus is a dramatic narration too, as from the beginning it is focused on the unfortunate destiny of the lovers: cf. Musae. 14–15, 26–7.

14 Cf. Vian 1995, 19: "Le roman grec, héritier de l'*Odyssée* aime la narration "à tiroirs", avec des récits secondaires enchâssés dans la narration principale. Nonnos se plaît lui aussi à introduire des *epyllia* à l'intérieur de son épopée: c'est le cas pou l'histoire de Calamos et Carpos".

lescence. They serve as *prolegomena* to the central motif of the poem, the *Indiad* or the War against the Indians (bks. 13–40). The purpose of this central part is clearly stated in its first lines (13.1–7):

> Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ προέηκεν ἐς αὔλια θέσκελα Ῥείης
> Ἶριν ἀπαγγέλλουσαν ἐγερσιμόθῳ Διονύσῳ,
> ὄφρα δίκης ἀδίδακτον ὑπερφιάλων γένος Ἰνδῶν
> Ἀσίδος ἐξελάσειεν ἑῷ προινήτορι θύρσῳ,
> ναύμαχον ἀμήσας ποταμήιον υἷα κεράστην,
> Δηριάδην βασιλῆα, καὶ ἔθνεα πάντα διδάξῃ
> ὄργια νυκτιχόρευτα καὶ οἰνοπα καρπὸν ὀπώρης.
>
> "Father Zeus sent Iris to the divine halls of Rheia, to inform wakethefray Dionysos, that he must drive out of Asia with his avenging thyrsus the proud race of Indians untaught of justice: he was to sweep from the sea the horned son of a river, Deriades the king, and teach all nations the sacred dances of the vigil and the purple fruit of vintage." (Transl. Rouse 1940)

Zeus sets as a task for Dionysus the conversion of impious and unjust Indians, the killing of their king Deriades and the spreading out of the new Dionysiac religion with its dance. The poem is presented as a Dionysiac crusade, completed afterwards (books 41–8) with several episodes of expansion of the new gospel.[15]

Vian has proved[16] that the narrative structure of the *Indiad* responds not to the *Iliad*, but to the whole Trojan Cycle as presented in Apollodorus' *Library:*

Apollod. *Epit.* III-IV	Nonn. *D.* 13–40
III.11–14 Army mustered in Aulis. Catalogue of the Greek fleet	13–14 Army mustered in Maeonia. Catalogue of Dionysiac troops
III.28 Greek Embassy to Troy	18–21 Embassy of Pherespondos
III.29–30 Arrival in the Troad	22–4 Crossing of Hydaspes and arrival in India
III.31–3 Nine-year siege of Troy	25.1–10 Six-year war
III.34–5 Catalogue of Trojan allies	26 Catalogue of Deriades' troops
IV *Iliad*	27–40 *Indiad*

The structure is even clearer if we peruse each section. In order to keep the analysis simple, I will focus on the segment between the transmission

15 Cf. Vian 1994b, 94: "the *Dionysiaca* should be read as the narrative of an era in world history. The *Indiad* is integrated without difficulty into this plan by means of the 'theological' scheme that underlies the whole".

16 Cf. Vian 1991b, 7–10.

of Zeus' orders and the beginning of the confrontation with the Indian king Deriades (13.1–21.170).

13.1–34	Zeus orders Dionysus (through Iris) to defeat the Indians
13.35–14.230a	Summoning and gathering of Dionysus' army, catalogues
14.230b-46	Dionysus gets ready for the fight (attributes instead of weapons)
14.247–71	The army begins marching + 272–83 Favourable prophecy (Niobe)
14.284–9	Arrival in Ascania, whose inhabitants surrender + 290–4 Favourable omen (Rhea)
14.295–302	The Bacchic army marches; the heralds ask the Indians to surrender
14.303–22	Hera persuades the Indian general Astraeis not to surrender
14.323–15.168	Bacchus' victory on Astacis Lake, after turning water into wine
15.169–16.405	Story of Nicaea
17.1–7	Bacchus, back in the expedition, forgets Nicaea
17.8–21	Retinue of Dionysus, who gets ready for the fight – no need of weapons
17.22–31	Dionysus inebriates Asia, which yields to his power
17.33–86	Dionysus, on his march, sheltered by Brongos, to whom he gives wine
17.87–397	Bacchus' victory on the River Tauros
18.1–20.34	Bacchus, welcomed by king Staphylos, organises games after the king's death
20.35–100	Dionysus, spurred by Eris in a dream to fight Deriades
20.101–48	The army sets off and arrives in Arabia
20.149–21.170	Lycurgeia: Bacchus flees, Lycurgus is defeated by the women of the god's army

Such a synthetic presentation can be misleading, as we can easily infer the thread of the story from it: Dionysus, after Zeus' orders, rushes to conquer the East, which surrenders before the power of his weapons, wine in particular. His victory occurs on the battle field (Lake Astacis and River Tauros), but also when he defeats Nicaea, who has rejected love's yoke, and when Lycurgos is punished for his insolence. He offers the new religion of the vine to everybody, from the humble Brongos to the powerful and rich Staphylos.

Nevertheless, when we read the *Dionysiaca*, we do not discern the narrative thread so quickly. In fact, there is a book and a half between the transmission of Zeus' orders (13.1–34) and Dionysus' preparations for the fight (14.230 ff.). The gathering of Dionysus' troops by Rhea is

thoroughly exploited in this parenthesis and the two catalogues are so long that the poet asks for divine help before facing them. Their patterns are parallel, which implies an attempt to move away from and to supersede the Homeric model, but also an exercise of erudition and a sample of ποικιλία:[17]

Heroic Troops	Divine Troops
13.35–42 Rhea's summons	14.1–14 Rhea's summons
13.43–52 Invocation to the Muses and Homer	14.15–16 Invocation to Apollo
13.53–565 Catalogue	14.17–227 Catalogue
13.566–8 Armies gathered around Rhea	14.228–30a Armies brought before Bacchus

In this case, contrary to the prologue in Triphiodorus' *Sack of Troy*, the function of the catalogue is not to summarise, but to expand and exhaust the material which could be adduced about Bacchic troops. Although the differences with Triphiodorus' style of narrating are obvious, partly due to the different length of their works, partly to stylistic choice, there are some common strategies.

We have seen that in the *Sack of Troy* the transition from one element to the next is made through subtle *nexi* and the same happens in the *Dionysiaca.* For instance, Nicaea's story is introduced by a very light *nexus* (15.169 Ἔνθα τις)[18] after Dionysus' victory on the Lake Astacis and linked very slightly (17.1–7) with the following episode, his arrival in Asia. Although it seems to be an *excursus* motivated only by the fact that the previous battle occurs on the banks of the Lake Astacis, where Nicaea lives,[19] we realise that it is the bucolic complement for these battles, because it is embedded between two war episodes (cf. also the story of Staphylos).[20] Furthermore, the story is analogous with later love-affairs of Dionysus[21] and prepares Aura's episode (48.238–973), the climax of the poem,[22] where Nicaea pities Aura for her forthcoming maternity (48.811–28).

17 Cf. *Il.* 2.484–779. Analysis in Chuvin 1991, 29 ff.; Hopkinson 1994b, 27–9; Vian 1995, 113–32; Gerlaud 1994, 3–8.
18 Cf. also the beginning of the episode of Brongos (17.37).
19 Schulze 1968, 32.
20 Gerbeau 1992, 4.
21 Beroe 41–3, Ariadne 47.265–471, Pallene 48.90–237.
22 Cf. Schmiel 1993, 470; Vian 1994a, 197–214.

There is narrative in Nonnus, but not the type we would expect, implying a direct shift from one element to the next: in proper late antique fashion, each element is expanded to the maximum and the transitions are not always obvious and easy to define.[23] This suggests a description, rather than a narrative. Nevertheless, we cannot talk of absence of structural care, since when several legends are presented together the poet produces links between them through enumerations and summaries (cf. 21.1–170), marks the episodes as unities using *Ringkomposition* and draws on numerical games, too.[24]

Therefore, Nonnian narrative does not give priority to Theon's virtues (79.20–85.28), i.e. clarity (σαφήνεια), conciseness (συντομία) and persuasiveness (πιθανότης): a clear or concise development is not his aim and fantastic fiction exceeds verisimilitude.[25] On the contrary, it matches the first of the opinions produced by Nicolaus (14.4–6), who adds aesthetic pleasure (ἡδονή) and magnificence (μεγαλοπρέπεια) to the three more common virtues.

About Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*[26] and Colluthus' *Abduction of Helen*,[27] both present a quite clear structure considering their episodic construction, but the narrative moves forward through more or less descriptive passages, usually not paying attention to the circumstances. Therefore, I will take up their analysis in 3.2. "The overall presence of the *ekphrasis*".

After this general view I shall analyse the presence of paradoxographical and mythical narratives in the *Dionysiaca.*

23 What Marrou 1958, 25, called a pearl necklace, which will be discussed below in 3.1. "Theory on Description".

24 Hopkinson – Vian 1994, 285–92. On frequent connectors of episodes in the *D.*, cf. Duc 1990, 189. On numerical games, cf. Chuvin 1992, 30–1, 63–4, 76–7.

25 On the contrary, Triphiodorus makes constant efforts to give his work at least a tinge of verisimilitude: cf. Dubielzig 1996, 28–31.

26 Divided into three main parts: introduction and feast (1–54) + apparition of Hero and Leander (55–108); they meet and talk (109–73) + they fall in love and get engaged (174–231); first nocturnal meeting (232–71) + dangers and death of both (272–343). Cf. analysis in Schönberger 1978.

27 Cf. Schönberger 1993, 15. Cf. as well Orsini 1972, ix.

2.3. Paradoxographical narrative

Paradoxography is a constituent of epic, because elements of this type are found in Homer, a source of later anthologies.[28] It was also drawn on for its practical usefulness as amusement and to sweeten learning.[29] Before analysing its presence in our *corpus* I take the classification and lexical analysis by Giannini as a starting point[30]

θαυμάσιος	1. natural wonder (in φύσις, i.e. natural sciences: zoology, botanic, geology, medicine)	θαῦμα = ἴδιον καὶ παράδοξον ≠ κοινόν, σύνηθες
	2. exotic wonder (in νόμος, i.e. historiography, geography or periegetic, in an ethnographical aspect)	
θαυμαστός	3. divine or prodigious wonder (in μῦθος)	θαῦμα = τέρας
	4. fabulous or mythical wonder (in μυθολογία)	θαῦμα ≠ ἀλήθεια
	5. wonders related to fantasy, fable or novel (sheer invention, in πλάσμα)	θαῦμα ≠ ἱστορία
	6. aesthetic wonder[31] (in τέχνη and εἶδος)	θαῦμα (θαῦμ' ἰδέσθαι) = περικαλλές, παμμέγεθες

Paradoxographical elements appear in our corpus in several epigrams in book 9 of the *Palatine Anthology*,[32] and in the *Dionysiaca*, doubtless because in one way or another Nonnus considered them an essential epic element. They appear concentrated in book 26, the catalogue of Indian troops, where the contingents are introduced with paradoxographical snippets, displayed in the following table.[33]

28 Cf. Schepens – Delcroix 1996, 386; about the paradoxographical element in Homer and its later interpretations, cf. Giannini 1963, 251–2.

29 Cf. Arist. *Po.* 1460a.17–18; Strab. 1.2.8. It could have structural functions, too, as in the *Aithiopica* by Heliodorus: cf. Futre Pinheiro 1991.

30 Adapted from Giannini 1963, 249–50. Giannini 1963, 250 acknowledges that lexical specialisation is blurred in Late Antiquity. Lexical analysis of akin terms (ἴδιος, ξένος, τέρας, τερατῶδες, ἄπιστον) in Schepens – Delcroix 1996, 381.

31 Cf. Giannini 1963, p. 250, n. 14.

32 Cf. Rossi 2002, 164–5: *AP* 9.73, 125, 128, 129, 430.

33 Vian 1990, 88. The subsequent table reelaborates the notes in Vian 1990 and the quoted pages of Chuvin 1991. Cf. Agosti 2004b, 143: "L'India di Nonno è soprat-

51b-4 Island of the Graiai: men suckle babies. Cf. Vian: inspired in the practice of the couvade (AR 2.1011–14).
55–9 Gazos: impregnable linen rampart. Cf. Vian: from Dionys. *Bass.* fr. 1, 1–3.
61–2 Salangoi: rich in gold. Cf. Vian: Hdt. 3.102, 104; Megasthenes (715 F 23 b Jacoby = Strab. 15.1.44).
62–4 Salangoi: eat ground pulse. Cf. Chuvin, 292: "Nonnos s'inspire d'un texte sommaire et équivoque".
91–3 Sabeiroi: heart covered with hair (courage). Cf. Vian: Homeric figurative expression (*Il.* 2.851) to mean courage, now in primary sense.
94–5 Earsleepers (Οὐατοκοῖται): sleep wrapped in their ears. Cf. Strab. 2.1.9.
149–51 Dersaioi: bury the corpses of the dead in battle. Cf. Chuvin, 324: custom in Aracosia, against Zoroastrian commandments.
153–7 Habrathoos shaven by Deriades (being shaven is an opprobrium for Indian men). Cf. Vian: cf. 90 F 103 y Jacoby, Nicolaus of Damas, perhaps from Megasthenes.
167–9 Hysporos, river having elektron veins. Cf. Vian: it seems to be the same that appears in Ctesias (688 F 45 a [36] Jacoby = Phot. *Bibl.* 47a, 5–18) carrying amber.
170–2 Arsanie: women weave a robe each day. Cf. Vian: transposition of Dionys. *Bass.* 2.2–4.
183–200 Areizanteia: honey tree. Cf. Vian: Onesicritos (134 F 3 Jacoby = Plin. *HN* 12.34).
201–11 Areizanteia: orion and catreus, birds. Cf. Vian: Cleitarchus (137 F 20–2 Jacoby), whom Nonnus knows indirectly.[34]
222–46 Indos: has two mouths, one of which is the source of the Nile. Cf. Vian: cf. Ctesias (688 F 45 a Jacoby); the second is a long-standing fantastic theory.
236–44 Indos and Nile: home to the hippopotamus. Cf. Vian: the species had disappeared from the Nile well before Imperial times and never existed in the Indos; the error goes back to Onesicritus and became a common topos in descriptions of both countries.
261–90 Aretos: five dumb children. Cf. Vian: "empruntée à un recueil de paradoxa helléniques".
295–328 Oita: mother of the elephants, long-lived. Several sources: cf. analysis in Vian 1990, 285–90.
341–9 Ethiopians: battle stratagem. Cf. Vian: directly taken from Hdt. 7.70.

tutto… un vero e proprio paradigma del meraviglioso… Il catalogo… presenta al lettore un campionario di quegli esotismi indiani, che facevano parte dell'immaginario comune della tarda antichità".

34 Cf. also Vian 1988c.

Vian[35] writes a well-informed analysis of the sources used: only two of them are sure, Dionysius' *Bassarica* and Herodotus. The name of Megasthenes appears several times and some motifs seem to originate in the historians of Alexander, though Vian points out that Nonnus probably only had second-hand knowledge of them through other source(s). Book 26 shows us the way Nonnus worked, apparently gathering and juxtaposing material,[36] not bothering too much about critical analysis, as we notice in the passage devoted to the Indos and the Nile, but producing a final impression of fullness.

The *paradoxa* included in book 26 belong to the two first types in Giannini's classification, natural and exotic wonders (ethnographical aspect).[37] Though their contents are typically paradoxographical, there are not many pattern or lexical references. Only in one instance is second-hand information mentioned (245 τοῖα… φατίζεται) and only on some occasions is the type of phenomenon pointed out,[38] saying that it is a strange fact[39] or comparing it with the ordinary.[40]

Although book 26 has such a limited scope as far as its subject matter is concerned, in the rest of the poem we also find expressions of admiration and surprise related to mythical,[41] divine (miracles)[42] and aesthetic

35 Vian 1990, 88–90.

36 Cf. Vian 1990, 90, 167; Schepens – Delcroix 1996, 404.

37 1. Natural wonders (related to φύσις): 167b-9 Hysporos, 183–200 honey tree, 201–11 orion and catreus, 222–46 Indos and Nile, 236–44 hippopotamus, 261–90 Aretos' children (it could be also included in 3. divine or prodigious wonders – related to μῦθος) and 295–328 elephants.

2. Exotic marvels (related to νόμος): 51b-4 island of the Graiai, 55–9 linen rampart in Gazos, 61–2 Salangoi's gold, 62b-4 Salangoi's eating habits, 91–3 Sabeiroi's heart covered with hair, 94–5 Ear-Sleepers, 149–51 funerary custom of the Dersaioi, 153–7 shaving is disparaging for the Indians, 170–2 dexterity of the women at Arsanie, 341b-9 Ethiopians' war stratagem.

38 261 Οὗς φύσις, 297 οἷς φύσις; 62 οἷς θέμις ἀεί, 95 οἵσι θέμις.

39 184 Ξείνου δουρατέρου μέλιτος, 271 ἀλλοίην καὶ ἄπιστον… λοχείην, 341 Ἀλλοφανῆ.

40 52 Ἐθήμονος ἀντὶ τεκούσης, 63 ἀντὶ δὲ σίτου, 203–6 οὐ μὲν ἀνακρούει… ἀλλὰ σοφοῖς στομάτεσσι μελίζεται, 274 ἀντὶ τόκου χθονίοιο λοχευσαμένη τόκον ἅλμης, 276–8.

41 Nonnus uses the expression ἆ μέγα θαῦμα to introduce mythical events (2.226; 4.54, 93, 436; 6.359; 8.256; 9.218; 14.427; 25.308; 42.142). Europa riding Zeus as a bull arouses paradoxographical surprise, disbelief and admiration (1.60 Καὶ πλόον εἰλιπόδην ἐπεθάμβεε Κυανοχαίτης, 63–5 ἀειρομένην δὲ γυναῖκα / θαῦμα φόβῳ κεράσας ἐπεδείκνυε Δωρίδι Νηρεύς, / ξεῖνον ἰδὼν πλωτῆρα κερα-

wonders, attributed not only to works of art because of their technique,[43] but also to the reaction provoked by the beauty of a woman or man, especially the loved one.[44]

The treatises of rhetoric do not include these elements in the narrative, but among the elements to be taken into account when composing the encomium of a person. After the chapter about his origin (γένος), the birth of the praised person should be dealt with, supplemented, when possible, with several prodigies heralding his grandeur.[45] According to Hermogenes, when talking about his death:

> Hermog. *Prog.* 16.18–21 ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς τελευτῆς, ὅπως ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος μαχόμενος· καὶ εἴ τι παράδοξον ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Καλλιμάχου, ὅτι καὶ νεκρὸς εἱστήκει ("Further, from the manner of his death, [for example,] how he died fighting for his country; and if there was anything unusual about it, as in the case of Callimachus, because his corpse remained standing").[46]

The Callimachus mentioned by Hermogenes is one of the Athenian fighters at the Battle of Marathon, as we are told by Herodotus (6.114).[47] The courage of the Athenians who even fighted after death, became proverbial and a very popular historical *exemplum* which could be adopted for several rhetorical purposes.[48]

σφόρον, 93 Ὀφθαλμοί, τί τὸ θαῦμα; 125–6 Τοῖον ἔπος περόων Ἑλλήνιος ἔννεπε ναύτης / θαμβαλέος).

42 Proper miracles: 12.173 (μέγα θάμβος ἐφαίνετο), 188 (νέον ἔπλετο θάμβος); 21.74–5; 22.55 (ἑτερότροπα θαύματα Βάκχου), 64; 44.130 (φρικτὰ δὲ παπταίνων πολυειδέα θαύματα Βάκχου); 45.324; 48.602; and the consequences on those who learn about them: 25.277 (Δηριάδην δ' ἐλέλιζε φόβος καὶ θαῦμα καὶ αἰδώς), 26.257–8.

43 Cf. descriptions of the Wooden Horse in Triphiodorus (57–107) and Dionysus' shield (*D.* 25.380–567).

44 Cf. 3.222 (θάμβεεν ἀνέρος εἶδος), 224 (θάμβεε τηλίκον εἶδος); 4.236–7 (one of the passengers on seeing Harmonia); 7.224–5 (a Nymph on seeing Semele in the river); 9.180–1; 10.194 (εἴρετο θαμβαλέην προχέων ἐπὶ κάλλεϊ φωνήν). The loved one: 7.278–9, 10.289, 42.220–1, 47.271–4.

45 Hermog. *Prog.* 15.19–21 ("You will mention also some marvelous occurrences at birth, for example from dreams or signs or things like that"); Men. Rh. 371.2–14, 419.25–30.

46 Cf. also Nic. 11.7, Sopat. Rh. 144–5 (Innes Winterbottom).

47 Full study on this topic in D'Ippolito 2002; Agosti 2004b, nn. in pp. 258–62; 2005a, 39–40.

48 Cf. thorough study in Favreau 2003. Callimachus and his companions appear in the (Ps.–)Plutarchean *Compendium of parallel Greek and Roman stories* (305 b-c) and in the μελέτη by Marcus Antonius Polemon Εἰς Καλλίμαχον καὶ Κυναίγειρον. This work serves Pantheleus as a starting point to compose a poem of which

Nonnus develops this motif in a catalogue of deaths in combat.[49] In the *Dionysiaca* the narrative (28.113–57) includes an introduction (113–25) where we see the amazement aroused in the fighters and he is compared to a statue of fighting Ares.[50] The central body (126–42) develops minutely how he loses both arms, his speech (143–9) and his end (150–7). He charges unarmed surprising everybody once more,[51] in order to become a model for the future Cynegirus,[52] Nonnus' wink to the learned public, who may have worked on this very topic at school. A further proof that paradoxographical elements were included in the catalogues used at school is that this motif also appears in the Encomium on Heraclius after his campaign in Egypt (**46.** PSI 3.253), in the description of a battle.[53]

To assess the impact of paradoxographical elements in the *Dionysiaca* we can analyse yet another passage. During the παραποτάμιος μαχή on the banks of the Hydaspes (22.136–23.116), the river engulfs many Indians, one of whom complains to him for his behaviour, as no other river treats his children like this (23.79–103). It seems to be the perfect excuse for a catalogue of rivers and their bonds with the surrounding peoples,[54] but it

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we know an ethopoetic passage (Heitsch 23). On the transmission of this passage, cf. D'Ippolito 2002, 227–32. He compares the poem with the declamation in pp. 238–9.

49 Nonn. *D.* 28.113–71. Cf. Vian 1990, 157–9, 320–3; Agosti 2004b, 258–63.

50 122–3 Ἄρεος ὀρθὸν ἄγαλμα· καὶ αἰχμητῆρα θανόντα / ὄμμασι θαμβαλέοισιν ἀθηήσαντο μαχηταί ("a standing image of Ares. The warriors gazed with wondering eyes at the dead spearman").

51 152 Οἱ δέ μιν ἀθρήσαντες ἐθάμβεον ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ("The enemy stared at him in amazement one and all").

52 156–7 Καὶ μόγις εἰς χθόνα πῖπτεν· ἔην δέ τις Ἄρεος εἰκών / ὀψιγόνῳ ναετῆρι φυλασσομένη Κυνεγείρῳ ("Until at last he fell to the ground, a warlike image preserving the memory of the progenitor for a Cynegiros of later days").

53 Cf. ll. 12–16 (φῶτα μὲν ὠ[κή]εντος ὑπὲρ ῥάχιν ἥμενον ἵππου / τύψεν [ἀ]λοιτῆρος ὑπὸ ῥιπῇσι σιδήρου· / ἐτμήθη δὲ φά[ρ]υγξ, κεφαλὴ δ' ὑπὲρ ἔδραμεν ὤμων, / καὶ πέσεν ἀσπαί[ρο]υσα, τὸ δ' [ἄ]πνοον ὑψόθι σῶμα / οὐ πέσεν, [ἀλλ' ἐπέμε]ιγε, καὶ οὐ μεθέ[η]κε χαλινούς: "One hero, seated on the back of his snift steed, he smote with the blows of threshing steel; the throat was severed, the head ran over his shoulders and fell quivering; the body above, bereft of breath, fell not but stayed there, and let not loose the reins". Page's translation). Cf. also *Il.* 5.584–8.

54 *D.* 23.80–1 the Araxes and the Medians; 82 the Euphrates and the Persians; 83–4 the Cydnos and the Cilicians; 85–8 the Tanais attacks the Colchians, enemies of his Sauromatans; 89–93 the Eridanos swallowed foreigner Phaethon, but brings amber to the Celts; 94–7 the Rhine only drowns the bastards of his people (also 46.54–61; it was a popular *exemplum* from the 4th c.: cf. *AP*

stresses the impression that it is far from normal. Furthermore, the anonymous Indian carries on saying (98–101) that it would be irregular for the river to pollute the ocean with his waters, dirty with blood and dead bodies. If we carry on reading book 23 we find the Ocean asking Tethys (23.280–320) to cause a cataclysm because the situation is unbearable: the catalogue of foreign (exotic) rivers prepares the ground for this menace.[55]

2.4. Mythical narrative

Mythical narration occurs in the classifications by Theon, Hermogenes and Nicolaus of Mira and mythology was present in all stages of education: from the first writing exercises where names of mythical characters were copied down,[56] through the study of the myths, Homeric ones in particular, sometimes using a question-answer scheme or a list,[57] to reach the *progymnasmata* and also proper rhetoric. The progymnasmatic variant is easily understood with the examples provided by Libanius (8.33–58 Förster), whose aim is to achieve the virtues suggested by the treatises. On the contrary, mythographers are mainly interested in the contents of what they write.[58]

Mythical narratives often occur in the comparisons inserted in encomia to raise the category of the extolled person.[59] Their presence is particularly clear in *exempla* in epithalamia,[60] but those extant on papyrus are too damaged to allow us to study the treatment of the mythical nar-

9.125, [Julian] *Letters* 191, 383d-384a [p. 247 Bidez], Claud. *in Ruf.* 2.112, Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 1.2.14.45, **54.4** Encomium on the Patrician Theagenes, lines 10–11).

55 Cf. Hopkinson – Vian 1994, 115.

56 Posibly the exercise went together with a commentary by the teacher. Cf. Cameron 2004a, 247.

57 Homeric catechisms: *P.Lit. Lond.* 160; PSI 1.18–9; *P.IFAO inv.* 320 (*Ét.Pap.* 7 [1948], 104); *P.Berol.* 16706 (W. Luppe – G. Poethke, *APF* 45 [1999], 151–65); *P.Oxy.* 34.2688 (*Quaestiones graecae* [A], Plutarch?); *P.Oxy.* 34.2689 (*Quaestiones graecae* [B], Plutarch?); *P.Oxy.* 56.3829. On mythographical lists, cf. Cameron 2004a, 238–49.

58 Cameron 2004a, 74. Very basic mythical narratives can be read in *P.Oxy.* 1.124 (story of Adrastus); Worp 2003. Most intriguing and clearly not basic is *P.Oxy.* 69.4711, elegiacs apparently from a collection of metamorphoses on fragments of a 6th c. papyrus codex.

59 Cf. Cizek 1975.

60 Cf. Men. Rh. 399.15–16 χαίρει δὲ διηγήμασιν ἐπαφροδίτοις τε καὶ ἐρωτικοῖς. Analysis in Roberts 1989b.

ration. Sometimes we are not even certain of which myth is mentioned.[61] Practice in composing mythical narratives was, in fact, a multi-purpose training, as it was profuse in *ekphraseis* when what was described evoked a story,[62] or in the ethopoea.[63]

In the *Dionysiaca* numerous mythical narratives serve different purposes as brief *exempla*, frequently presented in series or catalogues.[64] This is the case when Hymnos tries to persuade Nicaea (Nonn. *D.* 15.277–84) reminding her of different stories of herdsmen loved by divinities (Tithonos, Ganymedes and Endymio).[65] As a parallel we can study Musae. *Hero* 148–57

148 σὸν δ' ἱκέτην με κόμιζε καί, ἢν ἐθέλῃς, παρακοίτην
τόν σοι Ἔρως ἤγρευσεν ἑοῖς βελέεσσι κιχήσας,
150 ὡς θρασὺν Ἡρακλῆα θοὸς χροσόρραπις Ἑρμῆς
θητεύειν ἐκόμισσεν Ἰαρδανίῃ ποτὲ νύμφῃ.
Σοὶ δέ με Κύπρις ἔπεμψε καὶ οὐ σοφὸς ἤγαγεν Ἑρμῆς.
Παρθένος οὔ σε λέληθεν ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίης Ἀταλάντη,
ἥ ποτε Μειλανίωνος ἐρασσαμένου φύγην εὐνήν,
155 παρθενίης ἀλέγουσα· χολωσαμένης δ' Ἀφροδίτης,
τὸν πάρος οὐκ ἐπόθησεν, ἐνὶ κραδίῃ θέτο πάσῃ.
Πείθεο καὶ σὺ, φίλη, μὴ Κύπριδι μῆνιν ἐγείρῃς.

"And gather me up, your suppliant, and if you will, your husband, / whom Love hunted down for you, overtaking me with his arrows, / as Hermes the swift of the golden staff once brought the bold / Heracles to be slave of the daughter of Iardanus. / But Cypris sent me to you; shrewd Hermes

61 **7.** Hermes and the Nile (*P.Oxy.* 3.423): Hermes is mentioned; **8.** Galatea and Apollo (*P.Lit. Lond.* 38): we only know that Apollo and Galatea are mentioned as *exempla*, but not the exact myth; **31.** Heracles and Penelope (*P.Hal.* 2): Heracles was probably suggested as a model for the bridegroom, because of his courage and steadiness in his twelve works, and Penelope was suggested to the bride; **34.** Epithalamium (*P.Ryl.* 1.17): includes no *exemplum*; **51.1** Bridegroom Nile and Bride Egypt (PSI 7.845r): cf. l. 7 (Διόνυσσον ἐυσταφύλῳ ἐνὶ Νάξῳ).

62 Cf. 3.4. Heritage of Achilles' Shield: on the mythical narrative of Tylos (25.451–552) in the description of Dionysus' shield (25.380–572).

63 Cf. 5.2. Ethopoeae in papyrus.

64 They remind us of the use of mythical *lexica* and catalogues: cf. String 1966, 35 ff.; Vian 1978, 168–9. To be compared with the use in the novel: cf. Steiner 1969.

65 Cf. Gerlaud 1994, p. 219, n. to 277–86. They appear again in 48.664–70, when Aura wakes up and, angry because she has been raped, takes the law in her own hands and kills every person she meets, herdsmen in particular because she remembers the *exempla* of Tithonos, Selene and Endymion and Hymnos. A similar use of *paradeigmata* is to be found in Theocr. *Idyl.* 20.32–45.

> brought me not. / You have heard of Atalanta, the maid from Arcadia, / who on a time shunned the bed of Meilanion, who loved her, / careful of her maidenhood; but Aphrodite in anger / put him in all her heart, whom first she did not desire. / You too, beloved, yield; do not wake wrath in Cypris." (transl. from Trypanis *et al.* 1974)

In his attempt to persuade Hero to have him as her husband (παρακοίτην), Leander introduces himself enslaved by Eros' arrows (149), in the same way as Hermes brought Heracles enslaved before Omphale (151 Ἰαρδανίῃ ποτὲ νύμφῃ).[66] Lines 150–1 are a swift mythical narration introducing the main character, Heracles, and the name of the girl hidden in a learned reference. Leander moves away from the *exemplum* (152): Cypris, not Hermes, takes him before Hero, i.e., he is the prisoner of love, not of a crime. The *recusatio* proves to be superficial, since Hero is asked to obey the commandment of the divinity, as Omphale did, so as not to attract Aphrodite's wrath (157).

The second *exemplum* (153–6)[67] is that of Atalanta, who was defeated because Aphrodite, angry with Meilanion, allowed it. The story is merely hinted, nearly reduced to the bare names of the main characters, mere personifications of the rejected lover and the scornful ladylove. They are not given an entity of their own and readers are forced to reconstruct the rest.[68]

As happens in this case, in Nonnus it is more frequent to find short narratives in speeches, rather than in the narration itself.[69] We can use as an example *D.* 11.118–54, where Ate deceives Ampelos using several comparisons as arguments:[70]

66 At Zeus' orders, Hermes sells Heracles as a slave, as a punishment for stealing the tripod at Delphi or to heal the illness he has been suffering after killing Iphis. Cf. sources and reconstruction in Kost 1971, 326 (cf. Ach. Tat. 2.4.4), 341–3 (n. to 150–1: cf. Ach. Tat. 2.6.1 ff.).

67 Cf. Kost 1968, pp. 346–9, n. to 153–6; Rossi 1982. Cf. Statius, *Silvae* 1.2, where the bridegroom Stella is compared to Hipomene after racing with Atalanta (85–6) and his passion with Leander's after swimming across the Hellespont (87–90): cf. analysis in Roberts 1989b, 325.

68 Roberts 1989b, 335–6, 347.

69 Vian 1978, 165.

70 Cf. Vian 1995, 7–8. To be compared with *D.* 42.383–95, 407–15, Dionysus persuading Beroe.

118–29 Dionysus honours you less than his other companions
121–2 Maron has the chariot
124 The Pans have the zither and pipes
125–6 The Satyrs have drums
126–7 The Bassarides have panthers
130–9 Apollo and Zeus treated their favourites better
130–1 Atymnios
132–3 Abaris
134–5 Ganymedes
139–146 You should not trust horses
143 Glaucos
145–6 Bellerophon
147–4 A bull is the best choice
152–4 Europa

In most cases they are standard elements from the stock acquired during the lessons of the γραμματικός and the rhetor, and they are not developed, just mentioned as a part of the code shared by poet and reader.[71] Nevertheless, we notice that Nonnus also makes learned efforts to this respect, as he consults the scholia and other materials to rework basic myths and includes little-known local legends.[72]

Besides, mythical narratives play an important structural role in the *Dionysiaca.* They confirm once and again the significance of the κόσμος or established order, as we can see in cosmic preludes to important passages[73] and in the terrible consequences of the disruption of this order in the Typhonomachy (1–2),[74] the deluge (7),[75] the narrative of weaver Aphrodite (24.237–329),[76] the Theomachy (36.1–333) and the episode of Phaethon (38).

71 Vian 1978, 166–7, 170.
72 Roberts 1989b, 160–4; Chuvin 1991, *passim*; Chuvin 1994. Cf. also the character of Hermes, in which school and learned mythology are brought together too: Fayant 1998.
73 6.4–108, 7.7–109, 11.485–12.117, 41.155–427. Cf. analysis in Vian 1993.
74 Keydell 1961a.
75 Reshaped later in the fight between Dionysos and the Hydaspes (23.117–24.122). Cf. Hopkinson – Vian 1994, 118–24.
76 Song by Leucos (*D.* 24.237–329) ~ song by Demodocus (*Od.* 8.266–366): Nonn. 24.242 ~ *Od.* 8.266. Cf. analysis Hopkinson – Vian 1994, 155–62.

3. *Ekphrasis*

3.1. Theory on description

Theon (118.7–8) defines the ἔκφρασις as a composition exposing in detail (λόγος περιηγηματικός) and "bringing what is portrayed clearly before sight (ὑπ᾽ ὄψιν ἄγων ἐναργῶς τὸ δηλούμενον)".[77] Even though the four authors of treatises of *Progymnasmata* share a common name for the exercise, the term ἔκφρασις appears in Greek texts quite late and it only becomes frequent in the third century AD.[78] Until then, different aspects of description appeared in other terms.

The most important of them was ἐνάργεια,[79] a descriptive effect consisting of imposing on the reader/listener the image of an absent object or being. If the purpose of description is to show (δηλοῦν), the ἐνάργεια proves that it has been achieved.[80] The πάθος present in an ἐναργής text creates πάθοι in its readers or listeners, because the feelings expressed guide theirs.[81] The *ekphrasis* is thus not confined to describing what is visible, but includes the describer's opinions and emotions to serve as guide and embellish the image.[82] The *ekphrasis* is not to be simply equated to the *mimesis* of a reality, as it includes an important element of φαντασία, which enables the writer to re-create that reality, whether it is real or fictitious.

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77 The usual translation of the term is description, though it would be better rendered by saying that it is the verbal (either oral or written) expression (φράσις) from (ἐκ) a visual image. Cf. also Hermog. *Prog.* 22.6–7; Aphth. 36.22–3; Nic. 68.8–9. Among Latin treatises, cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4.51. Quintilian does not consider ἔκφρασις an exercise (it does not appear in 1.9 on *dicendi primordia*, nor in 2.4 on the exercises with the rhetor). Hermogenes mentions (23.15–19) that some authors did not consider it an exercise on the ground that it was already included in other exercises.

78 Cf. Zanker 1981.

79 Cf. Zanker 1981, 305 ff.; Galland-Hallyn 1993; Meijering 1987, 29–52; Webb 1997b. Latin terms are *demonstratio*, *euidentia*, *illustratio* or *repraesentatio.* Cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4.68; Cic. *De or.* 3.53.202 and *Or.* 139; Quint. 8.3.

80 Cf. Meijering 1987, 29–30: more frequent than ἐνάργεια is ἐναργῶς + verb of 'showing' + participial construction. About the importance of the visual as a reliable way of influencing the receiver's δόξα, *ibid.* 14 ff. On *enargeia* in Lysias, cf. DH *Lys.*7.1–2 (1.14.17 Us.–Rad.).

81 Webb 1999a, 13.

82 Cf. Becker 1995, 27–31.

We achieve ἐνάργεια basically through a comprehensive description,[83] including concomitant circumstances (παρακολουθοῦντα, παρεπόμενα, *accidentia*), bringing to presence and reviving what is shown (μετάστασις, *translatio temporum*, the base of ψυχαγωγία).[84] The senses can be appealed to through the imitation of sounds (κακοφωνία) and the use of adjectives contributing visual details. The writer can make past things become present by using the present tense, demonstratives, introducing characters into direct speech or appealing to the audience.

On the classification offered by the manuals:

Theon (118.9–119.5)	Hermogenes (22.9–18)	Aphthonius (37.1–20)	Nicolaus (68.12–17)
ἔ. προσώπων	ἔ. προσώπων	ἁπλαί – πρόσωπα	πρόσωπα
ἔ. πραγμάτων	ἔ. πραγμάτων	πράγματα	πράγματα
	ἔ. καιρῶν		
ἔ. τόπων	ἔ. τόπων	τόπους	τόπους
ἔ. χρόνων	ἔ. χρόνων	καιρούς	χρόνους
ἔ. τρόπων			
		ἄλογα ζῷα	
		φύτα	
			πανηγύρεις
μικτὴ ἔ.	μικτὴ ἔ. καὶ πολλῶν ἑτέρων	συνεζευγμέναι	

The ἔκφρασις προσώπων or description of characters, of πράγματα ('deeds, facts, events, actions'), of τόποι (places) and of times (χρόνοι / καιροί) is shared by the four handbooks. Only Theon (118.22–119.2) includes a description of manners (ἔκφρασις τρόπων) in his classification. Hermogenes differentiates καιροί ('instances', such as war and peace) from descriptions of πράγματα and definite periods of time (e. g. the seasons). Aphthonius adds descriptions of animals (ἄλογα ζῷα) and plants (φύτα) and Nicolaus of festivals (πανηγύρεις). The combination of at least two of these types receives different names: μικτὴ ἔκφρασις, ἔκφρασις συνεζευγμένη.

Theon and Hermogenes propose two types of patterns for the exercise: a chronological one for the descriptions of actions[85] and another, based on rhetorical sources of argumentation (drawing on the narration itself, the noble, the useful and the pleasant in Theon; in Hermogenes, drawing on the narration itself, on the beautiful, the useful and the unex-

83 The notion of comprehensiveness is also included in the term: cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἐκφράζω I "tell over, recount"; Webb 1999a, 13.

84 On ψυχαγωγία, cf. Meijering 1981, 6–12.

85 Theon 119.16–24; Hermog. *Prog.* 22.19–23.6.

pected).[86] Aphthonius (37.9–14) only says that a logical order should be followed. Nicolaus (69.12–17) concludes that by going through the different parts in a logical way we achieve a lively discourse.

The virtues of description are clarity (σαφήνεια) and vividness (ἐνάργεια).[87] The authors of treatises add several other general considerations: the writer should confine himself to the subject as far as contents and style are concerned,[88] a varied style should be worked at[89] and unnecessary redundance and length shoud be avoided.[90]

According to Nicolaus, descriptions are useful in speeches (69.18–70.6), in the *narratio*, because its ἐνάργεια helps its listeners to visualise what is recounted. Besides, they can be drawn on in the three kinds of rhetoric (70.7–15): in deliberative orations description is used to be more persuasive, in judicial speeches to amplify and in panegyrical discourse to please the audience. It usually appears as a part, but nothing prevents it from becoming a whole hypothesis (70.16–19).

Perhaps the most important characteristic in late antique art and literature is that, contrary to classical times, it aims to go beyond nature and the real world and to improve it.[91] The referential function is reduced and the significant overpowers the signified,[92] implying an exhibition of the form at the expense of the contents. Thus, a kind of construction that Marrou compared to a pearl necklace became the norm: each pearl is self-contained and united to the others by an almost invisible thread.[93] The writer concentrates on completing everything up to the last detail aiming at a perfection that goes even beyond the imaginable. As a consequence the text becomes fragmentary and the composition more analytical: the episodes are related to each other not through logical links, but through conceptual ones, by juxtaposition and contrast, according to the poetics of discontinuity.[94] This urge to improve reality reaches all semantic units, thus explaining the abundance of adjectives and the care in the

86 Theon 119.24–30; Hermog. *Prog.* 23.6–8.
87 Theon 119.31–2; Hermog. *Prog.* 23.9–11. Cf. Becker 1995, p. 25, n. 45.
88 Theon 119.31–120.2; Hermog. *Prog.* 23.11–14; Aphth. 38.2; Nic. 70.20–2.
89 Hermog. *Prog.* 37.21–38.1; Nic. *Prog.* 70.20.
90 Theon 119.33. Cf. also [DH] *Rh.* 10.17.
91 Roberts 1989a, 58; James 2003, 67.
92 Roberts 1989a, 72.
93 Marrou 1958, 25.
94 Roberts 1989a, 56–7, 112; Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, 234, talks of a "*dissociated* type of composition".

choice of semantically charged words:[95] nothing should be left to chance, the aim is to comprise everything, no matter how. This exhaustiveness, which could also be called *horror vacui*,[96] is responsible for the sliding of simple narration towards description and for the importance of miniature.[97]

As the aim is to go beyond reality, the key point to make everything visible is ἐνάργεια. Its centrality triggers the sensation that narration has disappeared drowned by description: we could say that the invasion of ἐνάργεια, being the main characteristic of ἔκφρασις, seems to be translated into an ekphrastic invasion.[98] A different matter is if this increase of ἐνάργεια is related to the practice of ἔκφρασις at school. It is possible that the drilling on independent *ekphraseis* at school had some influence on the proliferation of this type of construction in literature from the beginning of the Empire onwards.[99] It could also have an effect on the way the descriptive element is integrated in discourses of all kinds[100] and in the tendency to fragment the text, due to the view of each exercise as an independent unity.[101] And yet we cannot give in to rhetorical enthusiasm and reduce the role of literary tradition, as between it and rhetoric there is a series of symmetrical, analogical and complementary interrelations very difficult to discern.[102]

To visuality we should add "a pronounced taste for effects of repetition and variation",[103] because only by having a regular structure we can achieve *variatio*.[104] Indeed, one of the most important aesthetic features at this time is variation (ποικιλία) in regularity:[105] enumeration, synonymy, antithesis and parallelism are basic concepts and affect all levels of expression, from the relationships between words to the relationships between episodes.

95 Wifstrand 1933, 82–4.
96 Roberts 1989a, 84.
97 Fontaine 1977, 440–5, 451; Elsner 2004, 293 ff.
98 Roberts 1988, 194; Gualandri 1994, 312 (on some cases of "sottomissione di un' intera struttura compositiva ad un linguaggio sostanzialmente visivo"). About the centrality of *ekphrasis*, cf. Gualandri 1994, 324–5; Agosti 2006b, 355.
99 Webb 1997a, 346; Webb 1999a, 14; Cameron 1970b, 271–2.
100 Webb 1997a, 361–2; Gualandri 1994, 337.
101 Roberts 1989a, 58.
102 Roberts 1989a, 24. We should not forget literary conventions and the milieu where *ekphraseis* are created, cf. Bartsch 1989, 6; Gualandri 1994, 305.
103 Roberts 1989a, xi.
104 Roberts 1989a, 13.
105 Roberts 1989a, 36–7. On *variatio*, *ibid.* 44–5. Cf. Agosti 2006b, 355.

The descriptions of crowds and their plastic counterparts are a clear example of this trend. The crowd is divided using the technique of the μερισμός (lat. *distributio*):[106] the whole is presented as an all-inclusive summary of its elements (crowd = men, women and children) in juxtaposition, united by correlative particles such as μέν… δέ.[107] All the groups share some characteristics, which suggests uniformity, but, when describing each of them, differences are mentioned, either physical or behavioural, a presentation very much related to the one in plastic arts from tetrarchical times onwards.[108] Thus, at least in part, the search for repetition and variation (ποικιλία), is derived from the weight of ἔκφρασις in composition.[109]

Another consequence of the importance of the ἔκφρασις is the transformation of what is shown not only in what we see looking through a window, but further in the display of what happens on a stage:[110] that is why poetical works seem to become presentations of a series of scenes.[111] We could say that the ἔκφρασις and literary pieces as a whole become entertainment, incorporated into the performances which regulated communication in the late Empire.[112] The characters on stage know that they are playing a role, their performances become ritualised and each movement is marked, giving an impression of dramatic immobility.[113] It is not that the scene is 'frozen', but that the attention is focused on the climax.[114] The narration through scenes can be also compared with the

106 Cf. DH. *Isoc.* 12.4 ff., *Is.* 3.17 ff.; *Rhet. Her.* 4.35.47, 4.8.12.15 ff. It produces a sensation of abundance, quickness and clarity: cf. Hermog. 290.21–293.12, 303.4, 304.22 and 316–17. On the μερισμός as a resource to achieve clarity, 238.22. Cf. Roberts 1989a, 41.

107 Cf. Patillon 1988, 171.

108 Roberts 1989a, 69, 84–5.

109 Roberts 1989a, 78. Cf. his comparative analysis with the compositive techniques in plastic arts (mosaics, reliefs in stone, ivory and wood) and contemporary literature, *ibid.* pp. 76 ff.

110 Warren Bonfante 1964, 420–4; Gualandri 1994, 327.

111 Cameron 1970b, 271 ff.; Gualandri 1994, 315.

112 MacCormack 1981, 8–9 quotes Gibbon's phrase "splendid theatre". Ceremonies, as communicative performances, and spectacles in the circus are the two sides of a coin: life is a theatre. Cf. Cameron 1976, 230–71.

113 MacMullen 1964, 440.

114 Woodford 2003 differentiates three moments in the presentation of mythical images: the *climax* (p. 28), immediately previous or later moment (p. 33) or synoptic view (p. 39).

techniques used in mosaics to depict sequenced narratives in a set space lacking any measure of time.[115]

3.2. The overall presence of the *ekphrasis*

I shall begin with Triphiodorus, since he shows a clear affinity with the view I have presented. His *Sack of Troy* is a sequence of scenes or tableaux and without implying that he had real pieces of art in mind for some of them we can actually find some parallels in the plastic arts.[116]

After the introduction (6–56), the construction of the horse (57–107) is not part of the central scenes in the poem and still seems to be introduced as a "voice-over". The first scenery is the one of the assembly held by the Achaean leaders (110), close to Agamemnon's ship (108), far away from the turmoil of the army (109). This is the real beginning of the narrative, and the Achaean camp the setting where it takes place, always having the already finished horse in the background. When the assembly is over some leaders hide in the horse (152b-203), while the rest of the army sets fire to the camp and goes aboard the ships, leaving Sinon behind (204–34).

The following morning the Trojans perceive smoke coming from the Achaean camp as a witness of the flight of their enemies[117] and there they all go[118] to surround the horse (248 ἀμφιχυθέντες), discuss what to do with it (250–7) and to be deceived by Sinon (258–305a). These are narrative passages, including some clearly descriptive lines,[119] but the impression remains that, instead of narrating the progress of the plot, Triphiodorus is

115 Cf. Roberts 1989a, 70 ff.; Agosti 2006b, 367–8.

116 To see the difference with a real description of a work of art, the *Sack of Troy* can be compared to the description of the *Iliupersis* by Polygnotos in Pausanias 10.25–6.

117 Triph. 235–7. Cf. already 230–1.

118 Triph. 238–42 Αὐτίκα δ' ἐξέθορον πυλέων πετάσαντες ὀρχῆας / πεζοί θ' ἱππῆες τε καὶ ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο / … / Οἱ δὲ θοοὺς οὐρῆας ὑποζεύξαντες ἀπήναις / ἐκ πόλιος κατέβαινον ἅμα Πριάμῳ βασιλῆι / ἄλλοι δημογέροντες ("Straightway they flung open the bars of the gates and rushed forth, foot and horse, and poured into the plain… And yoking swift mules to wagons there came down from the city with King Priam the other elders of the people". Transl. from Mair 1928). The technique of the μερισμός is therefore used.

119 Triph. 258–61, description of bleeding Sinon appearing before the Trojans, complementary to 227–9; something similar happens with Neoptolemos in ll. 51–4 and 152–8.

describing scenes. Similarly Philostratus expands the stories depicted in paintings and explores the motivations and feelings of those appearing in them,[120] adding occasional comments.[121]

What follows is a description of the transportation of the Wooden Horse to Troy, a successful theme in plastic arts. It became especially popular from the first century AD, as shown by the *Tabula Iliaca (Capitolina)*, two Pompeian frescoes, a stone sarcophagus now in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford[122] and other pieces, all of which share the subject of the festive procession with the horse sometimes decorated and accompanied with music. Triphiodorus insists on the sounds of this πομπή: the Trojans play instruments and sing,[123] without paying attention to the noisy omens trying to warn them;[124] finally the Trojans' shouts, divided by μερι-

120 Triph. 240 (διζόμενοι μή πού τις ἔην δόλος ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν: "seeking whether this were some fresh guile of the Danaans"), 243–5 (ἐλαφρότατοι δ' ἐγένοντο / θαλπόμενοι περὶ παισίν, ὅσους λίπε φοίνιος Ἄρης, / ὁσσόμενοι καὶ γῆρας ἐλεύθερον: "and most light of heart were they, being comforted for their children whom bloody Ares had spared, and boding of an old age of freedom"), 248 (θαύμασαν).

121 Triph. 245–6 (οὐ μὲν ἔμελλον / γηθήσειν ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἤθελε βουλή: "but not long were they to rejoice, since the counsel of Zeus willed it so").

122 Sparkes 1971, 65–7. The Milan *Iliad* (*Ambrosiana* Cod. F. 205 *inf.*), a manuscript from the 5th or 6th c., presents a splendid series of miniatures, including some on battles, which probably derive from models from earlier centuries. Cf. Weitzmann 1959, 31–62. Cf. also the Vatican Virgil: Stevenson 1983.

123 Triph. 308–9 (οἱ δὲ πάροιθεν / αὐλοὶ καὶ φόρμιγγες ὁμὴν ἐλίγαινον ἀοιδήν: "and before it flutes and lyres made shrill minstrelsy together"), 342 (μολπῇ τ' ὀρχηθμῷ τε περὶ βρέτας εἱλίσσοντο: "circled about the image with song and dance").

124 Triph. 318–27 Γαῖα δὲ χαλκείοισιν ἐρεικομένη περὶ κύκλοις / δεινὸν ὑπεβρυχᾶτο, σιδήρειοι δὲ δι' αὐτῶν / τριβόμενοι τρηχεῖαν ἀνέστενον ἄξονες ἠχήν· / τετρίγει δὲ κάλων ξυνοχὴ καὶ πᾶσα ταθεῖσα / λιγνὺν αἰθαλόεσσαν ἕλιξ ἀνεκήκιε σειρή· / πολλὴ δ' ἐλκόντων ἐνοπὴ καὶ κόμπος ὀρώρει· / ἔβρεμε Νυμφαίῃσιν ἅμα δρυσὶ δάσκιος Ἴδη, / ἴαχε καὶ Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ μυκώμενον ὕδωρ, / καὶ στόμα κεκλήγει Σιμοείσιον· οὐρανίη δὲ / ἐκ Διὸς ἐλκόμενον πόλεμον μαντεύετο σάλπιγξ ("The earth torn about the brazen wheels moaned terribly, and the axles of iron, grinding in them, groaned with harsh noise. The joining of knit ropes creaked and all the taut coiling chain sent up a fiery smoke. And as they haled, loud rose the din and the vaunting. Groaned shady Ida together with her nymph-haunted oaks: the eddying waters of the river Xanthus shrieked, and the mouth of Simois rang aloud: and in the heaven the trumpet of Zeus prophesied of the war they drew").

σμός,[125] which though exultant are compared to the shouts of the cranes, ill-omened birds because they are typical of winter (353).

Triphiodorus combines several interpretations of the march of the horse, presenting them in such a way that they do not seem to be discordant. At the beginning, as it is equipped with wheels, it glides smoothly (305–8). Then he presents it slowed down by the elements, as if they were trying to prevent the Trojans getting to Troy (328–9). Finally, an unusual image is added: the horse is advancing nearly on its own, thanks to Athena's impulse (330–4). It is as if when faced with the motif, three possible commentaries had occurred to him and instead of discarding two he had fused them all.

On the arrival of the horse at Troy we enter a new scene, where the confrontation of Cassandra and Priam takes place (358–443). Cassandra's entrance on stage involves a description of her as a bacchant in a trance (358–75): she is insane, but she is the only one not who does not have a confused view of reality. A dramatic opposition unfolds between those who think themselves sane, but are in fact confused because they desire peace,[126] and Cassandra, who they think mad, but who is capable of describing to them Troy's last night (379–409), a prefiguration of the nyktomachy (506–663).

Aphrodite's last attempt to save the city using Helen follows next (454–98), surrounded in a *Ringkomposition* by the description of the partying city (444–53) and the city in rest (498–505).[127] What then happens is

125 Triph. 350–1 (Ἀνδρομέῃ δὲ βοῇ συνεβάλλετο θῆλυς ἰωή, / καὶ παίδων ἀλαλητὸς ἐμίσγετο γήραος ἠχῇ: "With the shouting of men was mingled the cry of women, the huzza of boys was joined with the voice of age"), 356–7 (ὣς οἵ γε κλαγγῇ τε δι' ἄστεος ἠδὲ κυδοιμῷ / ἦγον ἐς ἀκρόπολιν βεβαρημένον ἔνδοθεν ἵππον: "Even so, with crying and with tumult they led to the acropolis the horse laden within").

126 Cf. Triph. 410–11 (Cassandra says: Ἀλλ' ἤδη φράζεσθε – τὰ δὲ γνώσεσθε παθόντες – / καὶ νεφέλην ἀπόθεσθε, φίλοι, βλαψίφρονος ἄτης: "But now take ye heed – in suffering shall ye learn the truth of my words – and put away, my friends, the cloud of infatuate folly"), 425–6 (Priamus answers: ὁππότε πᾶσιν ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἀνῆψεν / ἡμῖν Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, ἐκέδασσε δὲ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν: "When Zeus, the son of Cronus, hath lighted for us all the day of freedom and scattered the ships of the Achaeans"), 436–8 (ἡμῖν δὲ χοροὶ θαλίαι τε μέλονται· / οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τροίης ὑπὸ τείχεσι δεῖμα λέλειπται, / οὐδ' ἔτι μαντιπόλοιο τεῆς κεχρήμεθα φωνῆς: "Go to! But our care is dance and mirth. For no longer is terror left under the walls of Troy, and no longer have we need of thy prophetic voice").

127 To be compared with AR 3.744–51.

treated in an extensive description of the capture of Troy, which will be analysed in 3.5. "Battle descriptions".

Musaeus' *Hero and Leander* and Colluthus' *Abduction of Helen* are, like the *Sack of Troy*, short epic poems which also take the composition in scenes as their starting point, with the added difficulty that in this case there are fewer temporal and logical *nexi. Hero and Leander* begins with two clear descriptions. Hero is portrayed (28–41) as virtuous, in opposition to common women, and beautiful, which calls the corresponding curse upon her. The subsequent description of the festival of Aphrodite (42 Κυπριδίη πανδήμιος… ἑορτή), is to be expected if we remember that this was the only type of *ekphrasis* mentioned by Nicolaus and not in the other treatises, which proves that it only became common in later times.[128]

The plot of the story is built through a systematic description of the characters' reactions to new events, speeches in particular:

– Hero's entrance to the festival (55–68), dealt with as a description of her many graces, is complemented by the surprised reaction of the men (73 τις ἐν ἠιθέοισιν ἐθαύμασε), who desire her,[129] a prelude of what happens to Leander when he sees her (86–97).[130] While the rest retreat wounded by her beauty, Leander moves ahead and establishes visual and gestural contact with her.[131] She responds to him and her reaction is also described (103–8).
– In their meeting at a late hour, Hero pretends a serious reaction (115–16, 120–8), but Leander discerns the hidden reality of her desire (117, 129–30).

128 Nic. 68.16–17. On descriptions of festivals in the school of Gaza, closely linked with Musaeus, cf. Litsas 1982.

129 Musae. *Hero* 69–70. Next, one of the youngsters delivers a speech (74–83) renouncing everything except sharing Hero's bed, being a god in Olympus included (80), in the same way as in Nonn. *D.* 10.292–320 Bacchus renounced being a god provided he could obtain Ampelos (308).

130 Musae. 96 (εἶλε δὲ μιν τότε θάμβος, ἀναιδείην, τρόμος, αἰδώς: "Then awe, shamelessness, tremor, shame seized him") is especially meaningful.

131 Musae. 84–5 (ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος / ἕλκος ὑποκλέπτων ἐπεμήνατο κάλλεϊ κούρης: "and others from every side, / Hiding the wound, raged maddened by the girl's beauty"), to be confronted to 100–2 (ἠρέμα ποσσὶν ἔβαινε, καὶ ἀντίος ἵστατο κούρης· / λοξὰ δ' ὀπιπεύων δολερὰς ἐλέλιζεν ὀπωπὰς / νεύμασιν ἀφθόγγοισι παραπλάζων φρένα κούρης: "Quietly he stepped forward and stood facing the girl; / and peering sidelong, he darted quivering, conspiring glances, / With voiceless gestures turning astray the heart of the girl").

– After his speech (129–59), Hero's reaction is more daring and is again interpreted as the sign of acceptation appropriate for all maids.[132]
– Leander answers Hero's speech (174–95) thinking how to win her over (196–201) and suggests how to avoid the obstacles to their union (203–20): he will swim across the channel and she will guide him from her tower with a lighted lamp.
– When Hero lights the lamp (239 Ἠρὼ λύχνον ἔφαινεν), Leander's reaction is described in full detail, including a speech (240–50).
– The poem concludes with Hero's desperate reactions, first to Leander's delay and later to finding his corpse (332–43).

We are also given a description of the wedding night (272–83) and of the storm during which Leander drowns (293–9, 309–30).

In the *Abduction of Helen* one scene follows another with a certain haste.[133] Due to the lack of plasticity characteristic of this poem, the scenes seem to hang in the air as though lacking the finishing details, though some of them offer a broader vision: the image of furious Eris (41–59), sitting on her throne, contriving her revenge; Paris' sea voyage (200–30) and the description of Sparta (236–48); Helen captivated by Paris' beauty (249–78); reception of Paris and Helen in Troy (391–4).

The image of Eris (41–59) creates a sensation similar to the one we get in reading Triphiodorus: it seems to be the commentary of an image, here of the motionless goddess on her throne, pondering over possible punishments which the poet infers from her upset gesture.[134] In 200–30 and 236–48 we find the same precepts used by Aphthonius in his example of the ἔκφρασις, the acropolis of Alexandria (38.3–41.11). To help the reader visualising what is described there should be constant spatial indications to guide him, specifically spatial marks ('on this side… on that side', 'when coming in… when coming out')[135] and relating each element to the next one.[136] Both types are combined in Colluthus' descriptions, es-

132 Musae. 164–5 (πειθοῦς γὰρ τάδε πάντα προάγγελα, παρθενικῆς δὲ / πειθομένης ποτὶ λέκτρον ὑπόσχεσίς ἐστι σιωπή: "For these are all harbingers of compliance, and a girl's / silence, when she is won, is her promise to the couch of love"). Cf. already 128–32.

133 Schönberger 1993, 15–16.

134 To be compared with the depiction of Hera in Dionysus' shield in Nonn. *D.* 25.445–50.

135 Aphth. 38.17–21, 39.13, 41.5–7. Description is understood as a λόγος περιηγηματικός: cf. Webb 1999b, 66–8.

136 Aphth. 39.13–40.1.

pecially the first one.[137] Besides, the argumentation coming from the narration itself (Hermog. *Prog*. 23.7 ἀφορμὴ ἐκ τῆς διηγήσεως) is used in both of them, in the first for Phyllis (213–18), in the second for Hyacinthus (244–8).

The ἔκφρασις also plays an important role in the construction of longer poems such as the *Dionysiaca.* As we have seen in Chapter 2, ἐνάργεια is given priority: the recurrence of the senses during the poem in constant reflections about what is seen, heard, smelled, tasted and touched aims to capture and enfold the reader's attention. He includes as well some typically ekphrastic scenes, such as the description of the shield of Dionysus (bk. 25) and the descriptions of battles, which will be dealt with later on (cf. 3.4 and 3.5).

These are not the only materialisations of this phenomenon: Nonnus usually works in episodes made up of a series of tableaux. Each compositional unit is produced by the combination of several motifs, as happened in the Homeric poems, though his technique is late antique. Motifs, scenes and episodes are brought together to produce different patterns with a method comparable to that of Baroque *contrappunto.* The introductions in the Belles Lettres edition of the *Dionysiaca* reflect on this characteristic[138] and the notes *ad loc.* there and in the Italian edition refer to the combination of motifs. I refer to them for an exhaustive study and will confine myself to a brief examination of book 18.

Book 18 deals with arrival of Dionysus to Assyria and his encounter with king Staphylos. As Gerbeau shows,[139] during the 368 lines two days pass, the first one covers the encounter of the god and the king and the feasting in the palace of the latter and Bacchus devotes the second one to civilise Assyria. On his coming for the night to the palace he discovers that the king has died in his absence.

1–4	Introduction: Fame proclaims the coming of Dionysus to Assyria
5–41	Tableau 1: Encounter of Staphylos and Dionysus
42–61	Narrative 1: Dionysus and his entourage travel to Staphylos' palace, guided by Botrys

137 Collut. 210–23, 224–5. Cf. also 206–9 where a waterspout is described: cf. Giangrande 1975.

138 Cf. Vian 1976, 34, 74–5. Episodic composition in the *Dionysiaca* had already been studied by D'Ippolito 1964, where the term used is *epyllion.*

139 Gerbeau 1992, 4–5, 42–3.

62–92	Tableau 2: While Botrys prepares the banquet, the king shows Dionysus his palace
93–9a	Narrative 2: Staphylos orders to prepare the banquet
99b-153	Tableau 3: Banquet, including music (99b-106), drunkeness (107–139), dancing (140–153)
154–65	Narrative 3: End of the day and night
166–95	Tableau 4: Dionysus wakes up and remembers the dream he has had during the night
196–209	Narrative 4: Dionysus and his followers prepare for the day
210–305	Tableau 5: Staphylos presents the god with farewell gifts and encourages him
306–33	Narrative 5: Dionysus sends Pherespondos with a message to Deriades and sets out for the day; in the meantime Staphylos dies and is mourned in his palace
334–68	Conclusion: Dionysus comes back and discovers the death of the king.

This balance between narrative movement and recreation of each scene is characteristic of the *Dionysiaca*.

3.3. Self-standing descriptions

What has been discussed so far is the structural use of the ἔκφρασις, but it could become a literary game, not only in prose like the *Eikones* of both Philostrati and Callistratus, but also in verse. Just having a look at the index in Manakidou's book on Hellenistic descriptions of works of art,[140] we notice how popular they were. The analysis of instances such as the epigrams on Miron's *Cow* (*AP* 9.713–44, 793–8), none of which describes the physical statue, shows that they were playful by nature and explorer of the visual.

Nevertheless, the long encomiastic ἐκφράσεις of *AP* 1.10 (the St Polyeuktos Epigram),[141] Christodorus of Coptos, Paul the Silentiary and Procopius of Gaza[142] show a completely different aesthetics. It was a widely spread custom that a Maecenas would advertise his or her work with an encomiastic *ekphrasis* not only in Constantinople, but also in the provinces, where the buildings would not be so grand or numerous.[143]

140 Manakidou 1993, 264–9.

141 Cf. Whitby 2006, quoting similar poems in pp. 164–5.

142 Cf. Viljamaa 1968, 15–7, 60–3.

143 *Ekphrasis* is in these cases a real *logos*, a speech, though they are now recovered in written form: cf. Renaut 2005.

On the other hand, *ekphraseis* continued to be composed with no other purpose than stylistic ἡδονή. An instance of this is *AP* 9.363, attributed to Meleager by the *Anthology*, though we would do more justice to him ascribing it to a 'poet of the καί style', as this word appears eleven times in the 23 hexameters.[144] It is a description of the spring[145] made up of juxtaposing common places in self-standing lines. *AP* 9.363 is not a high quality poem and its subject matter is not unique either, as Nonnus includes a description of the Horae in *D.* 11.485b-519,[146] which inspired John of Gaza to compose the description of these figures in his Ἔκφρασις τοῦ κοσμικοῦ πίνακος (2.259–312).[147] The seasons are also mentioned as an example of description in the four treatises of *progymnasmata*,[148] so it is highly possible that their popularity is due to the influence of the school. Their allegories also became frequent in late antique decorations of mosaics and sarcophagi.[149]

An ἔκφρασις similar to this is **54.3** 'Song of the day', ascribed to Pamprepius of Panopolis, which has attracted some discussion about the season described, either spring or autumn depending on meteorological and astronomical elements (cf. bibliography in **54.**). Also, **46.** Encomium on Heraclius after his campaign in Egypt (PSI 3.253) includes a description of the optical delusion suffered by the walking traveller and the horseman alike with distances in the mountains (1 *verso*): mountains keep far away from them when they are approaching and chase them when they are leaving. This motif has no parallels in ancient literature, but the strong presence of nature in late hexametric poetry usually develops previous topics (see pp. 245–6).

3.4. The heritage of Achilles' shield

The description of Achilles' shield in *Iliad* 18 started a tradition of *ekphraseis* of work of art in subsequent epic poems. Their recurrence shows the evolution of the genre and allows us to analyse their interaction with different theoretical approaches. We also wonder if it is possible (and

144 For a more fruitful application of this style, cf. Nonn. *D.* 15.220–55, analysed in Gerlaud 1994, 66.

145 Cf. line 2 πορφυρέη μείδησε φερανθέος εἴαρος ὥρη.

146 Cf. Vian 1995, p. 26, n. 3.

147 Cf. Friedländer 1912b, 161–3, 209–12.

148 Theon 118.20–1; Herm. *Prog.* 22.14–15; Aphth. 37.6–7; Nic. 68.15.

149 Maguire 1999, 244–5; T. Heinze, *s.v.* "Horae", *BNP* 6 (2005), 482–3.

reasonable) to distinguish literary tradition and the heritage of compositional patterns learned at school.

In the *Sack of Troy* Triphiodorus dedicates a description to the construction of the Trojan Horse (ll. 57–107).[150] The horse appears without prior notice in the poem[151] after Helenus' prophecies (46–8) and the preparations for the end of the war (49–56). We are not told who had the idea, how the stratagem was decided, or the purpose of its construction, only that Epeius, the builder, who seems to work alone, follows Athena's orders (57–8). After the description, with no intermediate explanation, a new episode begins (108–52). Odysseus opens the council exhorting the Achaeans to be courageous in the double strategy with the βασιλεῖς in the horse and the army in Tenedos, though it would have been more logical to have a previous meeting where the plan was proposed and decided (ὕστερον πρότερον?). The horse plays an important role and when it is finished (539), it disappears noiselessly. Thus it is a clear example of the famous late antique pearl necklace: the description would be utterly meaningful if it were self-standing and the scenes are only very loosely linked.

The ἔκφρασις begins with a reference to the builders and the materials the horse is made of, goes on with the construction itself and concludes with a view of the resulting work and the situation in the Achaean camp. Triphiodorus uses chronological order, as suggested by Theon for descriptions of mode:[152]

150 To be compared with the treatment in QS 12.8–20 (Calchas encourages the Achaeans to capture Troy using a strategy to delude the Trojans), 25–45 (Odysseus' plan to build the horse), 104–21 (Athena instructs Epeius in a dream and he informs his comrades), 122–56 (wood cutting and construction of the horse). Contrary to Quintus (12.122 ff.), who describes human actions, Triphiodorus insists on the object, which becomes gradually independent as the description advances. Epeius and Athena, responsible for the process, appear directly only in l. 57 (βουλῇσι θεῆς ὑποεργὸς Ἐπειός) and then the subject is elided.

151 Nevertheless, it was announced in the prologue (l. 2) and it is implicitly linked with the previous elements of the catalogue: it would be, after Neoptolemus' arrival and the theft of the Palladion (49–56), the Achaeans' last preparation for winning the war.

152 Cf. QS 12.138–45. The phases of the construction are different, though both authors logically agree in specifying certain parts of the animal's anatomy. Quintus confines himself to the horse and only later does he deal with the additions (331 door, 333 scale, 424 wheels). Cf. Campbell 1981, 47.

Introduction (57–61)
- The builders: Athena and Epeius (57–8)
- Material used in the construction (59–61)

Construction (62–102)
- Carcass: flanks (62), abdomen (63–4), chest and neck (65)
- Head: mane (66) and its crest (68), eyes (69–72), jaws and teeth (73–4), orifices in the mouth (75–7), ears (78–9)
- Crest of the carcass (80–1): loin, spine, croup, hips
- Limbs: tail (82–3), legs (84–6), hoofs (87–9)
- Additions: door and ladder on the side (90–4), bridle and bit (95–9), wheels (100–1)

Conclusion (102–7)
- Compilation and general impression of the figure (102–5)
- Wall surrounding the statue (106–7)

The argumentation is concentrated in the first and last lines and follows the rhetors' rules too. At the beginning the sources for the arguments are the narration itself, i. e., the story described (ἀφορμὴ λόγων ἐκ τοῦ διηγήσεως): in this case it is the story of Paris' embassy to Menelaus' palace, where he abducts Helen (59–61). The same argument is used in the ἔκφρασις, though directed to the future, when talking of the purpose of the orifices in the mouth (76–7), of the door and the ladder (91–4) and of the wheels (101–2). There are also references to the horse as "the statue enemy of Troy" (58 Τροίης ἐχθρὸν ἄγαλμα), "the warlike horse" (99 μενέδιον ἵππον) and "the notorious trap" (107 δόλον ἀνάπυστον). Lines 103–6, on the other hand, take as starting points beauty (ἀφορμὴ λόγων ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ) and pleasure (ἀ. λ. ἐκ τοῦ ἡδέος). The argument of surprise (ἀ. λ. ἐκ τοῦ παράδοξου) occurs, outside the description, in the reactions of the Trojans.[153]

Triphiodorus' horse is heir to Homeric tradition,[154] but this heritage is controlled by his critical view of the *epos*, proper of a γραμματικός. This critical view impels him to combine the forms of the grand *epos* (e. g. a long ἔκφρασις) with the aesthetics of the epyllion.[155] The same happens with the form and arguments in the passage of the horse: the style is Homeric, but it follows the order and arguments suggested by the rhetors. The explanation for this is not that he knew their treatises (impossible in

153 Ll. 248 (the Trojans surround the image θαυμάσαν), 288 (Priam defines the horse as θαῦμα).

154 Among other reasons because Triph. 55–66 ~ *Od.* 5.241–62 (Odysseus builds the raft).

155 Dubielzig 1996, 28, 34.

the case of those later than him), but that he was in contact with the traditions to which they belong.

Nonnus also includes a long description similar to, and at the same time completely different from, that of Achilles' shield: he describes Dionysus' shield (*D.* 25.380–567).[156] The ἔκφρασις fits into the second part of book 25, a full break in the narrative thread. The book begins in an Alexandrian mood with a second proem (1–30), followed by the σύγκρισις of Dionysus with Perseus, Minos and Heracles (31–252). Then, after a *recusatio* of the war of Troy (253–70), Attis comes on stage and gives Dionysus the shield on behalf of Rhea and Hephestus (326–38), though he does not need it to confront the Indians, as their defeat is only delayed by Hera's jealousy (cf. 25.340–50). After the description no mention is made to the shield in the rest of the poem, which could lead us to think that it is superfluous in the narrative and that it was included as a formal courtesy to father Homer.[157]

In fact, its presence in a book which serves as a 'hinge' leads us to the suspicion that it is a narrative milestone,[158] capable of sending us to what has been previously told and to what will be told later on[159] and that it can even be a synecdoche of the literary work.[160] The key to understanding its inclusion may be l. 414 (χαριζόμενος δὲ Λυαίῳ: "to please Lyaios"), where

156 It is an annular construction: 380–5 and 563–7 build on the *topos* of the onlookers' admiration (385–6 Ὀλύμπια θαύματα τέχνης, / θαύματα μαρμαίροντα; 565 ἦν ὁρόωντες ἐθάμβεον ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ) and contain the proper description (386–562) beginning in the middle of the shield (386–412) and later reproducing four scenes (413–28 foundation of Thebes, 429–50 Ganymedes, 451–552 Tylos, 553–62 birth and salvation of Zeus). To be compared with QS 5.1–101, description of Achilles' shield.

157 Cf. Hopkinson 1994b, 23: he acknowleges that, regardless the parallels with Homer, above all in *D.* 25.394–412 ~ *Il.* 18.485–9, there is a gradual movement away from him.

158 That is, it shows significant junctures in the development of the plot (sign of conclusion or of beginning of a narrative unit) or crucial moments. Cf. DuBois 1982, 6–7.

159 The *ekphrasis* enables the writer to include events previous and later to present narration: cf. Harrison 2001; DuBois 1982, 49–51; Kurman 1974, 6 ff.; Agosti 2006b, 356. For the analysis of this passage cf. Agosti 2004b, 65–6.

160 DuBois 1982, 7–8, defines it as a synecdoche function, that is, *pars pro toto.* Perutelli 1978, 92 ff. talks of a reproduction of the contents of a work similar to that of a mirror, so that through the image of the description we can read the poem; the parallelism includes an open series of correspondences to the future. On Dionysus' shield as a promise of victory, cf. Vian 1991b, 10.

he establishes a direct link between the decoration of the shield and Dionysus[161] and 25.352–67, where Attis states that it should serve him as a talisman and a reminder of the promise of victory. Starting from there we realise that the foundation of Thebes is a shortened version of his origin on his mother's side and Zeus' survival of Chronos' greed makes his fatherly origin possible. As to the future, the apotheosis of Ganymedes, the human cup-bearer of the divine drink, heralds Dionysus' apotheosis too[162] and the saving action of Moria's plant serves as a mirror to the one produced by Bacchic wine.

Therefore, the description of the shield uses the past to prophesy the future, but, as usual in Nonnus, the *nexi* are not obvious, but loose and subtle. Nonnus faces literary tradition and his own compositive propositions from an ironical perspective: he includes the long description, as expected in the genre, but distorts it giving the shield to a weakling god, who does not need it, because he usually resorts to other means (wine, terrifying cries) to win battles.

On the argumentation, each described element seems to be independent. Thus, in the central section (387 ἐνὶ μέσσῳ), the narrative itself provides the argumentation (ἀφορμὴ λόγων ἐκ τοῦ διηγήσεως): Nonnus explains the location of the stars (398–401, 409–9), so that the reader imagines the sky and, from that, the design of the shield. He also includes a comparison to a river (405–7) to give a sensation of movement and liveliness.

In the foundation of Thebes (413–28) he develops the *topos* of the near reality and life-like sensation of the representation,[163] present in the *ekphrasis* from its very definition as a combination of the arguments of beauty (ἀ. λ. ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ) and surprise (ἀ. λ. ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου). In this case the artist's ability brings about a synaesthesia, as he is capable not only of making us see Amphion playing the harp, but also the effects of his music (419–23). Those looking at the image think that they can also hear (424–8) and transmit their sensation to the reader. For the scenes of

161 Cf. Agosti 2004b, p. 120, n. to 414 ff.

162 The rapt of Ganymedes had appeared in 12.103–6 as a prefiguration of the role of Dionysus and his wine. Besides, the gift of the shield is part of a series of presents leading to the apotheosis of Dionysus: cf. Vian 1991b, 10–11.

163 Cf. also 434 (Ταρβαλέῳ δ' ἴκτο) and 443 (κοῦρος ἀφυσσομένῳ πανομοίος). It is a frequent *topos* in Chistodorus of Coptos' *Description:* e. g. 3 (τοῖος ἐὼν οἷος περ ἐπορνυμένῳ Μενελάῳ), 12 (ἀλλ' οὐ χαλκὸν ἔθηκε φύσις πειθήμονα λύσσῃ), 18–20 (οὐδ' ἐνὶ χαλκῷ / ἀφθόγγῳ φρένας εἶχεν ἀεργέας, ἀλλ' ἔτι βουλὴν / σκεπτομένῳ μὲν ἔϊκτο).

Ganymedes,[164] Nonnus uses the argument from narration again, but focused on what each character feels on stage: Zeus' concern (434–41), Ganymedes' terror (435 τεθηπότα κοῦρον) and Hera's wrath and jealousy.[165] He also resorts to a direct comparison with plastic arts (433 οἷα καὶ ἐν γραφίδεσσι).

The scene of Tylos (451–552) is particularly long: after mentioning the characters (451–5), Nonnus introduces the myth in full, which would make it an argument based on the narration, but it becomes a long *excursus* (455–552). Then, with no transition, the poet proceeds briefly to the episodes referring to Zeus (553–62), with a short argumentation based on the myth, in the interpretation of the characters.

The arguments founded on the narration, especially mythical ones, are derived from the διήγημα, adding typically ekphrastic expressions of approximation of the images to reality. It also has the features of a fable: no known fable transmits this motif, but the idea that death and life are inextricably united is frequent in them.[166] It lacks the most important characteristic of fables,[167] the moral at the end, and there is no sign of quotation,[168] but it begins (25.455) with a ποτε distinctive of the beginning of a fable and throughout the narrative the characters remain anonymous as they often are in fables.[169]

164 429–43 (Zeus as an eagle transports Ganymedes), 443b-50 (Ganymedes before Hera's angry look).

165 445–7, which immediately remind the reader of the *Dionysiaca* of other passages where Hera shows her wrath when seeing Ganymedes as the cup-bearer instead of Hebe, so that with this picture Nonnus refers to himself, in a wink to the reader: cf. *D.* 31.252–251–254.

166 E.g. *AP* 9.1 (Polyenus of Sardes) and 2 (Tiberius), both in elegiac disthics, are narratives on the motif of the goat, whose udder, poisoned by the bite of a serpent, poisons and kills her own young.

167 On the marks of the genre, cf. Rossi 2002, 160.

168 The passage begins (25.451–5) mentioning the elements represented in the shield: Maeonia, Moria, the serpent, the plant, Damasen and Tylos and the whole narrative is developed from the mention of Tylos. Agosti 2004c, p. 125, n. to 451–2 says only that "la storia… è raccontata come un'antica favola".

169 There are neutral uses 455–71 (455 ὅς, 459 ἀνδρὸς… φωτός, 461 βροτέῳ, 469 νέον, 470 Νηιάς), 481–519 have mentions of proper names, 520–38 on the resurrection of the serpent (it could be perfectly part of a verse fable) and 539–52 about the human parallel, where Moria is mentioned only once (549), but the rest could be part of a fable.

3.5. Battle Descriptions

Battle descriptions are also suitable for comparison. The *Sack of Troy* includes a description of the combat of the last night of Troy (*Nyktomachia* in 506–691), which in the rhetors' classification would be a mixed *ekphrasis* of temporal circumstances (night) and action.

Preparations (506–39)
- 506–7: Zeus weighs the fates of the two armies
- 508–9: Apollo leaves Troy
- 510–11: Sinon's signal
- 512–21: Helen's signal
- 522–32: Return of the Achaean army
- 533–9: Leaders out of the horse

Fight (549–663)
- 540–6: The Achaeans attack
  - 540b-1: *Death in bed (death = bad dream)*[170]
  - 542a: *Earth covered in blood*
  - 543b-4a: *Town overflown with corpses*
- 547–58: Anonymous victims I: women
  - 548–9: *Ask their husbands to kill them*
  - 550–1a: *Mourn their children*
  - 551b-5: *A young woman provokes the enemy to die with her man*
  - 556–8: *Pregnant women die in premature deliveries*
- 559–72: Theophany
  - 548–65: Ares and his retinue encourage the fighters
  - 566–7a: Athena shouts
  - 567b-8a: Hera shakes the ether
  - 568b-9: Poseidon shakes the earth
  - 570–2: Hades fears the mortal race might perish
- 573–95: Anonymous victims II: men
  - 574–5a: *Killed by the watchmen*
  - 575b-6: *Is run through with his own pike*
  - 577–80a: *Dies because he confuses the enemy with his host*
  - 580b-1: *Dies when hit by an arrow he had not seen*
  - 582–6: *Inebriated forget about the stairs and fall down*
  - 587–8a: *Die fighting*
  - 588b-9: *Jump down from the rampart*
  - 590–1: *Creep away through a hole, unseen*
  - 592–4a: *Fall one on top of the other in the tumult*
- 596–9: Cruelty of the Achaeans, brutalised by the combat
- 600–6: Anonymous victims III: old men and children

170 The headings in italics reproduce rhetoric-poetical τόποι used in the historiographical tradition for the capture of any town. See Gerlaud 1982 nn. *ad loc.*

600–2: *Death of suppliant old men*
603–6: Death of children
603–4a: *Children torn from their mothers' breasts*
604b-5a: *Innocents pay for their parents' faults*
605b-6: *Mother suckles her dead child*
607–12: *Birds of prey and domestic dogs devour corpses*
613–50: Victims with a name
613–33: Death of Deiphobus
613–17: *Assailants = wolves*
618–25: *Two against many*
620b-1: *Defence throwing objects from the roof*
626–8: *Hides, but is found and killed*
630–3: *The conqueror gets the defeated man's wife*
634–43: Priam killed by Neoptolemus
634–9: *Takes refuge in a sanctuary but is killed*
640–3: *The gods punish him who does not respect the suppliant*
644–6: Odysseus kills Astyanax
644–5: *Child thrown off the rampart (apotropaic)*
646: *Mother mourns her child's brief life*
647–50: Cassandra raped by Ajax
647: *Winners rape the defeated women*
648: *The suppliant is not respected*
649–50: *One's sin affects all*
651–63: Escape their community's destiny
651–5: Aphrodite rescues Aeneas and his family
651–655: *The gods save their protegé*
656–9: Agamemnon protects the Antenorids
656–9: *Links of hospitality remembered in the combat*
660–3: The earth swallows Laodice[171]
660–3: *Supernatural disappearance*
Reactions (668–91)
668–70: Beginning of a new day
671: Exulting conquerors
672–5: *Search the town looking for survivors*
676–8a: *Sack (temples included)*
678b-9: *Women and children sent to slavery*
680–5: Troy on fire
680–1: *Defeated city on fire*
682: *Destroyed city = grave of the defeated*

171 Triphiodorus chooses a version of the myth according to which the maiden pleaded to the gods to be exempted from slavery and the earth swallowed her (660–1) and criticises those who choose the options saying that she fell in love with Acamas, son of Theseus, by whom she had a son, Munitos, and when he died, she in dispair committed suicide or was taken by another Achaean. This learned dispute reminds of Theon's appreciation on the refutation and confirmation of the ἔκφρασις (120.2–11).

684–5: Nature's mourning for the city
686–7: Polyxena sacrified
688a: *Drawing lots of the war captives*
688b-9a: *Spoils divided*
689b-91: *Departure of the* Achaean *winners*.

As we can see in this chart, the poet conforms to the chronological order suggested by the rhetors: he begins with the preparations (506–39), then concentrates on the combat (540–663) and finishes with a view of the day after the battle (668–91). In this structure he mounts the different episodes as scenes are mounted in a mosaic or fresco, taking advantage of the technique of space and time compression developed in figurative arts. This is why the images seem to be 'frozen' in the air in portrayal. The closest term of comparison is the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, gathering in the city several traditional scenes (Aeneas' flight, the death of Priam, the rape of Cassandra, Achaean heroes coming down from the horse), but also the fight and suffering of anonymous characters.[172] Besides, in Dura Europos a wooden shield was found,[173] where at the bottom we find the arrival of the Wooden Horse at Troy, despite Cassandra's opposition and with the approval of Priam and other Trojan chiefs; at the top the Achaeans have begun the killing and the Trojans appear scattered on the couches where they lied for the banquet (cf. Triph. 539–41); one of them (Priam?) kneels before an Achaean.

The capture of Troy (540–663) is described as a diptych,[174] where the victims are portrayed as in a mirror: the anonymous victims (547–612) are on one panel,[175] the illustrious (613–63) are on the other.[176] The

172 Sadurska 1964, 24–37 and pl. I. Cf. also in the Vatican Virgil fol. XIX depicting the Achaeans coming down from the horse and killing the drunken Trojans. Cf. Stevenson 1983, 46–7.

173 Cf. Weitzmann 1979, no. 201, pp. 244–5.

174 Cf. Gerlaud 1982, 48. The same opposition is found in Quintus, who splits the episodes in two: 13.78–167 and 430–95 (anonymous Trojans), 168–429 and 496–563 (illustrious Trojans).

175 Cf. Gerlaud 1982, p. 48 and n. to 547–612. There are three groups (547–58 women, 573–95 men and 600–6 old men and children), inbetween which the attackers are inserted (559–72 gods, 596–9 men and 607–12 animals).

176 Cf. Gerlaud 1982, p. 48 and n. to 613–63. The same figures are repeated, but now they are given a name: a man (613–33 Deiphobus), an old man (634–43 Priam), a child (644–6 Astyanax) and a woman (647–50), contrasting with those fortunate who escape the destiny of their community (651–5 Aeneas, 656–9 the Antenorids, 660–3 Laodice).

first panel could be the capture of any city and is built upon rhetoric and poetical τόποι, though having Homer as the ultimate reference. The second deals with the capture of Troy and is built using the tradition of the capture of Troy, though many motifs coincide with historiographical common places.[177]

Therefore, even if the formula matches progymnasmatic rhetoric, the contents originate from the τόποι of the capture of a city, combined to create a motif[178] we can trace in Greek literature from Homer to Late Antiquity, in epic, tragedy, oratory and historiography. It developed especially in Hellenistic times, when it was one of the historians' favourite themes, because it enabled them to fill the gaps where there was no extant evidence and to appeal to the listener's and reader's attention.[179] Besides, it could be used to display their literary expertise, as it provided an opportunity to incorporate elaborate speeches and to show their ἐνάργεια and capacity to arouse πάθος[180] with a certain taste for macabre realism.[181] This explains why battle descriptions are so extreme in all authors: personifications of uncontrolled forces are a must[182] and they insist on it being an all-destroying carnage and on using terms related to chaos, bloodbath or massacre.[183]

The *Dionysiaca* is a warlike poem including several long battles:[184]

Battle on the Lake Astacis (14.247–15.168): Preliminaries (247–322), battle (14.323–15.118), mockery and looting of the defeated (14.119–68).

Second battle with the Indians, on the Tauros, against Orontes (17.87–397): Preliminaries (87–132), battle (133–356), aftermath (357–97).

177 On this structure, cf. Gerlaud 1982, 48.

178 Paul 1982, 144. Cf. Vian 1991b, 477: "i poeti latini ed i poeti greci dell'epoca imperiale non lavorano direttamente sulla battaglia omerica, ma su uno schema scolastico elaborato a partire dall'*Iliade*".

179 Cf. Plb. 2.56.7–8.

180 Cf. Paul 1982, 145.

181 Cf. Agosti 2001c, 137–42.

182 Nonn. *D.* 2.414–20, 27.337, 29.362–70, 39.214–17. Cf. already *Il.* 4.339–45, 11.36–7, 18.535–40. Artistic parallels in J. Boardman, *s.v.* "Phobos", in *LIMC* 7 (1994), 393–4.

183 Cf., e.g., Triph. 542–6, 559–61, 573, 592–5, 596–9; Nonnus (naval battle in book 39) 39.131, 220, 225–50, 295–9, 361–3. In fact, at line beginning Nonnus frequently uses the formula καὶ φον-: cf. 4.453; 14.397; 15.42, 383; 20.176; 22.273, 314, 372; 23.76; 24.20; 25.106; 27.15; 29.81; 31.93; 32.237; 34.339; 36.182; 39.225, 250, 259; 46.217; 48.372, 717. Cf. Agosti 2004b, n. to 35.9–10; Simon 1999, 248.

184 Cf. analysis in Vian 1994b.

Battle on the banks of the Hydaspes (21.303–24.348): Preliminaries (21.303–22.135), battle (22.136–23.116), post-war period (23.117–29.348).

Battle for Beroe (42.497–43.436): Preliminaries (42.497–43.325), battle at the sea (43.326–80), repercussions (43.381–436).

Nothing is given more space than the war against the Indians (26.1–40.291)

Preliminaries (26.1–28.28)

26.1–37	Athena cheats sleeping Deriades
26.38–378	Deriades calls out his troops, detailed catalogue of the Indian troops (44–365), concluding with the army gathered together (366–78)
27.1–18	Sunrise of the first day, ominous start
27.19–145	Indian side: harangue of Deriades (19–135) and preliminaries (136–45)
27.145–241	Bacchic side: Dionysus organises (145–66) and harangues his army (167–220); preliminaries (221–41)
27.241–341	Divine level: banquet (241–51), Zeus' speech (252–330) and division of the gods between the two sides (331–41)
28.7–28	End of the preliminaries

War (28.29–40.100)

28.29–29.322:	First day of battle
28.45–112	Aristeia of Indian Corymbasos
28.113–71	Slaughter and unusual deaths
28.172–273	Exploits of the Cyclops
28.277–330	Exploits of the Corybants
29.1–14	Indian counteroffensive
29.15–178	Exploits of Hymenaios
29.179–224	Exploits of Dionysus' allies
29.225–90	Exploits of the Bacchants
29.291–322	End of the day: the Indians are defeated on the banks of the river Hydaspes
29.323–81	Ares' dream, he leaves the battle field
30.1–12	Dionysus' offensive
30.13–325	Aristeias of the Indian Morrheus
30.127–86	Aristeia and death of Tectaphos
30.231–326	Exploits of Dionysus
31.4–32.97	Hera cheats Zeus
32.151–299	The Bacchic army defeated
34.123–36.480	Second day of battle
34.123–35.261	Defeat of Bacchic army in absence of Dionysus
35.262–390	End of Zeus' delusion; Hera heals Dionysus, who goes back to combat
36.3–132	Theomachy
36.133–290	Clash of the armies
36.291–390	Single combat of Dionysus and Deriades

	36.391–480	Truce
37		Funerary games (~ *Il.* 23)
38.15–104		Predictions of Dionysus' victory
39.6–40.100		Final battle
	39.6–217	Preparations, with harangues from Dionysus, Deriades and their champions
	39.218–407	Naval battle
	40.1–100	Death of Deriades
Reactions (40.101–297)		
40.101–214		Mourning of the Indians
40.215–97		Reactions of the victors.

With the contextual variations and according to the rules of the *poikilia*, they all follow the rhetors' pattern: preliminaries/preparations, battle and reactions/consequences. Even though some structural lines are held, they are very basic and they get easily blurred in the description, so that the reader perceives a series of juxtaposed episodes, apparently with no logical order.[185] Nonnus is not interested in keeping any sort of balance and that explains why the preparation for the naval battle for Beroe (42.497–43.325) seems so disproportionate when opposed to the short duration of the combat, quickly interrupted by Zeus (43.326–80), or that the reactions to the long war against the Indians are so brief (40.101–297). The *Indiad* is 'swollen' to fill the "appropiate" space for a traditional epic poem and abides by its rules through continuous references to the Homeric text and to the narrative code Homer uses in battle scenes.

This swift analysis of the structure of the *Indiad* should be completed with another one, equally swift, of the structure of individual battles. They follow the temporal scheme, though the structural developments can be quite complex, as the Battle of the Hydaspes shows:[186]

A_1 Prelude to the battle (21.303–22.135)
B_1 Battle between Indians and Dionysus' followers (22.136–23.75)
C Transition (23.76–121)
D_1 The crossing of the Hydaspes begins (23.122–61)
B_2 Battle between Dionysus and Hydaspes (23.162–24.67)
D_2 The crossing of the Hydaspes is concluded (24.68–122)
A_2 Aftermath of the battle (24.123–78)

185 Vian 1990, 115–16, 155 (on book 28), 167 (on book 28), 195 (on book 29); 1994b, *passim.*

186 Cf. analysis by Schmiel 2003.

This structure if supported by verbal repetitions and by the motif of liquid in its various forms.

Also, if we go through 35.5–97, the defeat and massacre of the Bacchants, we find an opposition between anonymous and famous characters similar to the one we have read in Triphiodorus:

5–20 Anonymous
  6–10 Deriades massacres the Bassarids
    11–12a Old men
    12b–13 Women
    14–15 Maid
  16–20 Deriades has forbidden to force the Bassarids
21–78 epic motif
  An Indian falls in love with the Bassarid he has just killed (a remake of the story of Achilles and Penthesilea). He utters a speech (37–77).
79–97 Indian women attack
  79–82 Protonoe (Atalanta)
  83–7 Cheirobie (Gorgo)
  88–91 Orsiboe (Deianeira)
  [92–3 Noise of the battle]
  94–5a Maid
  95b–6 Women
  [97 Noise of the battle]

This amalgamation of epic, tragic and rhetorical elements is best understood after reading one of the treatises attributed to Hermogenes:[187]

> *Meth. dein.* 450 "Homer taught how to speak tragically, and Demosthenes imitated him. That Homer was a tragedian and the father of tragedy, Plato testifies [*Republic* 10.598d], but one must examine how he made his poetry tragic. He did not describe the taking of Ilium, omitting it artistically, for the sack of one small town did not fit well with the tragic nature of his poetry. What then does he do? He described the sack of every city in two verses (*Iliad* 9.593–594)… At the death of Hector, Andromache gives a speech (*Iliad* 24.725 ff.) and Hecabe too, but also Helen and a chorus of Trojan women, and there are many dramatic scenes that, so to speak, complete the tragedy."

What late antique authors perceived was that the treatment of the first description of the capture of Troy in the *Iliad* was based on the motif of the capture of any city and the approach to it was the one characteristic of the tragedy. There is, therefore, no division of tragic, epic and rhetorical elements, but all of them are inextricably intertwined since the very

187 Cf. also Quint. 8.67–70; Demoen 2001, 104–9.

beginning of the Greek literature and, as this treatise shows, this was the idea transmitted at school.[188]

Descriptions of battles also appear in several encomia on papyrus,[189] always with an inclination to be composed in juxtaposed scenes, though with different purposes. In **39.** Panegyric of general Germanus, what has reached us is a *Blemmyomachy*, a battle against the Blemmyes, in which the characters are Homeric carbon copies. A battle on the Nile's banks is also included, the referent of which could be the παραποτάμιος μάχη of the *Iliad*.[190] In the extant part of **43.** Farewell to a Dux of Thebes (*P.Flor.* 2.114) we read a catalogue describing the atrocities perpetrated by the victorious enemies, who rape the women:

> … οὐδὲ γυναικῶν
> οἰ]μωγὴν ἀλέγυνεν ὀ[δυρ]ομένων θέμιν εὐνῆς,
> ῇ]σι βίῃ μίσγοντο· βίη [δ' οὐ]κ ἔστιν ἐρώτων·
> ἱ]μερτὸς θεός ἐστιν· [ἔρω]ς δ' οὐκ οἶδεν ἀνάγκην.
> πολλά τις ἑλκομένη πε̣[ρ] ἑὸν βοάασκεν ἀκοίτην·
> ο]ὐδὲ βοὴ χραίσμησε, φόβος δ' ὑπέδησεν ᾰ̣κ̣ο̣υήν.
> ἡ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσ̣[α] τό[σ]ην ὑπέμεινεν [ἀ]νάγκην,
> δείδιε γὰρ μὴ τ̣ο̣ῦτ̣ο̣ν̣ [.....μ]ῦθον ἀκούσῃ
> καὶ πόσιν αἰσχύ[νῃ] τε καὶ υἱάσι μῶμον ἀνάψῃ.
>
> "…nor heeded the groan of women lamenting the rights of their marriage-bed. Perforce they lay with them: but force has no part in Love; he is a god of Desire; Love is ignorant of compulsion. Often one cried for her mate, in the moment of her ravishing; … was of no avail – terror took his hearing captive. Another endured such constraint even against her will, for she feared lest … should hear the word, and she disgrace her husband and bring reproach upon her sons" (Page).

In a different style and metrics, these elements could be added to the part of the *Nyktomachy* Triphiodorus devotes to anonymous women (547–58), not because the author of this encomium knew Triphiodorus' poem, but because both share the same tradition, although this one is of inferior quality and often turns to repetition. It is also similar to several passages mentioned above in which the misfortune of the defeated is referred to as a source of commiseration.

Amongst all the encomia in our corpus, **46.** Encomium on Heraclius after his campaign in Egypt (PSI 3.253) is the most useful to study the ap-

188 On the connection of the treatise with the school: cf. Patillon 1997b, 125–7.
189 On the *ekphrasis* in late antique encomia, cf. MacCormack 1961, 10; Viljamaa 1968, 15–16. *P.Oxy.* 72.4847 may describe a battle scene.
190 Cf. Livrea 1978b, 64.

plication of ekphrastic rules, particularly fragment I, part of a description of a παραποτάμιος μάχη.[191] We find the usual elements (sound of the instruments calling to the fight, noise in the combat, earth damp and red with blood)[192] and after these an unusual death, similar to the ones we read in Nonnus *D.* 28.158–71: the body of a beheaded rider remains sitting on his mount (1 *recto* 12–16). The difference between a self-standing description and this one, which is a part of an encomium, is that even though it includes the same elements as in any other battle, many will be applied in relation to the person extolled.

Arguably something similar happened in **41.1** Diocletian and Galerius' war against the Persians (*P.Argent.* 480). Unfortunately, the extant part of the description of the battle in 1 *recto* only shows the presence of Enyo maddening the countless fighters. The comparison with the ancient Median wars probably goes back to the poet's school times, as that period was referred to in the school curriculum on history.

4. Paraphrase

4.1. Theory of the paraphrase

For the Greeks the paraphrase was a literary game suitable for all ages[193] and the corresponding προγύμνασμα aimed at the learning of the technique.[194] The only author of Greek *Progymnasmata* who treats the paraphrase as a self-standing exercise is Theon, who includes it in the complementary exercises extant only in their Armenian version. The Armenian text (Theon p. 107 Patillon-Bolognesi) defines it as the following: "Paraphrase consists of changing the form of expression while keeping the thoughts; it is also called metaphrase".[195] He is especially straight-forward

191 Cf. 1 recto v. 2 ποταμοῦ παρὰ γείτονας ὄχθα[ς.

192 L. 9 ὑγρὴ δ' αἱ[μα]τόεντι ῥόῳ φοινίσσετο γαῖα. Cf. *Il.* 4.451 ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα; QS 6.354–5, 11.160–1, 13.86; Triph. 542 Νήχετο δ' αἵματι γαῖα.

193 Cf. the analysis of Cicero's references in Roberts 1985, 7–9. On the competitive nature of the paraphrase, cf. Quint. 10.5.5.

194 Cf. Patillon – Bolognesi 1997, cv ("la paraphrase enseigne l'art de la formulation des idées. Et elle ne concerne que l'expression"), cvii; Roberts 1985, 3. Cf. also Quint. 1.9.2–3.

195 Cf. also Hermog. *Meth.* 440.6–7 who entitles a chapter Περὶ τοῦ λεληθότως τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἢ ἑαυτῷ ἢ ἄλλοις ("On escaping notice while repeating what you or others have said").

when referring to the methods which should be employed (107–8 P.–B.):[196]

1. syntax: same words, different formulation
2. addition: without eliminating any words, adding some more
3. subtraction: dropping elements, incomplete mode
4. substitution: a word for a similar one, a metaphoric use for a simple one or vice versa, a word for several[197]
5. many mixed modes.

To this we should add the variation from the different modes (assertive, interrogative).[198] The modes of expression appear again in the exercises on narrative (85.29–96.14) and partially in Hermogenes (σχήματα διηγημάτων 4.21–6.2) and Nicolaus (16.1–17. 3). Theon differentiates (87.14–91.12):[199]

> ὡς ἀποφαινόμενοι (simple enunciation);[200] ὡς πλέον τι τοῦ ἀποφαίνεσθαι ποιοῦντες (complex enunciation); ὡς ἐρωτῶντες (with simple questions); ὡς πυνθανόμενοι (with complex questions); ὡς ἐπαποροῦντες (with rhetorical questions);[201] ὡς προστάττοντες (jussive mode); ὡς εὐχόμενοι (pleading mode); ὡς ὀμνύοντες (with oaths); ὡς προσαγορεύοντες (interpellating); ὡς ὑποτιθέμενοι (hypothetical mode); ὡς προσδιαλεγόμενοι (dialogical mode).

To this he adds some nuances (90.20–91.12): narrations can be affirmative (καταφάσκοντας), negative (ἀποφάσκοντας), and asyndetic (90.28

196 Roberts 1985, who did not know Theon's chapter on the paraphrase, talks of a triad abbreviation, transposition and amplification. To be compared with Hermog. *Meth.* 440.8–441.9.

197 Cf. Patillon – Bolognesi 1997, xci: "Théon en distingue trois niveaux, qu'on peut préciser de la façon suivante: isotopie des mots dans des séries comme *doulos, pais, andrapodon*; identité de la fonction référentielle entre le propre et le figuré, entre le mot simple et la périphrase".

198 Cf. Theon p. 109 P.–B. and 62.13–20; also Quint. 10.5.7.

199 Roberts 1985, 139–48; Ureña Bracero 2005.

200 Hermog. (*Prog.* 5.2–9, 5.19–6.1) and Nic. (16.4–8,15–19) differentiate a direct declarative narrative (in nominative), adequate for stories, and an oblique declarative narrative (in oblique cases) for debates.

201 Cf. 88.10–17. On Theon's difference between πύσμα and ἐρώτησις, cf. 97.18–98.7: an ἐρώτησις asks only for an affirmative or negative answer (Yes/No-Question), while we answer something more elaborate to a πύσμα. Hermogenes (*Prog.* 5.9–12) and Nicolaus (*Prog.* 16.8–9) distinguish only one interrogative mode named ἐλεγκτικόν.

ἀσύνδετος).[202] Besides, it is possible (91.7–12) to entwine different modes of expression and create a mixed one. Theon does not mention a comparative mode, but Hermogenes (5.15–19) and Nicolaus (16.10–13 κατὰ τὸ συγκριτικόν) do. Nicolaus thinks it appropriate for rhetorical genres and all the parts of discourse.

We have examples of paraphrases of all levels:[203] from the exercise at school,[204] which can be both the primary one of exegetical type and those of a slightly higher level, to practise composition, full works, both exegetical[205] and literary.[206] There is also evidence of literary paraphrases of whole books, transmitted by Socrates and Sozomen[207] and we know, among the Latin authors, those by Iuvencus, Sedulius, Arator, 'Ciprianus Gallus', Claudius Marius Victorius and Avitus and, among the Greeks, Nonnus' *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John*, a Μετάφρασις τοῦ Ψαλτῆρος attributed to Apollinar of Laodicaea and several pagan paraphrases.[208]

A very important element shared by them all is that it is necessary to understand the text fully in order to vie with it, to be able to 'improve' it, according to the idea of beauty and formal perfection the second author has.[209] This explains why the paraphrastic exercises on Homeric passages extant on papyrus are accompanied by glossaries and explanations with material similar to the scholia[210] and why literary works of paraphrastic nature demand a significant exegetical effort from their authors. This preliminary step is demanded by the weight of amplifications in paraphrastic technique (the first text can only be expanded with material coherent with it, developed in the way rhetorical conventions demand).[211] It is based on the understanding of *imitatio* / *aemulatio* and takes into account

202 Cf. Herm. *Prog.* 5.12–15 and Nic. 6.13–15 who include this type too and think it appropriate for the epilogues (Herm. *Prog.* 6.2; Nic. 16.19).
203 Cf. Roberts 1985, 37–60.
204 PSI 2.142 (LDAB 4157, MP^3 2942), PSI 12.1276 (LDAB 2270, MP^3 1172), *Bod. Gr. Inscr.* 3017 (LDAB 1848, MP^3 1176), *Bod. Gr. Inscr.* 3019 (LDAB 2418, MP^3 2732). Cf. Cribiore 1996, nos. 344–57. From Panopolis comes *P.Achmim* 2, commentary and paraphrase of *Il.* 1.1–21, on which cf. *P.Oxy.* 71.4817.
205 Cf. Roberts 1985, 55; S. Fornaro, s.v. "Eutecnius", *BNP* 5 (2004), 231–2.
206 Cf. Roberts 1985, 58.
207 Socr., *Hist. Eccl.* 3.16; Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 5.18.3–5.
208 Cf. Roberts 1985, 58.
209 The clearest case is that of the rivalry with Homer, cf. Hopkinson 1994b, *passim.* On the counterpart in plastic arts, cf. Elsner 2004, 292–3, 304.
210 Cf. Montanari 1995, 63; Roberts 1985, 40–4; Henrichs 1971a, 99 (n. 8), 103.
211 On amplification, cf. Roberts 1985, 148–218.

literary models in the composition of small units, but also in generic or textual codes.

4.2. Paraphrase, a learned activity

The paraphrase is not an activity or exercise limited to the first stages of education, but an ensemble of practices and strategies which took a lifetime to master and on which adults frequently worked. This is exemplified not only by the paraphrastic poems already mentioned, but also by the *Paraphrase of Homeric comparisons* the *Suda* (T 1112) ascribes to Triphiodorus, which might have been the fruit of his activities as a γραμματικός. This *Paraphrase* is not extant, but Keydell[212] suggested that he could have used as a starting point a collection of Homeric comparisons such as the one preserved in *P.Cair.* 60565.[213] Nevertheless, the ensemble of paraphrastic techniques served Triphiodorus in his creative side as well,[214] when he approached texts by other authors and the same can be said of the other poets dealt with here.

The case of texts with a Christian subject matter is more complicated because two sets of references (classical and biblical) are intertwined.[215] The paraphrase, as a *progymnasma* and literary form and as a method of rewriting and adaptation of biblical texts to late antique literary aesthetics, created a lexical and formulary flow, with the stamp of Homer and Christian application. It expanded steadily. Its praxis was clearly different from that of the centos:[216]

Centos	Paraphrase and epic style compositions
Reuse of identical lines	Use of isolated lexical elements
Adaptation (syntactic harmonisation, suppression of ill-suited elements)	Use of epic formulas and proper epic names
Fusion of hemistichs	Combination of words and expressions
Creation of lines combining several loans	Recreation of lines in epic style

212 Keydell 1939b. Cf. as well Dubielzig 1996, 15–16.

213 MP^3 1200, LDAB 2754. Two columns in a fragment of papyrus (1st-2nd c., unknown provenance), containing commentaries to the comparisons in *Il.* 16.642–6, 751–70, 818–29; 17.1–7, 18–23.

214 Dubielzig 1996, 16–20.

215 Rey 2002, 176.

216 Rey 2002, 177.

4.3. Balance between *mimesis* and paraphrase

The paraphrastic or 'recreative' uses that we perceive in the poems of our corpus are only understandable if we reproduce in the background the perception of Homer and his formulary system discussed in Chapter 2.[217] We should remember that ethopoeae built on Homeric passages[218] are minor experiments, previous to longer compositions such as Nonnus' poems. All these compositions have in common that their authors wrote moved by the emulation of and rivalry with important authors,[219] though the results show a variety of capacities. Ethopoea and paraphrase complement each other systematically in the composition: the former shows the competence to know what is appropriate on each occasion (τὸ πρέπον) and the latter adapts models approved of by tradition to a new context. If it is well written the resulting composition escapes the attribution to both exercises. In the same way we can understand the attitude of post-Nonnian poets with respect to previous epic, especially Homer and Nonnus.

The relationship between a given text and its model(s) is more complicated than the opposition between the paraphrase and one's own creation, as the ethopoeae with Homeric content and, above all, the poems in the *Codex visionum* (**40.**) show. Among the verse compositions included in this codex three can be related to the genre of the ethopoea (**2.** On Abraham, **5.** Cain's Words and **7.** Abel's Words), and yet the three of them accumulate a mosaic of passages to reconstruct biblical characters' speeches and to create something new, as pagan authors do.[220] The same happens in **40.3** Speech to the righteous, **4.** [Eulogy] of Lord Jesus, **6.** The Lord to those who suffer and **8.** Hexametric poem.[221] Besides, the paraphrase of a biblical text in a language full of Homeric references creates a whole Christian epic *koine.*[222]

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217 3. "Vocabulary" – "Homer's inheritance".

218 These will be dealt with below in 5.2 Ethopoeae on papyrus and 5.4 The *Codex Visionum.*

219 Cf. Cameron 2004b, 346: "The goal of the man of letters, revealed in countless compliments, was to rival the ancients, to be compared to Cicero or Demosthenes or Homer or Vergil". Cf. also *AP* 3.113–17.

220 Cf. Elsner 2004, 288–93.

221 Its analysis would go beyond the limits proposed for the present study. Therefore I refer to the introductions and notes in the *ed.pr.*; Agosti 2001a, 203–5; Norelli 2002.

222 Cf. Agosti 2002a.

As an example of how Nonnus treats the Homeric model,[223] I will examine *Dionysiaca* 37, exequies and games in honour of Opheltes, which reproduces the outline of Patroclus' games in the *Iliad*.[224]

D. 37.1–102 construction of the pyre and exequies of Opheltes	*Il.* 23.1–257 construction of the pyre and exequies of Patroclus
103–484 chariot race	257–652 chariot race
485–545 pugilism	653–99 pugilism
546–613 wrestling	700–39 wrestling
614–66 footrace	740–97 footrace
	798–825 hoplomachy
667–702 discus	826–49 discus
703–49 archery	850–83 archery
750–78 javelin throw	884–97 javelin throw

As we can see, Nonnus, in all probability because he understood it as a repetition,[225] fuses in one competition (*D.* 37.546–613 wrestling) two of the Homeric model (*Il.* 23.700–39 wrestling, 798–825 hoplomachy), just as the authors of paraphrases of the Old Testament did when facing two different versions of one story.[226] We can read it as an example of the reduction suggested by the rhetors and a proof that Nonnus does not always resort to amplification.[227]

Il. 23 serves as a model also for the games held by Dionysus for Staphylos (19.59–286), though there he retains only the artistic proofs and uses the Homeric passage as a reference for wider variations.[228] He experiments further when he reinvents the funerary games in two erotic passages: 10.322–430 games of Dionysus and Ampelos and 48.106–82 Dionysus and Pallene.[229]

As to this respect the *Dionysiaca* is a poem emulating another metrical text, one of the changing elements to be examined is metrics:[230] eli-

223 On Apollonius Rhodius as a model, cf. Montenz 2004; Vian 2001, 296–307. Also *D.* 2.644–9 is an abbreviated paraphrase of Hes. *Theog.* 869–80: cf. Vian 1976, n. to 2.649. On Triph.'s treatment of Homer, cf. Ypsilanti 2007.

224 Frangoulis 1999, *Notice* of book 37; Frangoulis 1995; Hopkinson 1994b, 37. The originality of Nonnus' adaption of the Homeric model is more visible when compared with QS 4, funeral games for Achilles: cf. Vian 1959, 35–9.

225 Frangoulis 1995, 145.

226 Cf. Roberts 1985, 127–35.

227 In fact *Il.* 23 has 895 verses while *Dionysiaca* 37 only 778.

228 Cf. analysis in Gerbeau 1992, 74–7.

229 Cf. analysis in Chrétien 1985, 73–80; Vian 2003, 15–20.

230 Cf. Frangoulis 1995, *passim.*

sions (especially in verbal desinences), hiatuses and semi-hiatuses are drastically reduced, dactyls and feminine caesurae see their numbers increased, masculine caesurae are reinforced by a diaeresis. The new strictness of the hexameter made the literal transposition of full Homeric lines very difficult,[231] but that would have also been rejected on the ground of the Nonnian tendency to innovate from them and, at the same time, to compete with them. In fact, in this book we find him reusing Homeric terms in the same or different place more frequently[232] and, as Theon suggested in his *Progymnasmata*, he tends to replace Homeric words with a synonym or another word with the same root or a periphrasis.[233]

4.4. The Paraphrase of the Gospel of John

Nonnus' poem, the most conspicuous paraphrase in our corpus, seems to trascend the limits of a composition for devotional uses to find justification in itself.[234] The editions of the *Paraphrase*[235] agree that Nonnus' technique of 'translation' includes the substitution of κοινή terms with epicisms; pronouns and demonstrative adjectives are replaced with more elaborate forms or nominal expressions; free temporal uses are replaced with a complex set of substitutions (e. g. imperfect instead of aorist in indicative, imperfect and aorist instead of historical present); syntactical rewriting (e. g. he frequently substitutes a relative phrase for a participle). In the *Paraphrase* Nonnus usually amplifies the text of the gospel.[236] He demonstrates that he has a wide theological knowledge to do so,[237] but

231 Three times in the *Dionysiaca* and the three of them in this book: 37.44 = *Il.* 23.164, 37.50 = *Il.* 23.170, 37.634 = *Il.* 23.764. In Latin paraphrases of the New Testament literal transposition was reserved for quotations from the Old Testament: cf. Roberts 1985, 135–9.

232 Cf. Frangoulis 1995, 167.

233 Patillon – Bolognesi 1997, 108–9. On synonymy and paraphrase, cf. Roberts 1985, 148–60.

234 Livrea 1989, 39–42.

235 Livrea 1989, 54–7; Greco 2004, 28–35; Livrea 2000, 92–7; Agosti 2003b, 149–56; Accorinti 1996, 45–9.

236 Cf. Agosti 2003b, 120–1.

237 Agosti 2003b, 52–70.

also expertise in adapting classical texts to Christian contexts, sometimes according to previous allegorical readings.[238]

5. Ethopoea

5.1. Theory of the ethopoea

According to Hermogenes (*Prog.* 20.7) and Aphthonius (34.2–3), "Ethopoea is an imitation of the character of a person supposed to be speaking", which is very similar to what Theon names prosopopoea and Nicolaus ethopoea.[239] Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus call prosopopoea the speech delivered by a thing and eidolopoea the speech delivered by a dead person.[240] The exercise works on direct style and it is easily recognisable by its usual introduction "What would X say (to Y) in a Z-situation?". In Greek we find three possible formulations, studied by Fournet:[241]

A. – Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους (= τ.α.ε.λ.)
B. – Ποίους ἂν εἴποι λόγους (= π.α.ε.λ.)
C. – Τί ἂν εἴποι (= τ.α.ε.)

They are followed by the character's name in nominative and the circumstance in a participial clause in agreement with the subject or in genitive absolute. A is the most common type, B appears above all in Nicolaus and C is used in several ethopoeae preserved in *AP* 9.

The ethopoea has a considerable importance in all literary genres and rhetorical types.[242] In historiography it is present[243] in all speeches assigned to kings and generals to illustrate the speaking character's person-

238 Cf. the passage of the crucifixion in 19.91–7, referring to *Od.* 12.178–9 (Odysseus has himself tied to the mast in cross form to resist the Syrens' song). Cf. Livrea – Accorinti 1988; Livrea 2000, 76–92; Accorinti 1995.

239 Hermog. *Prog.* 20.7 and Aphth. 34.2–3: Ἠθοποιία ἐστὶ μίμησις ἤθους ὑποκειμένου προσώπου; Theon 115.12–14; Nic. 64.1–7.

240 Hermog. *Prog.* 20.9–10, 20.14–16. Cf. as well Aphth. 34.4–18 and Nic. 64.20–65.10. We find a reason for the existence of the prosopopoea in Hermog. *Id.* 333.15–335.23, on the sweetness (γλυκύτης) and pleasure (ἡδονή) produced by the attribution of reasoning to beings lacking it. Cf. also Quint. 9.2.31–2.

241 Fournet 1992, 255.

242 Cf. Theon 60.22–7 (cf. Quint. 9.2.29–30), 68.21.24, 115.20–2. Cf. also Quint. 3.8.49.

243 Cf. Theon 115.14–19: three of the four examples of ethopoea are historical.

ality (characterising ethopoea – ἠθική), or to enhance πάθος on stage (emotive ethopoea – παθητική). The same can be said about poetry, related essentially to Homer,[244] but also to Menander, who was so successful in Imperial times and such a capable creator of characters.[245]

Nicolaus (66.16–67.2) says that the ethopoea is useful in the three rhetorical genres. In fact, Theon uses this exercise to get pupils started in argumentation,[246] though he refers the reader (117.32–118.5) to the *thesis* for a more comprehensive study. He mentions its use to lengthen a given text,[247] but, most importantly, he finds it functional in daily life and generally in spoken parts. This explains the frequent occurrence in late entique literature of accomplished speeches, sometimes going back to an example mentioned by the rhetors.

The usefulness of the ethopoea is even clearer if we go through its classification:

Theon 115.14–19	Hermog. Prog. 20.19–21.5, 10–18	Aphth. 35.1–10; Nic. 64.14–19
ἐπὶ ὡρισμένων προσώπων	ἠθοπ. ἀορίστων προσώπων – ἠθοπ. ὡρισμένων προσώπων ἁπλαῖ – διπλαῖ	
	ἠθικαί – παθητικαί – μικταί	ἠθικαί – παθητικαί – μικταί

The first distinction is between indefinite (ἀορίστων προσώπων) and definite characters (ὡρισμένων π.): the former reproduces type-characters and the latter historical or mythical ones. The second type is made of personalised literary treatments, which might be 'inherited' by the first when that character goes back to a type, while the archetype can influence the literary treatment of a definite character.[248] In practice there is only one strategy: from the data of the title a type of character is reconstructed (man/woman, young/old, slave/free…) and to him/her we attribute the corresponding form of expression,[249] though a pathetic and broken λέξις ends up being general.

244 Cf. also Theon 60.27–30; Men. Rh. 434.11–14.
245 Ureña Bracero 1995b. On ethopoea and tragedy, cf. Ureña Bracero 1999, 331–3.
246 Cf. Theon 116.22–7. On thesis and prosopopoea, cf. Theon 120.24–30; Hermog. *Prog.* 9.42.
247 To expand μῦθος, Theon 75.16–9. Cf. Men. Rh. 374.1 ff. (on the *basilikos logos*).
248 As seen in Homeric scholia: cf. Ureña Bracero 2000, 456–7. On Hermogenic ἦθος, cf. *Id.* 321.5–9.
249 Cf. Ureña Bracero 2005, 100.

The second classification, of simple ethopoeae (ἁπλαῖ), i.e. monologues, and double (διπλαῖ), i.e. with an interlocutor, makes sense when the dialogue between two people undergoes a progressive eclipse in favour of opposed or solo speeches.[250]

The third classification enables us to assess the evolution of the exercise. Theon specifies in detail the headings to be taken into account in composing an ethopoea (115.22–116.22):[251] in the first place, who the speaker and the interlocutor are and their age (ἡλικία), sex (φύσις),[252] nature (τύχη), job (ἐπιτήδευμα), state of mind (διάθεσις),[253] origin (γένος),[254] circumstances (καιροί) and place (τόπος). As to the facts themselves (αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα), if they are important (μεγάλα), insignificant (μικρά), vulgar (εὐτελά), dreadful (δεινά), shameful (αἰσχρά) or pitiful (ἐλεεινά). This classification is the starting point for all ethopoeae, including those of definite character,[255] and this explains why, when a writer with literary intentions faces any character's speech, he tends to extract this information in order to create a coherent discourse. Only after all these headings and a study on argumentation, does he conclude (117.30–2) that "this exercise is most receptive of characters and emotions".

On the other hand, Hermogenes quickly mentions the need of conforming the speech to the character and the circumstances[256] and he divides the ethopoeae into characterising (ἠθικαί, where the character predominates), emotional (παθητικαί, where emotion predominates) and mixed (μικταί). Besides, the thread of the plot should be built according to the pattern present-past-future (21.19–22.3).

These two elements, their double characterising and emotional nature and the temporal articulation of speeches, are the most far-reaching ones

250 Cameron 1970b, 266–8.

251 The dialogue is virtually non-existant in the *Dionysiaca.* There is only a conversation between Cadmus and Electra in 3.243–372.

252 Theon 94.31–2 (μαλακώτεραί πως αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς τὰ πάθη). Cf. Kraus 2007.

253 Cf. Ureña Bracero 2000, 456.

254 I.e., the expression patterns: a Spartan will be brief, an Athenian prolix. Spartan laconism goes back to Homer *Il.* 3.213–15. Cf. e.g. in the *D.*, during the games in honour of Staphylos, the contrast between the Athenian myth by Erecteus (19.80–99) and the Laconic distich by Aeagrus (9.103–4). Commentary in Agosti 2006a, 49.

255 Cf. Ureña Bracero 2005, 100.

256 Hermog. *Prog.* 21.6–7. On the presence in Homeric scholia of πρέπον and related terms to refer to the adjusting of speeches to characters, cf. Ureña Bracero 2000, 457.

in late antique literature[257] and reappear with strength in later treatises of *progymnasmata.* Aphthonius includes only the classification of characterising / emotional / mixed ethopoeae (35.1–10). Nicolaus presents the same classification (64.14–19), but besides he introduces the duality ἦθος/ πάθος in the definition (64.1–3) and relates the ἦθος to the universal and the πάθος as derived from circumstances (64.7–13). Regarding the division in times, Aphthonius (3.13–14) suggests that instead of principles of argumentation the temporal pattern should be applied.[258] Nicolaus (65.13–21) suggests an outline present-past[-present]-future.

The duality ἦθος / πάθος appears first in Aristotle and from became associated with two different styles:[259] the παθητικὴ λέξις was linked to the use of compounds, epithets and unusual words[260] and the ἠθικὴ λέξις is found when the diction conforms to the speaker.[261] Quintilian (6.2) develops a whole theory on the affections, among which he distinguishes two types (6.2.8): πάθος (Lat. *adfectus*) and ἦθος (usually Lat. *mores*). Both can refer to the same emotion, but πάθος is intense (e. g. 'amor') and responds to a style close to tragedy, while ἦθος is milder (e. g. 'caritas'), demanded from orators and related to the ethopoea (6.2.17); it responds to a medium style, such as Menander's.[262]

Thus, an elevated style can be expected to be employed and the deepest feelings thoroughly dealt with in emotive ethopoetic compositions (παθητικαί) and a milder style and feelings should appear in characterising ones (ἠθικαί). We notice that the scales go down on the side of πάθος in Nicolaus,[263] who recommends a style which does not show stylistic concern, but rather reflecting the faltering speech proper of an emotional situation. In the end it is all about the πάθος.

257 Cf. Viljamaa 1968, 18. Cf. also on the novel: Hock 1997, 455–9. Quint. 3.8.58–60, critisises the use of abrupt and exclamation-full beginnings and suggests abandoning this practice, apparently widespread among rhetors. History of the construction in three times in: Stramaglia 2003, 223–5; Ureña Bracero 1999, 334.

258 Cf. Ureña Bracero 1999, 334. Cf. also Nic. 65.14–16. Men. Rh. 435.16–436.10 applies it to the monody, suitable of being included in the simple ethopoeae.

259 Cf. the study of this evolution in Gill 1984.

260 Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1408b.11–19.

261 Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1408a.26–33. Cf. the differentiation of both styles in DH *Dem.* 8.2.

262 Cf. Gill 1984, 160. Cf. *ibid.* pp. 160–5 on analogous associations in the *De sublime.*

263 Nic. 66.9–15, 67.10–15.

5.2. Ethopoeae on papyrus

The late antique ethopoea has attracted considerable attention in the past twenty years, particularly in relation to the editions of ethopoeae extant on papyrus and other materials.[264] The ethopoeae of our papyrological corpus are the following:[265] **12.** Achilles and Hector (PSI 6.722), **16.** Ethopoea on the King and the Sceptre (*P.Oxy.* 4.671), **19.** Odysseus' ethopoea (*P.Ryl.* 3.487), **26.1** Hesiod inspired by the Muses (*P.Oxy.* 50.3537), **29.** Athena's words to Achilles (*P.Oxy.* 42.3002), **36.** Polyxena (*P.Flor.* 3.390), **40.5** Cain's Words and **40.7** Abel's Words, **53.** Achilles claims his γέρας (Heitsch 38), **52.** Anthology of ethopoeae (Heitsch 26) and **55.** Anthology of six ethopoeae (*P.Heid. inv.* 1271 v). Except those included in the *Codex visionum* (**40.**), the rest of them have a mythological subject.

12. Achilles and Hector – Priam's ethopoea (PSI 6.722) seems to be the earliest among them, though it has not been identified as such. Its two editions[266] remarked that the composition dealt with the ἀπόλυσις of Hector's body (4 νέκυν Ἕκτορα λῦσαι), reported in *Iliad* 24.[267] We know that it was at least partly the direct speech of a character, as we read in l. 17 ἀλλὰ τὶ ῥέξω ("but, what am I going to do?"). Apparently the speaker considers the possibility of going to the Achaean ships (18 ποτὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν), which suggests that it is Priam deliberating with himself if he should go to the Achaean camp to negotiate his son's ransom with Achilles.[268] Moreover, l. 17 recalls the example of ethopoea proposed by Aphthonius, where Niobe, after lamenting her present situation and

264 The first catalogues and general studies were Fournet 1992 and Fernández Delgado 1994. Already in their edition of *IG* XIV 2012, Fernández Delgado – Ureña Bracero 1991 had added an appendix (pp. 57–66) with some texts. Other general commentaries: Döpp 1996, 104–5 and Jarcho 1999, 186 ff. The most recent studies are those in Amato – Schamp 2005.

265 For the analysis of the other two mentioned, that by Quintus Sulpicius Maximus and the *Alcestis Barcinonensis*, I refer to their editions: Fernández Delgado – Ureña Bracero 1991; Marcovich 1988.

266 PSI 6.722; Vitale 1921.

267 Cf. 24.76 (ἀπό θ' Ἕκτορα λύσῃ), 116 (ἀπέλυσεν), 117–18 (αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Πριάμῳ μεγαλήτορι Ἶριν ἐφήσω / λύσασθαι φίλον υἱόν, ἰόντ' ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν: "But I will send Iris to great-hearted Priam, to tell him to go to the ships of the Achaeans to ransom his dear son"; transl. from Murray-Wyatt 1999) ~ 145–6.

268 In the *Iliad* (24.191–227) Priam confers with Hecabe (cf. 197 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ, τί τοι φρεσὶν εἶδεται εἶναι; "But come, tell me this, how does it seem to your mind").

remembering the past origin of her disgrace, reflects on the future with a series of questions.[269] It is therefore possible that we are dealing with an ethopoea and that l. 17 is the beginning of the deliberations about the future as recommended by Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus.

16. *P.Oxy.* 4.671, entitled "Ethopoea of the King and the Sceptre" for want of more detailed data, is an ethopoea introduced by the usual, though incomplete, title (type A in Fournet's classification).[270] In the left margin, at the level of the first line of the composition, we find an N crossed over by a vertical stroke, possibly similar to the one in the margin of the first verse of **29.** Athena's to Achilles (*P.Oxy.* 42.3002). The abbreviation has been considered difficult to explain, so further comment will not be given here.[271] Not much more can be said about **16.**, as its fragmentary condition only reveals that the receiver is a king. It seems to be an ethopoea of definite characters.

The acrostic ethopoea preserved in *P.Oxy.* 50.3537 *recto* (**26.1**) is introduced by a title in prose,[272] a variation of Fournet's type A. Although it starts from the beginning of the *Theogony* and two passages of *Works and Days* (633, 654), the intention seems to be to collect in a poem all the information about Hesiod and his work: it begins (ll. 5–8) with two questions of the type we will see in Nonnus below, which sum up the context of the revelation. The Muse tells Hesiod about his next poems, mentioned in an allusive way, not by the titles.[273] The poet probably considered this a mark of refinement. The rest of the composition is built according to the rule of the three times:[274] Hesiod mentions the elements of his job as a shepherd (ll. 12–14), Ascra (15), his family (ll. 18–20) and bucolic poetry with its accoutrements (ll. 21–5). Certain details, such as the nocturnal apparition of the Muses (cf. *ed. pr.* n. ad loc.), confirm the possibility suggested by Bernsdorff 1999 that they may come from a stylised biography of Virgil's *Dichterweihe*. It is likely that the poet expanded the informa-

269 36.14 Ποῖ τράπωμαι; τίνων ἀνθέξομαι· ποῖος ἀρκέσει μοι τάφος πρὸς ὅλων παίδων κειμένων ὄλεθρον; ("Where can I turn? What can I hold to? What kind of tomb will suffice for the destruction of so many dead children?").

270 Fournet 1992, 256 reconstructs:
τίνας ἂν εἴποι [λόγους ὁ δεῖνα πρὸς]
τὸν υ[ἱ]ὸν τοῦ Δε̣[(ou Δο̣[)

271 Hanson 1971; Youtie – Hagedorn – Youtie 1973; Youtie 1981; Lewis 1983.

272 Ll. 3–4: τίνας ἂν λόγου[ς Ἡσίοδος εἴπο]ι̣ ὑπὸ / τῶν Μουσῶν ε̣[μ]ενος.

273 Ll. 9–10: αὐτή μοι γένος εἰπ[ὲ θεῶν πολ]έμους τε γιγάντων / πάντων θ᾽ ἡρώ[ων c.8]ν τε γυναικῶν.

274 Agosti 2005a, 42.

tion on Hesiod available to him with details coming from the type-figure of the inspired poet. Hesiod is the referent of other poetical investitures, such as the ones we read in the *Visio Dorothei* (**40.1**) 170–7, in the *Posthomerica* (12.306–313) or in Dionysius the Periegete's double proem.[275] The rejection of bucolic poetry is similar to that found in the *Dionysiaca.*[276]

29. Athena's Words to Achilles (*P.Oxy.* 42.3002) has a Homeric starting point too: the words (*Il.* 1.207–14) Athena addresses to Achilles, angry because Agamemnon has just threatened him (182–7) with taking Briseis as a replacement for Chryses' daughter.[277] Nevertheless, the poet seems to have lost sight of the purpose of Athena's speech: he mentions Hera twice (ll. 5 and 25), but he does not explain that Athena is referring to her message, and in her speech Athena does not tell Achilles to insult Agamemnon verbally and reproach him for what is about to happen.[278] Instead, she says that he should not count on her or on Hera if he is going to fight the Achaeans.[279] Then she gets lost (ll. 7–24) in the development of the opposition 'weapons against the Trojans (the enemy)' / 'words for the Achaeans (the comrades)',[280] where she mentions (ll. 19–20) that he should respect the king so that he conquers Troy. It is, therefore, a persuasive ethopoea, in which the message of the original speech is made more vague and general.

The structural failures of the composition (arguments fail to relate to each other, no unitary treatment),[281] are no doubt due to the poet's modest ability. We can also relate them to advice concerning expression offered by Nicolaus (66.9–15), which is that speeches should have short phrases and no excessive elaboration so as not to damage the effect.

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275 Agosti 2001a, 192–4, 213–14; Agosti 2002a, 103–4, 108–9.

276 Cf. Chapter 2 – All-inclusive poetry.

277 To be compared with the adaptation of the same motif in *D.* 20.266–88 (Iris deceiving Bacchos).

278 *Il.* 1.210–11 (ἀλλ' ἄγε λῆγ' ἔριδος, μηδὲ ξίφος ἕλκεο χειρί· / ἀλλ' ἦ τοι ἔπεσιν μὲν ὀνείδισον ὡς ἔσεταί περ).

279 Agamemnon is mentioned only in the last two lines (25–6 ἠ]θείησι θεῆις ἐπιπείθεο· σοὶ δ[έ κεν α]ὐτὸς / λισσόμενος καὶ δῶρα πόροι βα[σιλεὺς] Ἀγαμέμνων: "Obey the goddesses your friends and king Agamemnon himself would beseech you and give gifts". *P.Oxy.* transl.), a summary of the last two lines of the Iliadic speech (*Il.* 1.213–14 καὶ ποτέ τοι τρὶς τόσσα παρέσσεται ἀγλαὰ δῶρα / ὕβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε· σὺ δ' ἴσχεο, πείθεο δ' ἡμῖν).

280 Rhetorical *auxesis* of *Il.* 1.211 and *Od.* 6.182–3.

281 Ll. 1–5a have a structure εἰ μὲν… εἰ δέ; 5b-6 ἴσχεο… ἴσχεο; 7–8a δ'; 8b οὐκ ἐπ' Ἀχαιοῖς… 14 οὐκ ἐπ' Ἀχαιούς.

The author seems to follow the ethopoea's temporal outline, as Athena resorts to Achilles' past (8–9 Peleus, 10 Thetis, 23–4 Chiron) and a conjecture about the future[282] to convince him. The Iliadic speech is only the starting point of the new composition, in which all types of material may be used, when we read references to *Il.* 1.1–7 in 7 μῆνιν πολυπήμονα and 21 μῆνιν… πολυπήμ[ο]να.

P.Flor. 3.390 (**36.**) has already been identified as an ethopoea:[283] on the *recto* Achilles is presented as a suitor (2 γαμβρὸν ἔχειν Ἀχιλ̣ῆα) and Polyxena comes up to marry him (10 ἀλλ᾽ ἴθι νῦν ποτὶ νῆας, 12 εὔγαμον ἀγλαόπαιδα). It seems to be the poetic counterpart to Libanius' prose ethopoea 16: "What would Polyxena have said when the Greeks ordered her to get going by telling her that she was going to be Achilles' bride?" (8.411–12 Förster). The treatment is different, as Libanius builds his ethopoea with apostrophes to Agamemnon, Odysseus, Neoptolemus, Menelaus, Priam and Achilles, while in *P.Flor.* 3.390 Polyxena seems to be talking to herself. Nevertheless they seem to share some topics:

1. 6 Αἰακίδην ἐνόησα κα[~ Lib. 411.15–16 ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρὶν τρέμουσα τὸν Πηλέως οὐ τεθέαμαι.
2. 21 θαλάμους μέμψειε Λακαίνης ~ Lib. 412.3–4 ἀπόλεσας τὴν Ἑλένην, στερηθεὶς Ἀχιλλέως ἐθρήνεις, Μενέλαε.
3. 24]ρεις, πάτερ, οὐκ σέο πάτρην ~ Lib. 412.8–11 πάτερ, ὦ γέρον Πρίαμε, τί κόπτεις κατὰ μικρὸν τὸν πολιόν σου πλόκαμον; ηὔξω νύμφην τὴν Πολυξένην θεάσασθαι.
4. 25]μη μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζω ~ Lib. 412.15–18 κρεῖττων δέ μοι γενήσεται κατοικεῖν κάτω μετὰ τοῦ Ἕκτορος. τί γάρ ὄψομαι τερπνὸν μετὰ τῶν ζώντων αἰχμάλωτος;

P.Flor. 3.390 mentions her concern about her dress[284] and she pronounces a brief epithalamium.[285] It is possible that it referred to the episode when

282 Cf. ll. 21–2: μῆνιν ἀποσκέδασον πολυπήμ[ο]να, μὴ σέ τις ἀνὴρ / Αἰα]κίδην βαρύμενιν ἐν ὀψιγό[νοισ]ιν ἀείσηι ("Dissipate the wrath which brings so many sorrows, lest some man in later generations sing of you as Aeacides heavy in wrath").

283 Cf. Fournet 1999, 653.

284 L. 3 ἔσσο πάις Πριάμοιο. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 432 Κόμιζ᾽, Ὀδυσσεῦ, μ᾽ ἀμφιθεὶς κάρᾳ πέπλους.

285 Ll. 19–20: εὐφροσύνην πάντεσσι ὁ]μόφρονα φασὶ γενέσθαι /]ην φιλότητα κομίζειν.

Achilles falls in love with her and dies struck by Paris' arrow when discussing their wedding in Apollo's temple.[286]

About the ethopoea in the Cairo diptych (**53.** Achilles claims his γέρας, Heitsch 38), preceded in the left margin by an annotation ΛΟΓΟ against line 4, it is entirely made up by questions.[287] Only the past is referred to, whereas a possible menace for the future is not mentioned, contrary to what happens in the *Posthomerica*.[288]

Heitsch 26 (**52.**), *P.Heid. inv.* 1271 (**55.**) and possibly also **19.** Odysseus' Ethopoea (*P.Ryl.* 3.487)[289] are anthologies of hexametric ethopoeae and prove the existence of collections in verse similar to those of Libanius in prose, usually with mythological contents and often reworking Homeric models.[290] In fact, Homer's reputation for his characterising ability goes back to Aristotle and is analysed in specific passages of his work in scholia and commentaries.[291] Therefore, it is not strange that the authors of progymnasmatic treatises often resorted to Homeric passages as examples of the different types of ethopoea[292] and that in ethopoeic compositions Homer was the main starting point.

With these collections as models for hexametric composition, we understand better the importance of speeches in contemporary poetry, why they do not expect an answer[293] and the reason of their patterns of expres-

286 Cf. Hyg. *fab.* 110; schol. Eur. *Tro.* 16; Serv. *Aen.* 3.321. Cf. R. E. Harder, "Polyxene", *DNP* 10, 83–4.

287 Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 114–15: Ποῖ δή, Δαναοί, τὸν ἐμὸν τύμβον / στέλλεσθ' ἀγέραστον ἀφέντες;

288 Cf. QS 14.209b-22, where 209–10 Achilles orders Neoptolemus to transmit his wishes to the Trojans, 210–12 if they remember his role in the war (past), 213–16 now they should sacrifice Polyxena (present), 216–22 or they will not be able to go back home + Polyxena can be buried in a different place (future).

289 L. 32 seems to introduce a new text, apparently on the vengeance on the suitors, like the previous one. Besides in ll. 4–5 (*verso*) Odysseus mentions the visits to Circe and the Cyclops in past tense: it could be the reference to the past corresponding to the present readable on the *recto* or of another ethopoea occupying only the *verso*. On the possible methods used, cf. Ureña Bracero 2005.

290 Ureña Bracero 1999, 330; Fernández Delgado 1994, 302.

291 Arist. *Po.* 1459b.13–15, 1460a.9–11; commentary by Gill 1984, 150–1. On Homeric scholia and commentaries, cf. Ureña Bracero 2000, *passim*.

292 Cf. the compilation by Ureña Bracero 1999, 319–20. About Aristotles' influence in Theon's treatment, *ibid.*, pp. 321–2.

293 Hermogenes' division (*Prog.* 20.24–21.5) into simple (ἁπλαῖ), i.e. monologues, and double ethopoeae (διπλαῖ), lacks practical correspondence as there is never an answer and they are composed as independent and whole poems, not as parts of a conversation.

sion.[294] We also see how they blend Homeric and more recent phraseology, such as the one we know through authors preserved in the manuscript transmission, especially Nonnus.[295] In all these ethopoeae Homer plays a preponderant role because their subject matter is extracted from him (or from his silences), but also because the original passage is handled and completed with the methods learnt in the exercise of the paraphrase.[296]

Finally, **33.** Homeric parody is not an ethopoea, but, as it contains speeches mocking the epic mood, the techniques used are similar. The composition begins apparently *in medias res* with a bold speech (1–7), in which Alexander, son of Philippos (Φιλίππιος), is praised for having smoothed the road to his people / soldiers and is asked to keep ruling over them (6 ἄνασσε) and to be responsible for their safety and that of their families (6–7). The syntax of ll. 1–3 is particularly intricate (cf. *ed. pr.* nn. *ad loc.*), in all probability with the intention of making it sound like one of those complicated encomia devised to please the ruler with their twists and turns. Read as a independent composition, this speech would be acceptable as an address to a ruler (Men. Rh. 414.31–418.4 προσφωνητικὸς λόγος), a speech made on the arrival on a new governor (Men. Rh. 377.31–388.15 ἐπιβατήριος λόγος; cf. esp. 378.16–26), an address to an emperor (Men. Rh. 368.1–377.30) or a thanksgiving speech. The argument of the ruler making things easy for his people and providing them with peace and security is pervasive in all encomiastic literature.

The comic element appears in l. 8 when the speech is attributed to a white cockerel,[297] which immediately afterwards disappears behind a door (8 πυλέων ἐξέσσυτο: thus suggesting that we are dealing with a speech of arrival?). Now that the epic illusion has vanished, we could expect Alexander to answer in the same fashion saying how happy he is to be arriving in such a splendid town, but more sensitive to the needs of his army / people he captures the animal and gives it to a cook who has appeared out of the blue. The situation is ridiculous: all the contingents of the army (the very epic 11 Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι) are to be fed with just one cockerel and the cook emphasizes that they should eat it all (13 Αἰσθίετε πάντες)!

294 Ureña Bracero 1999, 333–4.
295 Ureña Bracero 1999, 335.
296 Cf. Ureña Bracero 2005, 98, 101.
297 8 λευκὸς ἀλέκτωρ substitutes and mocks the Homeric formula φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ.

The cook asks to be given the bones (13 καί μοι καταλίψατε ὀστοῦν), perhaps to make a soup with them. This serves as a contrast to Homeric banquets (e.g. *Od.* 1.109–60, 3.1–66) consisting of abundant meat, bread and wine and reminds of cook's monologues, originally part of comedies,[298] but later developped as self-standing compositions.[299] The complete subversion here comes from the fact that it is the cook himself who organises the banquet. It is he who issues the invitation (11 δεῦτ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον) and when he seems about to embark on a fully Homeric speech,[300] he reminds them to bring their own napkins.[301] We thus leave behind Homeric banqueting and are referred to daily meals in which guests provided their own napkins and had to keep an eye on them to prevent them being stolen by fellow diners.[302]

His discourse finishes very piously with an invocation to Zeus to provide him with food (he obviously cannot go on with bones): bread (14 ἄρτον, not the Homeric σῖτος) and cheese (14 τυρίον ὀπτὸν) could pass as epic (for cheese, cf. *Od.* 9.237–49), the 'flat cake' (15 πλακοῦντα) cannot, so we should expect another subversion. Πλακοῦς is not epic, but comic, and, as with other cake names, it is related to luxuriousness.[303] It was served in the final moment of the meal or during the symposion, together with wine, dried fruits and nuts,[304] so when the cook says 15 ἢ αὐτὸν βασιλῆα πολυσταφύλοιο πλακοῦντα he may mean "or [give me] the king himself, the cake of the one who is rich in grapes". Πολυσταφύλοιο is the key to the passage: the *ed. pr.* simply presents the results of a search with the *TLG*, saying that it qualifies a town, a high-rugged coast, the god Dionysus, vines, people, the autumn or a veil. The one that suits best the gastronomic context is Dionysus[305] (i.e. "the cake of many-graped Diony-

298 Food is a frequent element in comic jokes: cf. Wilkins 2000.

299 Cf. Ureña Bracero 1995b.

300 12 ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ μάππαν ἐνεγκεῖν ~ *Il.* 6.112, 8.174, 11.287, 15.487, 15.734, 16.270, 17.185 ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.

301 The term used, μάππα, is a borrowing from Latin to substitute old-fashioned ones, such as ὠμόλινον or χειρόμακτρον (cf. Ath. *Deipn.* 410b ff.).

302 Classic jokes about napkin-thieves can be found in Catullus (12) and Martial (8.59, 12.29).

303 Cf. Wilkins 2000, 304–11.

304 Cf. Wilkins 2000, 308. For an account of a dinner including cakes, cf. Athen. *Deipn.* 3.127.

305 Besides in *h.Hom.* 26.11 he is given that epithet in *AP* 6.154.8 (Βάκχε, πολυστάφυλον). Several other epithets based on that root are given to him: cf. Nonn. *D.* 9.29 (παῖδα Διὸς… σταφυληκόμον); 12.251 (ἐρισταφύλῳ), 27.287 (ἐρισταφύλου σέο Βάκχου), 47.2 (ἐρισταφύλου Διονύσου); 20.122 (φιλοσταφύλῳ Διο-

sus"), who could be also taken as a personification for wine, therefore implying the cake that is eaten as a dessert together with wine. This would give us a final joke: the cook would be asking Zeus to give him the best of foods, the one that is accompanied with wine.

5.3. Triphiodorus and the ethopoea

Before finishing the study of on papyrus ethopoeae with the *Codex Visionum,* let us consider Triphiodorus' work. In the first lines of the poem we are told the subjects he intends to include:

> Τέρμα πολυκμήτοιο μεταχρόνιον πολέμοιο
> καὶ λόχον, Ἀργείης ἱππήλατον ἔργον Ἀθήνης
> αὐτίκα μοι σπεύδοντι πολὺν διὰ μῦθον ἀνεῖσα
> ἔννεπε, Καλλιόπεια, καὶ ἀρχαίην ἔριν ἀνδρῶν
> κεκριμένου πολέμοιο ταχείῃ λῦσον ἀοιδῇ.
> "The long delayed end of the laborious war and the ambush, even the horse fashioned of Argive Athena, straightway to me in my haste do thou tell, O Calliopeia, remitting copious speech; and the ancient strife of men, in that war now decided, do thou resolve with speedy song" (transl. Mair 1928)

i. e. the end of the war, condensed in the capture of Troy, which gives the poem a title and fills lines 506–691, and the story of the wooden horse, whose construction (ll. 57–107) and evil arrival in Troy (235–505) are described. Although it may appear to us as a novel selection, we should remember the passage of the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus gives the bard Demodocus the subject for a composition (8.492–5):

> ‹‹ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον
> δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ,
> ὅν ποτ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
> ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας οἵ ῥ᾽ Ἴλιον ἐξαλάπαξαν.››
> "But come now, change your theme, and sing of the building of the horse of wood, which Epeius made with Athene's help, the horse which once Odysseus led up into the citadel as a thing of guile when he had filled it with the men who sacked Ilium no less" (transl. Murray-Dimock 1998)

and the poem he sings (499–520). The comparison of the Homeric passage with the *Sack of Troy* leads us to infer that Triphiodorus actually

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νύσῳ), 27.339 (φιλοσταφύλῳ Διονύσῳ). Cf. also Opp. *Cyn.* 3.79 (Βάκχοιο φερεσταφύλοιο); *AP* 9.363.11 (φερεσταφύλῳ Διονύσῳ), 580.6 (ἐρισταφύλῳ… Βάκχῳ). In *AP* 9.524, the hymn to Dionysus made up of epithets, none is formed with that root.

composed an ethopoea: the poem is the 'reconstruction' of Demodocus' song.[306] That is why he uses Homerising language,[307] suitable to be heard recited by a Homeric bard, and the ethopoeic technique explains how the sources are handled: he takes this passage of the *Odyssey* as a starting point, but completes it with information coming from other passages of the Homeric poems[308] and also from later tradition. The criterion is always that of likelihood and the procedure is paraphrastic. Thus,

- Attrition in the tenth year of the war (Triph. 6–16) ~ *Il.* 2.134–8 (+ *Il.* 12.15).
- Catalogue of victims (Triph. 17–39), including the Achaean victims (17–20) ~ Achaean victims (*Od.* 3.109–12).
- Epeus builds the horse helped by Athena: Triph. 57–8 ~ *Od.* 8.492–3.
- Odysseus speaks: Triph. 114–19 ~ *Il.* 3.216–23.[309] [On the other hand, the catalogue of Greek heroes in the horse (Triph. 152–83) makes no reference to *Od.* 11.523–32, where Menelaus remembers that at that moment everybody was nervous except Odysseus; the plausible reason is that it did not fit with the presentation of Achaean heroes that Triphiodorus wanted.]
- The Achaeans set their camp on fire and set sail: Triph. 208–18 ~ *Od.* 8.500–1.
- Sinon wounds himself (Triph. 219–21) ~ Odysseus' *Ptocheia* (*Od.* 4.242–6).
- Trojan deliberation on the horse: Triph. 250–8 ~ *Od.* 8.505–10, where 250 (Τοῖσι δὲ τετρηχυῖα καὶ ἄκριτος ἔμπεσε βουλή) ~ 505–6 (τοὶ δ' ἄκριτα πόλλ' ἀγόρευον / ἥμενοι ἀμφ' αὐτόν· τρίχα δέ σφισιν ἤνδανε βουλή).
- Sinon's supplication to Priam (Triph. 262–7) and his subsequent speech (268–82) are modelled on the suppliant Odysseus before Nausicaa (*Od.* 6).[310]
- The Trojans surround the horse like cranes (Triph. 352–7) ~ the Trojans go to battle like cranes (*Il.* 3.2–7).[311]

306 Another example of composition inspired in the ethopoea and Homer is Plutarch's *Gryllus:* cf. Fernández Delgado 2000.

307 Cf. Gerlaud 1982, 51–2.

308 Cf. Ypsilanti 2007, examining certain cases of Homeric influence on Triphiodorus, to which I refer on further details.

309 Orsini 1974, 5–6.

310 Cf. Ypsilanti 2007, 95–9.

311 Cf. Ypsilanti 2007, 100–4.

– Cassandra's dissuasive speech (Triph. 376–416) ~ Priam tries to dissuade Hector (Hom. *Il*. 22.38–76); both include a vision of the destruction of Troy and the misfortune of its inhabitants (Triph. 391–409 ~ *Il*. 22.60–76).
– As ordered by Aphrodite, Helen tempts the heroes hidden in the horse, but is stopped by Athena (Triph. 454–98) ~ Agamemnon tells how Odysseus overcame Helen's temptation (*Od*. 4.271–89) + Iris visits Helen (*Il*. 3.121–40) + Aphrodite visits Helen (*Il*. 3.383–420):[312] 457 (Νύμφα φίλη, καλέει σε πόσις Μενέλαος ἀγήνωρ) ~ *Il*. 3.130 (δεῦρ' ἴθι, νύμφα φίλη) + 390 (δεῦρ' ἴθ'· Ἀλεξανδρός σε καλεῖ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι); 458–9 ~ *Il*. 3.126–8, 136–7; 465 (καί οἱ Δηίφοβος πόσις εἵπετο) ~ 276 (καί τοι Δηίφοβος θεοίκελος ἕσπετ' ἰούσῃ); 465–6 ~ *Il*. 3.154–8; 469 (Τρὶς δὲ περιστείχουσα) ~ *Od*. 4.277 (τρὶς δὲ περίστειξας); 470 (πάσας ἠυκόμους ἀλόχους ὀνόμαζεν Ἀχαιῶν) ~ *Od*. 4.279 (πάντων Ἀργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ' ἀλόχοισιν); 473–6 ~ *Od*. 4.282–8; 487–98 ~ *Od*. 4.289.
– The Achaeans leave the horse and attack the Trojans: Triph. 533–41 ~ *Od*. 7.511–15.
– Menelaus and Odysseus attack Deiphobus' house: Triph. 613–33 ~ *Od*. 8.516–20; 613–14 ~ *Od*. 8.517–18; 615–17 ~ *Il*. 15.323–5 + 16.352–5; 618–25 ~ *Od*. 8.519–20.[313]
– Andromache mourns the death of Astyanax (Triph. 644–6 Ἡ δὲ κυβιστήσαντα διηερίων ἀπὸ πύργων – / χειρὸς Ὀδυσσῆος ὀλοὸν βέλος – ἀθρήσασα / Ἀνδρομάχη μινύωρον ἐκώκυεν Ἀστυάνακτα) ~ Andromache foretells the death of Astyanax (*Il*. 24.734–5 ἤ τις Ἀχαιῶν / ῥίψει χειρὸς ἑλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου, λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον).

Obviously, although the starting point is Homer, Triphiodorus has in mind the later tradition and the rhetorical patterns of creation.[314] As may be expected from a learned γραμματικός, this is not a mere school exercise, but a carefully built poetic composition, which approaches Homer according to rhetorical rules and to how was literary tradition apprehended at school.

From Odysseus' request to Demodocus we also extract the stylistic principle of the work (*Od*. 8.489–91) :

312 Cf. Gerlaud 1982, 30. Triph. seems to use the scholia as a basis for the adaptation of *Od*. 4.276, 278–9. Cf. Orsini 1974, 6–11.
313 And the motif of "alone against all". Cf. Gerlaud 1982, p. 162, n. to 618–19.
314 Cf. Orsini 1974, 4; Gerlaud 1982, 16–41, 48–52; Miguélez Cavero 2007.

> λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἷτον ἀείδεις,
> ὅσσ' ἔρξαν τ' ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ' ἐμόγησαν Ἀχαιοί,
> ὥς τέ που ἢ αὐτὸς παρεὼν ἢ ἄλλου ἀκούσας
> "for well and truly do you sing of the fate of the Achaeans, all that they did and suffer, and all the toils they endured, as perhaps one who had yourself been present, or had heard the tale from another."

The bard / Triphiodorus places himself in relation to the subject of the poem as one who has been present and recounts exploits (ὅσσ' ἔρξαν) and suffering (ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ' ἐμόγησαν). This attitude could be translated in Triphiodorus' time as ἐνάργεια and σαφήνεια, the two virtues of the ἔκφρασις, both important in this poem, together with an insistence on πάθος, perceived, above all, in the *Nyktomachy*. On the contrary, the rule of the three times is not applicable to the epic.

5.4. The Codex Visionum

The *Codex Visionum* (**40.**)[315] provides us with an element of comparison with the compositions of Homeric subject matter that we have just studied, as two of its compositions are clearly ethopoeae: **40.5** Cain's words (Τί ἂν εἴποι ὁ Καιν ἀποκτείνας τὸ[ν Ἀβηλ;) and **40.7** Abel's words (Τ[ί ἂν εἴπ]οι ὁ Αβελ ἀναιρηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καιν;).

"Cain's words" (*P.Bodm.* 33) have as their starting point *Gen*. 4.1–16, the story of the birth of Cain and Abel and the killing of the latter. In our composition Cain becomes aware of his crime and the only solution he finds is fleeing (v. 1 πῆι πολέω πῆι φεύξομ' ἄν' ἠέρα), but after recalling all the possible hiding places, he realises that the only place which might accept a criminal is hell (ll. 18–19). The impossibility of fleeing or hiding before God appears several times in the Old Testament[316] (and the *Vision of Dorotheus* refers to it),[317] but the closest formulation is to be found in *Ps*. 139 (138).7–10:[318]

315 I thank Carmen Escribano for her help in the study of these texts.
316 Cf. *Jer.* 23.23–4; *Amos* 9.2–3; *Job* 11.7–10, 23.8–10; *Prov.* 15.11.
317 *VD* 12–15 and 102–4 Kessels-Horst.
318 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, p. 120, n. 37.

Ps. 139 (138).7–10[319]	*P.Bodm.* 33
ποῦ πορευθῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός σου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου ποῦ φύγω; ἐὰν ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, σὺ εἶ ἐκεῖ· ἐὰν καταβῶ εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, πάρει· ἐὰν ἀναλάβοιμι τὰς πτέρυγάς μου κατ᾽ ὄρθρον καὶ κατασκηνώσω εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἡ χείρ σου ὁδηγήσει με, καὶ καθέξει με ἡ δεξιά σου.	πῆι πολέω πῆι φεύξομ᾽ ἄν᾽ ἠέρα ⸢πῆι δὲ [κατ᾽ οἴμους 2 ὑγρῆς τὲ τραφερῆς τε ἐμὸν… 3 ἦκα μάλ᾽ ἢ Χθονίη ἢ ἁλήσπ[οντος… 6 γαίη μὲν ῥ᾽ ἀνένευσεν ἐμὸν[8 εἰ δέ κεν ἀτρυγέτοιο πολυ̣[π]λ̣άγκτοι̣[ο θαλάσσης 9 κόλπον ἁλὸς ποτὶ βένθε̣[α… 13 ἦν γάρ μ᾽ αἰθέρεος… 18 ἤδη δ᾽ οὔτιν᾽ ἐγὼ [προτι]όσσομαι ἄμμ[ι κ]έλευθον 19 Τάρταρα λοιπὸν ἵκ[εσ]θε κακορραφίη[ς] ἀκόρητοι

It is likely that the author of "Cain's Words" had in mind this psalm, which would have influenced his initial outline of the poem, as his first two lines seem to be a variation of *Ps.* 139.7. The construction of the psalm, based on a scheme "if I go to…, there You…", probably sounded too monolithic and repetitive and did not fit in with the new story-line. Verses 8–9 reproduce a double direction: 8 opposes the upper (τὸν οὐρανόν) and lower ends (τὸν ᾅδην), and 9 the confines of the surface of the earth (κατ᾽ ὄρθρον… εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς θαλάσσης). The author of *P.Bodm.* 33 reformulates the impossibility of the flight as the rejection of the earth (5–7 γαίη), the sea (8–12) and the air (13 αἰθέρεος) and introduces God's wrath as a reason for the confinement of the sinner to Tartarus (18–19).[320]

The *topos* πῆ φεύγω is not confined to the Bible and we find it also in a Nymph's speech in Nonnus, *D.* 2.115–62.[321] Vian[322] alludes to Euripidean parallels for Nonnus, but we cannot reject a development of the rhetorical *topos*, which in Nonnus often means arguments expanded with mythical *exempla.* In fact the occurrence of this *topos* in both texts points out to a common progymnasmatic model,[323] perhaps a variation of the development of the future in Aphthonius' example of ethopoea (36.14 "Where can I turn?").

319 Rahlfs 1967.

320 Cf. 15–17: ὠμοί· καὶ δέ κεν ὕψιστος χ[]ᾳι̣ χόλον [] ὄπασσε[ν / ἴφθιμος αἰωνίοιο [ἄνα]ξ….. [].[]. / ὅς κεν ἁμάρτηι and 4 (εἵνεκ᾽ ἐμὴ ᾽μαθίη τόδ᾽ ἐλάγχ[ανε).

321 It also occurs in ll. 11–12 of the *Fragmentum Bucolicum Vindobonense.* Cf. Accorinti 2004, p. 243, n. to 42.138–57.

322 Cf. Vian 1976, 72–4, 170 (n. to 115); Gigli Piccardi 2003a, 196–7.

323 As already seen by Agosti 2005a, 43–4.

The counterpoint of Cain's words is Abel's eidolopoea (**40.7** Τ[ί ἂν εἴπ]οι ὁ Αβελ ἀναιρηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καιν; "What would Abel say after being killed by Cain?"). It takes *Gen*. 4.10–11 as a starting point: God complains to Cain because Abel's blood cries to him, but it is also influenced by the reading of that passage in *Heb*. 11.4. The author of this composition reduced the figure of murdered Abel to that of the righteous imploring God to end his suffering, common in the Old Testament. For its 'recreation' he resorted to *Psalm* 102 (101), one of the main biblical passages on this subject,[324] but without forgetting the protagonist or the context of the *codex* for which it was created. Abel is not a distant figure from the past: as an ethopoea and a paraphrase, the poem updates the contents remembering not only the Old, but also the New Testament and the situation of the faithful.[325]

Just as the *VD* transmits an idea of an all-powerful God, who imposes dreadful physical punishments but is also capable of the greatest consolation,[326] in *Abel's Words:*

– The *Psalm*'s image of God as the maker of the world and Lord of everything is expanded.[327]
– God has punished the righteous not with spiritual suffering like in the Psalm (4–12), but with physical torments,[328] described coarsely in ll. 13–16. Ll. 14–15 come from the *Vision of Dorotheus* (151–2), from his punishment with flagellation for abandoning the doors he should have guarded: the destiny of those suffering physical martyrdom is linked and reduced to one and only pattern, alien to their particular time and space.[329] The materialisation of the suffering in the paraphrase makes sense because Abel (like Dorotheus) has suffered a physical

324 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, pp. 150–64; Hurst 2002.
325 Hurst 2002, 195.
326 *VD* 11–15, 66–7, 102–4, 131–42, 154–60, 170–2, 190–5, 205–7, 227–9, 240.
327 *Ps.* 101.26 (κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς σύ, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, / καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σού εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί) ~ *A.* 62–3 (ἐξ ἀρχῆς γᾳῖᾳν τ᾽ ἐ[πι]τεύξαο ἔργα τε χ[ειρῶν / σ[ῶ]ν πέλον ἄνθρωποι), but also 1 (πάτερ θεὲ δημιοεργέ). Other direct appeals to God: 6 ἄνα[ξ, 25 γέριστε ἄναξ, 29 ἄναξ πολύδωρε πολύλλιτε ᾳἰᾠνῒᾳιο, 31 αἰωνίοιο σέβαστε ἄναξ, 32 ἄνακτα, 40 ἄνακτα πολύλλ[ι]τον αἰων[ί]οιο, 54 ἄνακτα μέγαν σέβας αἰωνίοιο, 61 αἰονίοιο ἄν[ακτ-.
328 *Ps.* 101.11 ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς ὀργῆς σου καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ σου, / ὅτι ἐπάρας κατέρραξάς με ~ *A.* 25–6 οὕνεκ᾽ ἐμεῖο, φέριστε ἄναξ, ἐχολ[ώσ]ao λίην, / καὶ μ᾽ ἔρρηξας ὄπισθε βαλὼν ὀδύν[ησι]ν. Cf. ll. 1 (Κέκλυθί μοι πάσχοντι), 7–8 (τεὸν θεράποντ[ά ῥα] λυγρὸν / ἀλ]γέα μοχθίζοντᾳ), 13–16, 26 (βαλὼν ὀδύν[ησι]ν). Cf. Hurst 2002, 196.
329 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, pp. 152 , 176 (n. to 14–15); Agosti 2002a, 99.

punishment, but his complaining for this pain is a surprising comment from a dead person. Abel and Dorotheus are radical testimonies of the faith the *codex* seems to want to instil, including an element of penance not to be eluded.[330]

– *Ps.* 101.13–23 sets off on a different track and, leaving behind the righteous in misfortune, it becomes a confident prayer asking God to take pity on Sion / Jerusalem / the faithful. Such confidence is based on God's permanence,[331] but also on the fact that the moment has arrived, in the Psalm for the liberation and reconstruction of Sion, in *Abel* for peace, which appears in the Old Testament as an attribute of God's Messiah.[332] Thus, the longing for Jerusalem[333] is in *Abel* the longing for the New Testament's heavenly Jesusalem, and what Abel is heralding is the divine acquiescence[334] and the arrival of the moment when all will be listened to equally,[335] i.e. the Son's advent (47–9).[336] The psalm is reread in the light of the New Testament.
– The insistence that the witnesses of God's favour sing His deeds (45–6, 60) is frequent in the Old Testament (e.g. *Is.* 12.4–6), but the referent seems to be *VD* 3, 173–4, 340–3.

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330 *P.Bodm.* 30–7, pp. 8–12; Lukinovich 2002, 37. Cf. *VD* 255–7.

331 *Ps.* 101.13: σὺ δὲ, κύριε, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μένεις, / καὶ τὸ μνημόσυνόν σου εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεάν ~ *Abel* 29–32 αὐτὰρ ἄναξ πολύδωρε πολύλλιτε ᾳ̣ι̣ῳ̣ν̣ί̣ο̣ι̣ρ̣ο̣ / πάντοτ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔμμενεις σέβας [….]εο πᾶσι [] †.ασαανθεισ† / "αἰωνίοιο σέβαστε ἄναξ" καλέ[ου]σιν ἅπαντε / ἐκ γενετῆς γενετῆρες ἐπικλείοντες ἄνακτα.

332 *Ps.* 101.14 σὺ ἀναστὰς οἰκτιρήσεις τὴν Σιων, / ὅτι καιρὸς τοῦ οἰκτιρῆσαι αὐτήν, ὅτι ἥκει καιρός ~ *Abel* 33–4 σ]ὺ γὰρ, ἄναξ, ἀνορούσας ἐπιστέψειας εἰρήνην / οἰ]κτίρων Σιων, καιρὸς δ᾽ ἔμ[ε]γ᾽ ἔπλετ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτῆ[ι. Also in *Eulogy] of Lord Jesus* 5 εἰρή[νην ἐ]κόμισσε φέρων ἐπ᾽ ἀπείρονα γαῖαν. Cf. LXX *Is.* 9.5–6.

333 *Ps.* 101.15 ὅτι εὐδόκησαν οἱ δοῦλοί σου τοὺς λίθους αὐτῆς / καὶ τὸν χοῦν αὐτῆς οἰκτιρήσουσιν ~ *Abel* 36–7 ο]ὕνεκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ Ἱροσόλυμα τεὴ[ν πο]θέου[σι]ν ἅπαντες / ἴφ]θιμοι θεράπον[τ]ες ἐελδόμενο[ι χ]νόον αὐτ[ῆ]ς

334 *Abel* 41 οὕνεκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀμφεπένευσε λαοσσόον Ἱροσολύμα. The gesture of acquiescence is not typical of the biblical God, but of the pagan gods: cf. Hom *Il.* 15.75 (ἐμῷ δ᾽ ἐπένευσα κάρητι); Opp. *H.* 2.246 (τόδε πού σφι Ποσειδάων ἐπένευσε); Nonn. *D.* 31.72 (θεὰ δ᾽ ἐπένευσε θεαίνη), 38.219 (Helius ἐπένευσε).

335 The Psalm (101.21) talks of listening to the captives and those awaiting death, but in *Abel* it is extended to all sinners (43–4, 59), according to the theme of the *codex*. Cf. *Jn.* 3.17. Cf. as well *The Lord to those who suffer* ll. 6–8 and 10, on the idea of Christ's death bringing salvation to all; *Eulogy] of Lord Jesus* 18. Cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, p. 135.

336 Also *Eulogy] of Lord Jesus* 7, 24. To be compared with *Jn.* 1.9,11,14; *Bar.* 3.38; *Ex.* 3.7–8; *Wis.* 18.15.

Thus, when we call *Abel* a paraphrastic ethopoea, we should bear in mind that it is not a simple paraphrase of Psalm 101, but a composition about the persecuted righteous asking for God's favour with echoes of his protagonist Abel, but also of Dorotheus and Christological. As happens in the ethopoeae of mythological subject with Homer, here the biblical text is only a starting point to which the poet adds everything suggested by the subject, not of the Psalm, but of the archetype deduced from the title of the new composition.

The case of *On Abraham* (**40.2**) is more complicated, as it is not an ethopoea,[337] but has in common with the ethopoeae of Cain and Abel that it takes the biblical text as a starting point to fashion a character's (three in this case) position in a given situation.[338] The sacrifice of Isaak narrated in *Gen.* 22 is retold with several differences:

– Whereas in the Bible Sarah is absent and Isaak is innocent, in this composition they are informed of everything.[339]
– *Gen.* does not mention Abraham's feelings, whereas in the papyrus the three characters enthusiastically receive the order of sacrificing Isaak.
– In *Gen.* we read a dialogue between father and son (*Gen.* 22.7–8); on the papyrus three speeches are opposed, Abraham's to Sarah (ll. 6–9), Sarah's to Isaak (11-[14]) and Isaak's to his parents (16–18).
– In the *Codex Visionum* Isaac compares his death to a wedding.
– In the Bible God himself transmits his orders to Abraham, but it is an angel who stops his hand at the moment of the sacrifice; in the *P.Bodm.* the angel talks to Abraham and God's hand stops him.
– The sacrifice is compared in the composition of the *P.Bodm.* to the crossing of the Red Sea.
– In *On Abraham* a play on words is made with the sacrificial animal (25 μῆλον), which appears as a fruit in a nearby tree (26 καρπὸν).[340]

A thorough study of both passages[341] reveals that the sacrifice of Isaak is seen as one in a list of martyrdoms leading to Jesus Christ's and that the author works on previously existent intertextual references of several pas-

337 Introduction of the subject (1–3), alphabetic acrostic about the reactions of the three characters and the development of the events (4–27) and apostrophe and promise made to Abraham (28–30).
338 Cf. Agosti 2005a, 44–5.
339 Cf. the paleochristian Chapel of Peace in Bagawat, where Abraham is about to sacrifice Isaac in the presence of Sarah: Zibawi 2003, 31–5.
340 Cf. analysis in *P.Bodm.* 30–7, p. 41.
341 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, pp. 37–43, 50–6; van der Horst – Parmentier 2002.

sages of the Bible. Thus, the seven brothers who in 2 *Mac.* 7 face death for not eating impure meats are praised in 4 *Mac.* with Isaak's testimony as a model[342] and their mother's speeches of encouragement (2 *Mac.* 7.22–3, 27–9) may be linked with Sarah's to Isaak in *On Abraham.*[343] In the New Testament Abraham is called father of the faithful and Christ is the one bringing his sacrifice to completion.[344] Therefore, it is hardly surprising that in this composition the sacrifice first of Isaak and then of the goat suggest the Paschal banquet.[345]

Thus the second composition 'adapts' the theme of Isaak's sacrifice to a time and a group of faithful for whom the episode has added connotations in respect to what is written in *Genesis.* Those links can be found in other books of the Old and New Testaments, but they had also become very popular at that time.[346] We do not know the use to which the text was put, but it has a clear edifying purpose and it coincides with the other poems gathered in the *codex* in being a call to the joyous acceptance of martyrdom as a means of salvation.

The author also adapts his composition to late antique aesthetics: because the dialogue has nearly disappeared, those in the original text are turned into speeches without a direct answer. Also, the new structure has no precedents in *Gen.* 22 and it may have been linked to the use of the poem. The acrostic, which reappears in the *Eulogy of Lord Jesus* and *The Lord to those who suffer*, may be a Christian mark, although it was also frequent in the pagan tradition.[347]

As the editors themselves note (p. 43), *On Abraham* presents numerous parallelisms with the "Casta oblació" copied in *P.Barc. Inv.* 157a and 157b,[348] where the angel of the Lord appears to Abraham and Sarah. There they accept the order of sacrificing their son Isaak, who wants to be a perfect victin. The difference with the Bodmer poem is that in this case they are convinced that, if they have faith, Isaak will not be burnt and that there are direct invocations to all martyrs, to whom Isaak becomes equal because of his sacrifice, and to Christ.[349] Moses is also men-

342 4 Macc. 14.20, 15.25–8.
343 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, p. 40.
344 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, p. 39: *Jn.* 8.56; *Mt.* 1.3, 3.34; *Heb.* 11.19; *Rom.* 3.27–4.25; *Gal.* 4.28–5.1.
345 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, p. 41.
346 Cf. van der Horst – Parmentier 2002, 163–72.
347 Cf. *P.Bodm.* 30–7, pp. 37–8; Agosti 2002a, 92–3.
348 Roca-Puig 1994, 117–26.
349 Νῦν μάρτυρες ἤλθατε πάντες, νῦν μάρτυρες ὁμολογεῖτε, Χριστὸν ψυχᾷσιν ἵνα δῶμεν καὶ οὐ μή σε τὸ πῦρ κατακαύσῃ. Cf. as well O, T, Υ.

tioned (Π) and the writer attempts to maintain certain pretensions of Homeric speech.[350]

5.5. Presence of the ethopoea in the *Dionysiaca*

If we take the success of the self-standing ethopoea as a starting point, it is hardly surprising that in Nonnus' work it is of vital importance too. Nonnus developed his own style from the techniques taught at school. Thus, in Hermogenes' *Progymnasmata* we read as an example of characterising ethopoea (9.29–31) "what words would a peasant say when seeing a ship for the first time?", where the peasant is expected to show his surprise and to portray himself as an inland person. In the *Dionysiaca* we find an adaptation of it: the speech (1.90b-126) of a sailor amazed at first seeing a bull turned into a ship, i.e. Zeus transporting Europa. Nonnus uses here the σύγκρισις as he often does:[351] facing an unusual situation with unknown protagonists, the anonymous sailor wonders which metamorphosed deity is abducting which young woman. This ethopoea of an anonymous character has its counterpart in another speech of a known character (1.326–43): the one Hera delivers when seeing that Zeus desires the young woman, at the same time angry and sardonic, as a result of her jealousy.[352]

Another example of adaptation of a school topic[353] is 35.37–78, the speech pronounced by an anonymous Indian in love with a bacchante he has just killed. We know two ethopoeae by Libanius in which Achilles in love laments before dead Penthesilea[354] and Nonnus refers explicitly to this theme (35.27–8), so that we can surely say that this is a version with anonymous characters (ἀορίστων προσώπων) of an original topic with specific characters (ὡρισμένων προσώπων).[355]

We might also remember the speech of Helios (*D.* 38.196–211) trying to dissuade Phaethon from riding his chariot. This mythical episode was

350 Cf. Roca-Puig 1994, 125–6.

351 Cf. *D.* 4.77–107, 9.214–18, 10.196–216, 42.158–63.

352 *D.* 1.325 ζηλομανὴς γελόωντι χόλῳ ξυνώσατο φωνήν.

353 Cf. Agosti 2005a, 48.

354 Cf. Libanius *Ethop.* 8.12.13 Förster.

355 The so-called τις-speeches or speeches of undetermined character, typical of the epic since the Homeric poems (cf. de Jong 1987: she differentiates "actual tis-speeches" from "potential tis-speeches", those a character imagines of an anonymous one), are quite frequent in QS and Nonn. Cf. Kost 1971, 258–9.

very popular at school, among other reasons because it lent itself to a pathetic treatment:[356] although it is not found in the manuals of *progymnasmata* until Nicolaus (example for the διήγημα in 16.4 ff.), Zeus' words to Helios after the chaos provoked by Phaethon were used as a topic for the Capitoline contest by the child Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (IG XIV 2012= Kaibel, EG 618),[357] and from the second century AD we have *P.Lond. Lit.* 51,[358] a school ethopoea where Helios mourns the late Phaeton. The fact that Sulpicius' poem and Nonnus' passage, so distant in space and time, present common phraseological points,[359] proves that the school truly provided the students with a κοινή which differentiated πεπαιδευμένοι from the illiterate masses.

A popular quotation on the incidence of the ethopoea in the *Dionysiaca* is the analysis of the speeches by Wifstrand, who concluded that they were composed in a common style, detached, asyndetic, laden with antithesis and plays on words.[360] They would have their origin in the practice of speeches at school, not as part of dialogues, but the expression of characters' feelings ("Selbstäusserungen").[361] He related them to the construction of speeches in the novel (particularly in Achilles Tatius), and both back to the practice of the ethopoea.

However, that they find no direct answer does not mean that they have no utility, as they serve to concentrate the ἦθος of the passage[362] and to characterise the speaker. Thus Hymnos is given feminine prolixity (15.255–89, 298–302, 316–62) and Nicaea masculine conciseness (306–

356 Cf. Nonn. *D.* 30.110–14 (about Phlogios): ὅς τις ἀδακρύτοιο παρ' εἰλαπίνῃσι Λυαίου / ἀντιτύπων ἐλέλιζε πολύτροπα δάκτυλα χειρῶν, / καὶ θάνατον Φαέθοντος ἐχέφρονι χειρὶ χαράσσων / δαιτυμόνας ποίησεν ἀήθεα δάκρυα λείβειν, / ψευδαλέου Φαέθοντος ἐπικλαίοντας ὀλέθρῳ ("who at the banquets of tearless Lyaios, used to flicker the twisting fingers in his mimicking hands. He would depict by gesture Phaëthon's death with sensitive hand, until he made the feasters weep with tears quite out of place, mouning the death of an imaginary Phaëthon").

357 It presents many points of contact with Ovid (*Met.* 1.747–2.366): cf. Diggle 1970, 201–2.

358 Cf. Agosti 2005a, 37. Cf. Nonn. *D.* 23.240.

359 Cf. Simon 1999, p. 26, n. 4: "Sulpicius emploie ἁρμελατῆρα pour Hélios (v. 1), et Nonnos ἐλατήρ pour Phaéthon (v. 310); la course errante est évoquée par ποῖ… φορεῖτο (Sulp. 6–7) et par πῇ φερέαι (N. 333); la confusion est marquée par μίγνυτο (Sulp. 9) et μίσγοντο (N. 408); Sulpicius emploie σπόρος pour désigner ce que brûle l'incendie (v. 12), Nonnos pour ce qui renaît dans le sol (v. 422)".

360 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 145.

361 Wifstrand 1933, 141–4; Vian 1986, 337.

362 Krafft 1975, 128.

11) to illustrate the inversion of their natural roles.[363] When dealing with painful situations, rhetorical questions, anaphorae and negations proliferate to increase the *pathos* of the scene.[364] They also ascertain the origin of the speaker: e. g. in 47.76–105, the Attic man who drinks wine for the first time.[365]

Besides, as we have already seen, Nicolaus (66.9–15) suggested for the ethopoea a κομματική expression, with short phrases following one another, without a complex periodic structure.[366] The style of the speeches, more agile and with shorter phrases, serves as a counterpoint to the other two thirds of the poem, where Nonnus often resorts to periodical style (in between the margins allowed by the construction of verse lines as units) and tetracoloi verses are abundant.[367]

The fact that ethopoeae originate at school[368] and that Nonnus shares some features with compositions extant on papyrus does not imply that Nonnus' work is a mere school exercise.[369] In fact, before a speech, Nonnus does not go through all the analysis expected of a student about what kind of expression fits the character, but he has his own unitary pattern,[370] which he adapts to each occasion. For instance, in Helios' words to Phaethon (38.196–211), the father tries to persuade his son to give up his chariot, quoting mythical *exempla:* Zeus' sons do not usurp their father's attributes (Ares does not have the lightning or the thunder, Hephaestus does not gather clouds, Apollo does not have a horse or Hermes the

363 Cf. Gerlaud 1994, 57. Cf. also Peisinoe's speech (3.77–176), on which cf. Frangoulis 2006a.

364 Cf. Gerbeau 1992, p. 41, on 17.334–68, though she also mentions 5.364–5, 7.36, 11.331–2, 35.376–7, 40.197–8.

365 References to Attica: he mentions the Cephisos (79) and the Ilissos (81–2), the Athenian olive (86) and Athena as Icarios' goddess (96 τεὴ πτολιοῦχος Ἀθήνη); he compares the wine with the *kykeon* (87–8), the ritual drink of Eleusian Demeter; comparison (99–103) of the gift of wine to Icarios with the gift wheat to Celeos by Demeter. Another Attic speech can be read in 37.317–23.

366 Nic. 66.9–15. Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 146–50.

367 Cf. Vian 2003, 215–19; Hopkinson – Vian 1994, 111–12. The same happens in Musaeus: cf. Gelzer 1968, 22. On the influence of the ethopoea in Musaeus and Colluthus, cf. Agosti 2005a, 50.

368 In some of them the rule of the three times can be easily traced, though not always in the same order: cf. e. g. 10.85–119 (Ino before commiting suicide), 31.229–82 (Hera on her misery upon Dionysus' triumph), 46.242–64 (Cadmus on Pentheus' death).

369 Cf. Agosti 2005a, 50.

370 Agosti 2005a, 47–8 (p. 56 for a catalogue of main ethopoetic speeches in the *Dionysiaca*).

aegis; Zagreus received the lightning and had a bad end). There is a similar catalogue in *D.* 10.294–303, which proves that Nonnus used some basic material as a starting point which he adapted to each speech.

Besides, in the *Dionysiaca* ethopoeae have a structural importance, which shows that, though the practice of the *progymnasmata* focused on short compositions and that influenced the composition in scenes, it also helped to link scenes to one another. Thus, in books 13–40,[371] the progress of the war is marked by ethopoeic harangues by the two leaders: Dionysus, who gradually reveals his theology of salvation, and Deriades, who progressively redefines his attitude towards Dionysus.[372]

Something similar happens in the story of Morrheus and Chalcomede (33–5):

33.149–79 Aphrodite's orders to Eros
  33.239–62, 301–16 monologues of Morrheus in love with Chalcomede
    33.324–45 Chalcomede terrorised + 351–82 Thetis comforts her
  34.5–20 Morrheus' monologue
    34.27–47 Hyssacos questions Morrheus + 50–80 Morrheus' answer
  34.103–21, 199–220, 292–6, 316–37 Morrheus' words
    35.111–38 Chalcomede deludes Morrheus + 141–54 Morrheus deluded
35.164–83 Aphrodite shows Ares her victory

The structure is circular: the story is framed by Aphrodite's interventions, victor at the expense of Ares. Her methods are the same used by Dionysus and her victory is accordingly equivalent to his victory over Deriades, who is identified with Ares and his practices. Morrheus' solitary speeches can be labelled as lover's monologues and are intertwined with the dialogues: the dialogue of Chalcomede and Thetis (a woman in love and her counsellor, an old woman), is opposed to the dialogue of Hyssacos and Morrheus (a servant and a man in love).[373] It culminates in Chalcomede and Morrheus' final meeting.

371 Agosti 2005a, 49–50.

372 Dionysus' harangues: 15.121–31, 17.292–305, 18.316–19, 23.226–51, 27.167–220, 29.304–10, 35.344–91, 39.78–122. Deriades' harangues: 21.216–26, 241–73; 27.19–135; 30.41–2; 34.199–220; 36.140–60, 339–49, 430–69; 39.33–74; 40.37–60. Cf. Agosti 2005a, 56.

373 Cf. Létoublon 1993, 93–103.

5.6. Ethopoeae in the *Palatine Anthology*

Book 9 of the *Palatine Anthology* contains 31 poems reproducing the pattern of the ethopoea.[374] They share some common characteristics,[375] which likens them to what we have already said about the genre: they all deal with mythical characters, but none is a simple paraphrase of the well-known source. Thus, of the 31 only 7 (457, 460, 461, 465, 470, 471, 476) are characterising ethopoeae and the rest focus on *pathos*, that is to say, the direct reaction to something (126, 449, 451, 452, 456, 458, 462–5, 467, 475, 477, 479, 480, 495), with some reference to the *ethos* (459, 468, 469, 474) or without it (454, 455, 466, 473, 478). We notice a fondness for Homerisms (esp. 470 and 474) and rhetorical *tropoi*, such as anaphora, reduplications, etymological figures (457 πολυπήμονι – πῆμα) and alliterations. Already Crusius perceived that there was a stylistic connection linking this group of ethopoeae to Nonnus, ethopoeae on papyrus (in particular the Cairo diptych [**53.**]) and the school.[376]

Wifstrand proved that the style and metrics were late but not Nonnian and concluded that the ethopoeae in *AP* 9 came from a late *florilegium* of poems composed in the latter half of the fifth century at the earliest.[377] This ensemble should be compared with the anthologies of ethopoeae known through the papyri,[378] as they share the subject and certain very basic forms of expression (anaphora, extensive use of questions). Those from the *Anthology* are of better quality and have literary pretensions or are the result of a literary game, as are those composed by Dioscorus on a smaller scale.[379]

6. Encomium

6.1. Theory of the encomium

"Encomion", says Theon (109.20–2), "is language revealing the greatness of virtuous actions and other good qualities belonging to a particular person", through which he points out the three important elements in the ex-

374 9.126, 449–52, 455–80. Cf. Ureña Bracero 1999, 325–9.
375 Jarcho 1999, 192–3 (general characteristics).
376 Crusius 1905, 145–6; Gerhard – Crusius 1905, 623–34; Cameron 1967.
377 Cf. Wifstrand 1933, 170.
378 Heitsch 26 (**52.**), *P.Heid. inv.* 1271 (**55.**) and maybe *P.Ryl.* 3.487 (**19.**).
379 Jarcho 1999, 193; Fernández Delgado 1994, 303.

ercise: a specific object (often a person), on whose actions and qualities the speech is built.[380] A variety of applications develops gradually from these basic elements, present in encomia from their first occurences.[381] Typology is not so important in the first treatises of *progymnasmata,*[382] but in Nicolaus[383] and the treatises ascribed to Menander Rhetor we find a varied classification.

The most comprehensive analysis of encomium is the one produced by Menander for the encomium of the emperor (βασιλικὸς λόγος):[384]

> proem (368.8 προοίμιον based on the αὔξησις), country (369.18 ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα), people (369.28 ἔθνος), family (370.11 γένος), birth (370.30 τὰ περὶ γενέσεως), physique (371.15 περὶ φύσεως), upbringing (371.18 ἡ ἀνατροφή),[385] [education (παιδεία)],[386] occupations / attitudes (372.3 ἐπιτηδεύματα),[387] actions (372.13 ὁ περὶ τῶν πράξεων λόγος), fortune (376.24 τύχη), full comparison (376.31 τελειοτάτη σύγκρισις), epilogue (377.10 οἱ ἐπίλογος), prayer (377.28 εὐχή).

Two elements, on which Menander insists, should be added to this outline: comparison and the treatment of actions. As for the actions, they should be divided into peaceful and warlike (372.26 τὰ κατ᾽ εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον)[388] and linked to virtues (fortitude, justice, temperance

380 Cf. as well Hermog. *Prog.* 14.17–18; Aphth. 21.5; Nic. 48.19–49.1, 49.23–50.2.

381 Cf. Pl. *Symp* 194e ff. (encomium on Eros); Isocr. *Evagoras*; *Rhet. Alex.* 1425b.26 ff. (Chap. 3); Arist. *Rh.* 1.3 (1358b.18–21), 1.9 (1366a.23–1367b.36); Xen. *Agesilaus.*

382 Theon 109.23–4 (ἐγκώμιον for the living, ἐπιτάφιος for the dead and ὕμνος for gods); Hermog. *Prog.* 15.6–8 (ἔπαινος is short, ἐγκώμιον is long) ~ Nic. 49.4–8; Aphth. 21.8–11 (ὕμνος for gods, ἐγκώμιον for men; ἔπαινος is short, ἐγκώμιον implies a rhetoric development). On the semantics of encomium, cf. Pernot 1993, 117–27.

383 Nic. 47.6–10, 55.16–17.

384 Also Theon 109.29–111.10; Hermog. *Prog.* 15.18–17.4; Aphth. 21.20–22.11; Nic. 50.2–53.6. Cf. already *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.123, first half of the third c. BC, comprising catalogues of arguments for the encomium of Minos, Rhadamanthys, Tydeus and two other characters whose names are irretrievable and a short indication on how to praise them. About the *topoi* of encomium, cf. Pernot 1986; 1993, 129–34, 140–3, 251, 689–710.

385 Nic. adds here the deeds of youth (52.10–12 ἅπερ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ ἡλικίᾳ).

386 Cf. Men. Rh. 372.21–5. Cf. Pernot 1993, 161–3.

387 Cf. 372.3–4 (ἐπιτηδεύματα δ᾽ ἐστὶ ἄνευ ἀγωνιστικῶν πράξεων ἤθη) and 384.20–1. About the double nature of ἐπιτηδεύματα (“métier / caractère”), cf. Pernot 1993, 163–5.

388 Pernot 1993, 165–76.

and prudence).[389] According to Nicolaus, this arrangement aims to prevent the speech becoming a simple list of actions and is combined with the comparison with other persons.[390] In fact, Menander suggests that, besides the full comparison of the reign of the emperor with the previous ones, each of the previous headings should have its own comparison.[391]

This theory makes sense only in its context. The practice of the encomium at school existed already in Hellenistic times, but its systematisation and the corresponding theorisation belong to Imperial times.[392] By then, the occasions for encomiastic speeches had very much increased, being only one form of homage among those used at ceremonies and on special occasions, one in which literary abilities were boasted before the audience.[393] In these situations the function of eulogy is to herald the merits of the extolled person to the people who know him and to those who do not, so that both groups, without getting tired, can contemplate a world characterised by the *kalon*.[394]

Its continous political use explains why style is a major concern in this type of composition. Menander talks of a distended style (ἄνετος: συγγραφικός 'narrative', ἐρριμμένος 'loose', ἀσύνδετος 'with no subordination', ἀκατάσκευος 'guileless'),[395] opposed to the 'tense' one, called σύντονος (πολιτικός 'oratory', συνεστραμμένος 'condensed', ἐγκατεσκευασμένος 'elaborated'). The distended style is the extraordinary one and it is characteristic of the λαλία ('talk'), the κατευναστικός ('bedroom speech'), the συντακτικὴ λαλία ('farewell speech') and the monody; epithalamium and

389 Men. Rh. 373.5–9. Cf. already Theon 112.3–6. About the combination of ἀρεταί and πράξεις, cf. Pernot 1993, 151–5.

390 According to Nic. 52.17–18, in order to prevent the encomium becoming heavy and giving the impression that it is just a list, actions should be combined with virtues. Also, comparisons should be introduced and distributed all through the speech because they stop it being too flat, emphasise the virtues and revitalise the speech (53.3–6).

391 Men. Rh. 372.21–5. Cf. already Hermog. *Prog.* 17.3–4: comparisons are the most important source of argumentation. Cf. Pernot 1993, 308–9.

392 Pernot 1993, 95–105.

393 Pernot 1993, 617–21. The encomiast becomes a spokeman of the community: cf. *ibid.*, 613–16.

394 Pernot 1993, 661–2, 674.

395 Also ἁπλοῦς ('simple'), ἡπλωμένος ('explicit'), ἀφελής ('frank'); μὴ τραχύς (avoiding coarse forms); οὐκ ἐμπερίβολος (avoiding what is complicated); aiming ἡδονή ('pleasure'), χάρις ('grace'), ὥρα ('charm').

consolation may present both. From this we deduce that the σύντονος style is used with the rest of the encomia.[396]

6.2. Daily use of encomium

6.2.1. Institutional poetry

The best way of getting to know the daily use of encomium in Egypt in the third to the sixth centuries is to analyse the encomia preserved on papyrus,[397] always remembering that they are probably only a small representation of the production of the age. In fact, we do not know to what extent the extant samples reflect the actual production and whether these compositions are comparable in use and style to those from other parts of the Greek East, not sufficiently attested. A point in favour of Egyptian compositions being at least partly representative of what was happening in other areas, is the success enjoyed by the encomium in Byzantine literature,[398] where it displays a characteristic vocabulary, already present in the encomiastic poems of buildings from the *Palatine Anthology*.[399] We could even say that these little compositions copied on papyri are the poor relatives of those written in big cities as part of the imperial propaganda. We easily remember Claudian's poems in the Roman court, but we can also add Christodorus of Coptos' lost *Isaurica* and, earlier, the encomium on Diocletian which the *Suda* (*s.v.*) ascribes to Soterichus Oasites.

Let us begin with those poems related directly or indirectly to the magistracies, including the emperor.

The text preserved in *P.Oxy.* 63.4352 (**17.** Antinous and Diocletian) should be studied with those having an indirect relationship with the magistracies.[400] The *ed. pr.* (p. 2) proves that it was written for a poetic competition at the end of the third century AD. That is why in 5.ii.18–39,

396 More on style in the *encomium* in Nic. 58.9–16, 62.5–6, 79.10–13. Cf. also the Τέχνη ῥητορική attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus: cf. analysis in Pernot 1993, 343–5. The variety of situations for which an encomium can be composed corresponds to the variety of styles, with their different ἤθη and figures: cf. *ibid.*, 280–95, 354–5, 395–420, 690–8.

397 Cf. an overall view in Pordomingo 2007.

398 Cf. Dennis 1997.

399 Whitby 2003a, 593–606.

400 Cf. other compositions on Antinous: **26.2** encomium on Antinous and Hermes (*P.Oxy.* 50.3537); **47.** Antinous? (*P.Berol. inv.* 17044).

after mentioning the emperor (18–20) and the governor of Egypt (26–8), the poet directly addresses the governor of the Seven Nomes (32–5), who would have been present. These lines can be seen as paradigmatic of how these compositions were elaborated, not necessarily after only one type of encomium. Thus,

– Ll. 18–20: Capitoline Zeus commiserates with the human race and bequeaths the sovereignty of earth and sea to Diocletian.[401] As pointed out by Magnelli and Agosti,[402] this was the main outline of Imperial propaganda and Menander suggests to use these arguments in the στεφανωτικός (422.16–20), πρεσβευτικός (422.10–13) and βασιλικός λόγος (370.21–6). Besides, we find the same notion in the colophon of the second book of Oppian's *Halieutica* (669–75, esp. 674–5) and in the *Dionysiaca* 7.7–109: Aion (29–66) asks Zeus to take pity on the suffering humans and to replace him with another deity in charge of the world to make things go better; to this Zeus answers (71–105) promising to send Dionysus with the wine as protector of the human race (96) and depositary of divine epithets.[403]
– Ll. 21–5 the emperor brings joy and peace with him[404] and 29–31 begins a new golden age, just as in the *Sack of Troy* Priam thought that Zeus had sent them the wooden horse to begin a peaceful era.[405] Diocletian's accession to the throne means for his subjects passing from the darkness to light, a notion recommended by Menander for the ἐπιβατήριος λόγος (cf. 378.21–3 and 381.15–18).[406]

401 Ll. 18–20: Ζεὺς μόγις οἰκτείρας γενεὴν Καπιτώλιος ἀν[δρῶν / κοιρανίην πάσης τραφερῆς πάσης τε θαλάσσ̣η[ς / ὤπασεν ἀντιθέωι Διοκλητιανῶι βασιλῆϊ. Cf. *P.Berol.* 9799 (**56.**) recto 14 ἄναξ χθονὸς ἠδὲ [θαλάσσης.

402 Magnelli 1998, 64–5; Agosti 2002b, 52–4.

403 *D.* 7.103–5 is to be compared with Men. Rh. 381.10–13 (δῆμος περιχαρῶς δεξιούμενοι… σωτῆρα καὶ τεῖχος, ἀστέρα φανότατον ὀνομάζοντες, οἱ δὲ παίδες τροφέα μὲν ἑαυτῶν, σωτῆρα δὲ τῶν πατέρων: "the common people, greeting you with joy… calling you our saviour and fortress, our bright star: the children call you their foster-father and their fathers' saviour". Russell-Wilson 1981). Cf. also Nonn. *D.* 41.389–91 Σκῆπτρον ὅλης Αὔγυστος ὅτε χθονὸς ἡνιοχεύσει, / Ῥώμῃ μὲν ζαθέῃ δωρήσεται Αὐσόνιος Ζεὺς / κοιρανίην ("When Augustus shall hold the sceptre of the world, Ausonian Zeus will give to divine Rome the Lordship"). Cf. Agosti 2002b, 54.

404 Cf. Pernot 1993, 287–8; Gigli Piccardi 2002, 59 (and bibliography there quoted).

405 23–5, 30–1 should be compared with Triph. 425–31; Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2.1.51.1–7 (37.1394 Migne).

406 Cf. Agosti 2002b, 55–6. To be compared with Nonn. *D.* 19.23–4 Ἦλθες ἐμοί, φίλε Βάκχε, φίλον φάος οὐκέτ᾽ ἀνίη, / οὐκέτι πένθος ἔχει με Διωνύσοιο φανέντος

– The local transmitters of Diocletian's prosperity are Diogenes, prefect of Egypt (ll. 26–8), and the epistrategus of the Heptanomy (ll. 33–5), the second of whom seems to be attending the recitation, since he is addressed to in the second person.[407] The apostrophe is recommended in the proem and epilogue of the arrival speech (Men. Rh. 378.9–16, 381.14–23). The appointment of the prefect (ll. 26–7 φιλοφροσύνην βασιλῆο[ς / δέξατο Διογήνης) attracts our attention: Menander (375.18–21) mentions among the emperor's peaceful achievements that he sends just governors[408] and in the ἐπιβατήριος λόγος he says that, in the epilogue, the encomiast should talk about the people's tokens of affection towards the governor when he arrives (381.10–11).[409] It is possible that the people's attitude has been transferred to the emperor, though there are phraseological parallels in Oppian's *Halieutica* and the 'Song of the Day' (**54.3**).[410]
– Ll. 36–9: the encomiast asks for the prize bringing Zeus in his aid.[411] Menander suggests that the encomia should finish with a prayer (εὐχή) for the extolled person,[412] which would not make much sense here as it is a composition for a contest.

What this composition shows us, besides possible inferences about the dating of Menander's second treatise,[413] is the interaction of rhetorical rules and compositions in verse, both those composed for a specific occa-

("You have come to me, dear Bacchos, as a great light. Grief holds me no more, pain no more, now Dionysos has appeared!"); *AP* 2.403 κεῖνος ἀνήρ, ὃς πᾶσιν ἔην φάος ("He was the man [Pompeius] that was a light to all"); on the *Codex Visionum*, cf. Agosti 2001a, 201.

407 Cf. *ed. pr.*, p. 16 (n. to 32–3).

408 Cf. *P.Berol.* 9799 (**56.**) *recto* 10 (κ[οί]ρανος Αἰγυπτίων ἔτι κήδεται ἄχνυμεν), 13–14 (ἔμπαλιν ὀτρύνων σε νέμειν ἔτι πείσματα Θ[ηβῶν / γ̣ρ̣άμμ̣α̣τ̣ά̣ σ̣ο̣[ι] προίαλλεν ἄναξ χθονὸς ἠδὲ [θαλάσσης).

409 Nevertheless, the *epibaterios logos* may include an encomium of the emperor: cf. Men. Rh. 381.29–30.

410 Cf. Opp. *H.* 4.327 πολλὴ γηθοσύνη τε φιλοφροσύνη τε δέχονται; also 1.658, 3.223–5, 5.481–2. Cf. **54.3** 'Song of the day' (*P.Vindob.* 29788), l. 126 (Ρα[ριά]δος μέλποντο φιλοφροσύνην [βασιληίης). φιλοφροσύνη appears once in Homer (*Il.* 9.256), but is not an epic term (not used by AR, QS, Triph., Nonn., Musaeus, Colluthus, Christodorus of Coptos). It is a frequent word in Plutarch, though: cf. e.g. *Quaest. conv.* 614B9, 617D7, 622B2, 632E5, 667D2.

411 For the interpretation of these lines, cf. Agosti 2002b, 56–9.

412 Cf. Men. Rh. 377.28–30 (*basilikos logos*), 399.9–10 (speech of farewell), 404.28–30 (epithalamium), 407.28–9 and 407.20–4 (discourse of the nuptial couch), 422.2–4 (epitaph).

413 Cf. Agosti 2002b, 54.

sion ("Gelegenheitsgedichte"), and those pretending to be highbrow poetry (Oppian, Triphiodorus and Nonnus in this case). Previous literature, imperial propaganda,[414] the common use of the encomium, the needs of codification arising from school and expositive and explanatory methods taught to students, are all elements involved in the creation of an encomiastic *koine*.[415] All of them influence each other and are interdependent, which suggests that encomiastic compositions did not depend only on Menander and similar treatises.[416]

We assess the role played by rhetorical treatises through several instances. In *P.Berol.* 21849 (Hermoupolis, 2nd half of the 5th c.) Victor asks his fellow σχολαστικός Theognostos to send him back a commentary of Demosthenes he needs urgently (probably to write a speech) and, in passing, some books by Menander (Τέχνη, Μέθοδοι, Ἐγκώμια).[417] Thus these two advocates used Menander at work. *P.Vindob.*G. 16404v (Arsinoite?, mid 6th c.)[418] preserves part of what its editor (p. 14) suggests may be "una sorta di prontuario di formule tipiche dell'elogio del duca, preparate per essere riutilizzate in un encomio", which implies that besides to the original treatises, one could resort to secondary outlines. Finally, on the *recto* of the iambic prologue[419] of the encomium on Maximus (**27.** *P.Vindob.* 29788 a-b + 29474) we read:

18–20 τὸ μὲν οὖν προτάττῳ καὶ γένος [τῶν πραγμάτων,
ὡς οἱ νόμοι θέλουσι τῶν ἐγκ[ωμί]ω[ν
ἀρχαῖόν ἐστιν καὶ κατ' ημ[

"As the rules of encomium want" in l. 19 is a brief reflection on how these compositions were conceived: the rhetorical teaching provides a guide and the encomiast adapts it to the circumstances, to the praised person and to his ability for innovation.

Finally, **43.** Farewell to a dux of Thebes (*P.Flor.* 2.114), begins with some lines talking about the subject matter of the encomium (1 verso b 1–6):[420]

οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον Ἄ[ρης μ]ενεδήιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτᾳ[ί
Μοῦσαι ἀριστεύ̣ο̣υ̣[σι κ]αὶ εἰ βασίλειαν ἀοιδῆ̣[ς

414 Cameron 1965, 502.
415 Expression coined by Pernot 1993, 143.
416 Russell 1998, 33, 40.
417 Maehler 1974; Heath 2004, 94–6.
418 Agosti 1998–9.
419 About these prologues, cf. Viljamaa 1968, 68–97; Cameron 1970a.
420 Cf. Viljamaa 1998, 105–6.

οὐ τέκε Καλλιόπην χ[αλ]κάσπιδα πότνια μήτη[ρ.
καὶ σὲ μάχην ἐδιδα[.....], ἐν ἀμφοτέρῳ δ᾽ ἐλιτ[
πῇ μὲν Πηλειάδ̣ο̣[ς μηλί]ης ἀποπειρηθέντα
καὶ μεγάλην Αἴ̣ᾳ̣ν̣τ[ος ἀ]ερτάζοντα βοείη[ν

"Not only was he a steadfast fighter – so also are the Muses, who ever excel in kingly song. Did not her lady mother bear Calliope to carry shield of bronze? I taught you the arts of battle, and implored you both, when you ventured the battle cry like the son of Peleus, and lifted the mighty (unbroken) shield of oxhide" (Page).

Here Ares and μεγάλην Αἴ̣ᾳ̣ν̣τ[ος ἀ]ερτάζοντα βοείη[ν symbolise the warlike element (πράξεις of war), the Muses and Calliope the epic referent and Πηλειάδ̣ο̣[ς μηλί]ης is a well known paradigm of the epithalamium.

The other encomia on papyrus support this idea. Thus, in the encomium on Theon the gymnasiarch (**15.** *P.Oxy.* 7.1015), the young poet, perhaps taking part in a competition,[421] invokes Hermes as the inventor of the lyre and the protector of gymnasia to please a gymnasiarch who has inherited his literary interests from his father (ll. 18–22) and remembers his donations (ll. 14–17).

The encomia on the teacher of Beryto (**32.** *P.Berol.* 10559, 10558) provide us with another example of the application of the rules of the encomium.[422] The fact that there are two similar ones about the same topic points out to an educational context: they are possibly not real epicedia, but compositions on a given topic from a school.

Also extant are several encomia of 'real' use, that is, true circumstancial compositions. Thus, PSI 2.149 (**23.**) is the encomium on a contemporary: the text preserved on the *recto* seems to be a proem advancing some features of the praised person[423] and the intention of making a grand speech (16 μακρηγορεῖ[ν). On the *verso*, the *topos* of joy (27 χάριτες τῆς πατρίδ̣ο̣ς̣), so common in the *epibaterios logos*, is mentioned, as is one of the virtues, justice (32 θέμις).

421 Turner – Parsons 1987, no. 50.

422 Viljamaa 1968, 68–97 shows that their contents are influenced by rhetorical rules learnt at school: the first encomium on the teacher of Beryto includes (cf. Viljamaa 1968, 75–6) an anticipation to the audience's possible objections for their encomiastic excesses (ll. 25–7) and his justification for the chosen theme (ll. 28–30); the quotation from Thucydides and Demosthenes (ll. 28–30) also appears in Theon (63.15 ff; 110.14 ff.) and the idea of the creation of a lively and talking image as opposed to one of wax (22–4) is already mentioned by Hermogenes (Περὶ εὑρ. 199.4 ff.).

423 Cf. ll. 8 (τὸν [ε]ὐσεβῆ), 11 (αὔταρκες), 12 (σώζει δὲ τοῦτο – cf. as well in the verso, v. 30 σαόπτολίς), 13 (ἡ συμφυὴς ὁμόγοι[α). Cf. Viljamaa 1968, 70.

46. Encomium on Heraclius after his campaign in Egypt (PSI 3.253), to be read with **39.** Encomium on general Germanus, is better preserved. Both include battle descriptions with a reading of Homer close to Triphiodorus or Nonnus and related to the practice of ἔκφρασις at school.[424] These two texts bring us back to the proposals for warlike exploits in the βασιλικὸς λόγος in Menander:

> 373.25–374.6: καὶ μὴν καὶ πεζομαχίας ἐκφράσεις καὶ ἱππέων διασκευὰς εἰς ἱππομαχίαν καὶ ὅλου στρατοπέδου πρὸς ὅλον στρατόπεδον μάχην, ἤδη δέ που καὶ ναυμαχίαν, εἰ γένοιτο· οἷα πολλὰ παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν… καὶ μὴν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκφράσεις μάχας καὶ περιθήσεις ἅπασαν ἰδέαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην, ὡς Ἀχιλλεῖ, ὡς Ἕκτορι, ὡς Αἴαντι περιτίθησιν ὁ ποιητής. διαγράψεις δὲ καὶ πανοπλίαν βασιλέως καὶ ἐπιστρατείας, ἐπιτείνας μὲν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀριστείας καὶ τῆς συμπλοκῆς, ὅταν βασιλέως ἀριστείαν ἐκφράζῃς ("You will also describe infantry battles, the equipment of cavalry for battle, and the engagement of a whole army against a whole army. Also sea-battles, if any. There are many such things in the historians… You should also describe the emperor's own battles, and invest him with all impressiveness (?) and knowledge, as Homer does for Achilles, Hector, and Ajax. You should also describe his armour and his campaigns, dwelling on (?) the moment of prowess and engagement, when you describe the prowess of the emperor" [Russell-Wilson 1981]).

In both poems we find descriptions of the clashes of the two armies[425] and the entrance of the praised person into the fight in Homeric terms:[426] Homer is considered the master of the three rhetorical genres and author of encomia on almost every subject.[427]

In this same context we should read:

- **41.1** War against the Persians by Diocletian and Galerius (*P.Argent.* 480), which on 1 *recto* describes the Persian army marching towards confrontation with the kings. In 1v.2–4 the tetrarchs' ὁμόνοια is developed: Maximian would have come, had he not been busy in Iberia; Constantius Chlorus too, had he not been in Britain; then (1v.5) begins the part of the σύγκρισις, where Diocletian is put at the same level with Zeus and Galerius with Apollo.
- **43.** Farewell to a Dux of Thebes (*P.Flor.* 2.114), where the disruption described in 2*r* a are the perils from which the praised dux liberated

424 Viljamaa 1968, 112–13; Livrea 1978b, 15–19.

425 **46.** 1r ll. 1–9; **39.** F1–12 Steinrück (like in Homer through the confrontations of individuals, who, besides, are given Homeric names).

426 **46.** 1r ll. 10–11 (αὐτὰρ ὁ δυσ[μ]ενέεσσιν ἄναξ ἄπλητος ὀρούσας / ἀνδροφόνο[υ] βάκχευεν Ἐνυα[λίοι]ο χορείην); Germanus in **39.** F13–14 Steinrück.

427 D. Chr. 33.11; Quint. 10.1.46–7. Cf. Pernot 1993, 649–53.

Thebes and the reason to thank him when he finishes his mission in the city. It is, therefore, a προπεμπτικὴ λαλιά, an encomium of farewell (cf. Men. Rh. 395.20–6).

– **54.1** encomium on an emperor (*P.Vindob. G* 29788), of which we also have the part of the warlike deeds.[428]
– **54.4** encomium on Theagenes (*P.Vindob*. 29788): the section on the γένος of this Athenian patrician is developed at length, exploiting the comparison (σύγκρισις) with his very illustrious ancestors.
– **56.** Encomium (of arrival?) on a Dux of the Thebaid (*P.Berol* 9799 + 21154):[429] at least the *recto* has the form of the ἐπιβατήριος λόγος, with an apostrophe to the town (v. 9) and a mention of the joy produced in it by the arrival of the praised person (v. 17); the *verso* seems to belong to the part devoted to war exploits.
– of **58.** Encomium on Appion? very little remains, but it is possible that the contribution of the extolled person to order (4 κ̣όσμου) and his beauty (7 μ̣ορφῆς, 8 Ὀ]λύμπου) are mentioned.
– **60.** Encomium on Archelas (*P.Ant*. 3.115) is a case similar to *P.Oxy*. 63.4352 (**17.** Antinous and Diocletian), as it was apparently composed to be presented in a festival, but it resorts to topics from the ἐπιβατήριος λόγος.[430]

6.2.2. Patria

Besides the encomia on persons, we should consider the cosmological fragment of the *Patria* of Hermoupolis preserved in **41.2** (*P.Argent*. 481).[431] Menander Rhetor devotes part of Treatise I to 'How to praise a city under the head of origin' (353.4 Πῶς δεῖ ἀπὸ γένους πόλιν ἐγκωμιάζειν), treating in the first place the founder (353.5–8),[432] who can be a god, a hero or a man:

428 For its analysis and comparison with Menander I refer to McCail 1978. It shares details with other encomia: *verso* 5 comparison with a lion as in **39.** F13, 7 ff. Steinrück; *recto* 19 comparison with Odysseus as in *P.Flor.* 114 (**43.**) *verso* a 20. Cf. also *AP* 9.523.2 τίκτε μοι ἄλλον Ὅμηρον, ἐπεὶ μόλεν ἄλλος Ἀχιλλεύς ("bear me a second Homer, since a second Achilles has come").

429 Cf. Fournet 1999, 268.

430 Cf. Viljamaa 1968, 54, 111–12.

431 Cf. the remains of a 2nd-c. encomium on Alexandria in Sotadean metre (LDAB 4694, MP^3 1852.1).

432 About this heading, cf. Pernot 1993, 209–10.

> 353.11–13 ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν θεὸς ᾖ, μέγιστον τὸ ἐγκώμιον ὥσπερ ἐπ᾽ ἐνίων λέγεται, ὡς περὶ Ἑρμουπόλεως καὶ Ἡλιουπόλεως καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ("If a god, the encomium is the grandest: this is indeed related of some cities, such as Hermopolis, Heliopolis, and the like").[433]

Its appearance in Menander proves that it is a topic from the school[434] and its presence in the same *codex* as **41.1** Diocletian and Galerius' war against the Persians, another encomium, makes us think that they were copied together to be given the same use or because of their thematic closeness. Their contents can also be related to the Menandrean rules for the city foundation (357.15–25). The last editor compares the fragment to a passage of the foundation of Beryto in the *Dionysiaca,*[435] where language and vocabulary are similar to those in the papyrus. The *patria* would be thus expected to include cosmogonical passages such as those applied to the praised city.

6.2.3. Epithalamia

As a private equivalent of these speeches for public use[436] we count four epithalamia, composed to be delivered on the occasion of a wedding:[437] **7.** Hermes and the Nile (*P.Oxy.* 3.423), **8.** Galatea and Apollo (*P.Lit. Lond.* 38), **31.** Heracles and Penelope (*P.Hal.* 2) and **34.** Epithalamium (*P.Ryl.* 1.17). In them mythical narratives of an amorous kind[438] play an important role, which occasionally enables us to identify very fragmentary compositions.

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433 Also in Men. Rh. 361.2–3 under the heading 'How to praise cities for accomplishments': Αἰγινῆται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀθλητικῇ καὶ Ἑρμουπολῖται… μεγαλοφρονοῦσι ("The Aeginetans are proud of their athletics, and the Hermopolitans <of rhetoric(?)>").

434 Fournet 1993, 254.

435 Beryto in *D.* 41, esp. ll. 77–96; Tyre, esp. 40.430–5. Cf. Gigli Piccardi 1990, 16 ff. About Beryto, cf. Chuvin 1991, 196–224.

436 Cf. nevertheless, Pernot 1993, 98: "Suivant la position social du *laudandus*, le discours restera privé ou au contraire prendra un caractère plus officiel, intéressant la communauté universitaire, la citè ou l'Empire tout entier".

437 Menander distinguishes two types of speeches: the ἐπιθαλάμιος itself (399.1–405.13) and the κατευναστικὸς λόγος (405.14–412.2, a speech of incitation to the bridal union before the bridal chamber). History of the genre and analysis of its rhetorical treatment in Pernot 1993, 98–9.

438 399.15–16, 400.11–22, 402.10–18, 405.22–406.4.

8. Galatea and Apollo was identified in its *editio princeps* as an epithalamium due to the vocabulary used.[439] The preserved part seems to begin with a proem, where the poet talks about singing a highbrow hymn (2 μεγεθ[.....]ον ὑμνοπολεύειν), which we could connect with the choice of writing either a more elevated eulogy or one closer to prose,[440] and he rejects what is impertinent (4 λαβραγόρην [ἀπο]λέσσεις).[441] The mentions of Galatea (ll. 13, 18 and 21) and Apollo (ll. 16, 27 and 30) also imply that it is an epithalamium.

Viljamaa suggests that the passion of Apollo for Daphne and of Poseidon / Pan for Galatea may be used as examples of the power of love,[442] but it would be somehow strange to mention impossible loves in an epithalamium.[443] The presence of both characters in nuptial contexts in the *Dionysiaca* is a good starting point. Apollo is a singer of hymns at weddings,[444] but this does not explain Galatea's presence. On the contrary, in two speeches similar to those of incitation to the couch the purported bridegroom is compared to Apollo for his beauty[445] and that would fit 30 ἐπέοικε τὸν ἀγλαὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. If the bridegroom is compared to Apollo, the bride could be compared to Galatea: Nonnus takes her as an example of the power of love because she married Polyphemus and moved to the sea for his sake.[446] He even presents her singing the hymenaeus at Poseidon and Beroe's wedding.[447]

The identification of **31.** Heracles and Penelope (*P.Hal.* 2) as an encomium was made by Viljamaa,[448] and it is easily confirmed by its confron-

439 Cf. ll. 3 μηνια λέκτρω[ν, 19 ἐ]φεῦρεν ἐρώτων, 20 παράκοι[τιν ἐφ]εῦρες (to be compared with *P.Ryl.* 1.17.3–4: ἄξιον εὗρες / νύμφιον, ἄξιον εὗρες), 29 ἤματι νύκτα συάπτεις.

440 Cf. Men. Rh. 399.16–18. Cf. Viljamaa 1968, 130.

441 Cf. *Il.* 23.479. There may be a reference to something similar in Men. Rh. 406.4–7.

442 Viljamaa 1968, 130. Cf. v. 17 ἔμαρπτε ὀιώκων.

443 However, cf. Diosc. Aphr. 33.18–19 Fournet.

444 Nonn. *D.* 5.100–3, 5.576, 46.297–302. Cf. Men. Rh. 400.13–22.

445 Nonn. *D.* 4.77–176: Aphrodite/Peisinoe incites Harmonia to accept the marriage to Cadmus, comparing him with several gods, among whom Apollo is important (4.95); 10.196–216 is the speech by Dionysius when seeing Ampelos' beauty (cf. esp. 205–7). Besides, in the 'novella' of Chalcomede and Morrheus, when she tries to persuade him to take a prenuptial bath, she makes of Apollo the perfect bridegroom (35.111–14).

446 Cf. Nonn. *D.* 40.553–7. In fact Polyphemus is the only cyclops not taking part in the war against the Indians because he is wooing Galatea (cf. *D.* 14.61–6).

447 Cf. Nonn. *D.* 43.390–3. Cf. Men. Rh. 402.12.

448 Viljamaa 1968, 129–30.

tation with Menander Rhetor. The twelve labours of Heracles (5 δυώδεκα πάντας ἀέθλους) are the model of the bridegroom, as suggested by Menander (405.24–8), and Penelope's δικαιοσύνη (ll. 11–12) can be the model for the bride.[449] Hesiod, quoted in ll. 13–14, is, according to Menander (402.17–20), one of the authors from whom appropriate quotations can be extracted for the epithalamium.

34. Epithalamium (*P.Ryl.* 1.17) is a fully extant composition, clearly an epithalamium. It addresses the bridegroom, putting him under the protection of the Graces and Harmony.[450] The wishes for the couple are concord (4 ὁμοφροσύνην), that they soon have children and grandchildren and that they reach old age (ll. 5–6), elements appearing several times in Menander.[451]

Regarding **7.** Hermes and the Nile (*P.Oxy.* 3.423), again it is Menander's treatment on the epithalamium which leads to the conclusion that we are dealing with one. Thus, in proposing a prooemium in a relaxed style, he offers an example:

> 400.15–22 ἢ ὅτι Πηλέως γαμοῦντος παρῆσαν μὲν ἅπαντες οἱ θεοί, προσῆσαν δὲ Μοῦσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἠμέλει τῶν παρόντων ἕκαστος πρέπουσαν αὐτῷ δωρεὰν χαρίζεσθαι τῷ γάμῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἐδίδου δῶρα, ὁ δὲ ἔπληττε λύραν, αἱ δὲ ηὔλουν, αἱ δὲ ᾖδον, Ἑρμῆς δὲ ἐκήρυττε τὸν ὑμέναιον· ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ νῦν παῤ ἡμῖν ὅμοια. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν σκιρτῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνευάζουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω καὶ ᾄδω τοὺς γάμους ("At the marriage of Peleus, all the gods were present, and the Muses too, and each of them was concerned to give a wedding present appropriate to himself; so one gave gifts, another played the lyre, some of the Muses played the flute, some sang, and Hermes made the announcement of the marriage. And I see the same kind of thing here with us now: some are leaping around, some shouting for joy, and I am speaking and singing of the marriage").

Having this passage in mind we can explain the presence of the immortals (4 ἀθανάτοι), especially Hermes' (l. 4) and maybe 5 ἠπιώδωρον, which could be applied to a goddess who would also join the nuptial *thiasos.* Menander finishes his prooemium with the poet explicitly comparing the myth with the present situation, which is what we would have in

449 Cf. Men Rh. 404.1–6. *Contra* Men. Rh. 405.28–31. Cf. Diosc. Aphr. 32.1–3 Fournet.

450 To be compared with Men. Rh. 404.24–5.

451 Men. Rh. 404.24–8, 407.14–17, 407.20–4.

ll. 8 (καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγωγε) and 9 (τὸν ἀοιδό̣[ν). The ὁμοφροσύνη in l. 7 is one of the key virtues of the couple.[452]

The mention of the flood of the Nile in line 13 (π]λημ<μ>υρῶν Νίλος) requires a further explanation. Menander (401.28–402.2) recommends integrating narratives of rivers, such as Alpheus' love for Arethusa,[453] as examples of the power of love. The motif of the sea/river as the bridegroom looking for the earth as his bride would be especially significant in Egypt, where the flood of the Nile fertilised the cultivated land. The same notion recurred in the hymns to the Nile. In fact, **51.1** Bridegroom Nile and Bride Egypt (PSI 7.845 *r*), where the river is asked not to tarry as his bride is waiting, was said to be an epithalamium,[454] until Keydell recalled the poems for the Νειλῶα (celebration of the beginning of the Nile's swell).[455] This composition, as do similar ones, encourages the river to advance, rise and inundate the land.[456] Dionysus appears here (7 Διόνυσσον ἐυσταφύλῳ ἐνὶ Νάξῳ) as a god of fertility, although he is also mentioned by Menander in the speeches related to weddings.[457]

452 Cf. **34.** Epithalamium (*P.Ryl.* 1.17), line 4: νυμφίον, ἄξιον εὗρες, ὁμοφροσύνην δ' ὀπάσε[ιε]ν. Men. Rh. mentions the synonym ὁμόνοια several times: 407.14–17, 21–4, 411.14–16. I cannot, though, fully explain the occurrence of πτωχός in l. 6: the lover is often treated as a suppliant (ἱκετής) in amatory literature (cf. Kost 1971, 339), but not as a beggar.

453 Cf. *AP* 9.362 and Nonn. *D.* 6.339–66, 40.558–62. Menander points out Poseidon's love for Tyre, also mentioned in Nonn. *D.* 8.244–6 and 40.324–6. Cf. Poseidon's love for Beryto in *D.* 41.28–37. Cf. also Ach. Tat. 2.34.6.

454 PSI 7, p. 149; Körte 1927, 255.

455 Keydell 1934b, 421. In encomia of leaders the flood of the Nile is said to be triggered by their justice (cf. Men. Rh. 377.9–15, 22–4): cf. Kaibel 981.3–4; *P.Lit. Lond.* 62.5–12; Diosc. Aphr. 11.42–3, 18.49–50 and 23.2–3 Fournet (and the corresponding commentaries).

456 PSI 7.845r: ll. 2–4 νυμφίε μὴ δήθυνε, τεὸν δ' ἐπ̣[/ ἄνθεϊ κυμα[τ]όεντι φερέσταχ[υν] ἄμφετε νύμφην, / ὑμετέρων [δ' ἀ]π̣όνᾳ̣ι̣ο πολυρρο̣θ[ίων] ὑμεναίων. *P.Lit. Lond.* 239.23–7 (κ̣α̣ὶ γῆν καρπο-/ φόρον μηθῆ- / σον τοῖς <σ>οῖς / πολλοῖ<ς> ῥί- / θροις), 43–7 (ἀνάβαι- / νε Νεῖλε ἱλα- / ροὺς τοὺς ἓξ / καὶ δέκα πή- / χεις ἄνελ- / θε). *P.Flor.* 18.23–4, lines 5–8 (*ed. alt.* Cribiore 1995) Κλῦθι πάτερ ποτωμῶν καὶ ἐπείγεο σὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν· / ἠέλιος καλέει σε θερειγενὲς οἶδμα κομίσσαι / καὶ χθὼν γυμνωθεῖσα τελεσσιγόνων ὑμεναίων / νῶτον ἀναπλώσασα μένει χρυσορρόον ὕδωρ. To be compared also with Nonn. *D.* 3.275–8 and 26.222–35.

457 Men. Rh. 400.13–14 (γαμοῦντος Διονύσου τὴν Ἀριάδνην); 408.32–409.3. We are also reminded of the corresponding episode in the *Dionysiaca* (47.265–71). In fact, cf. *D.* 47.266 ἁβρὸς ἐς ἀμπελόεσσαν ἐκώμασεν ἄντυγα Νάξου.

6.3. Presence of the encomium in short poems

Apart from these compositions of encomiastic purpose and nature, what role does the encomium play in short poems? Here the priority is to develop a plot thread from which the author cannot deviate too much if he wants to prevent his poem becoming exceedingly long. Thus, we only find encomia here as little encomiastic descriptions, nearly 'medallions'.[458]

We find several of these in the *Sack of Troy*. In the first place the encomium of Penthesilea,[459] the only woman among the heroes killed in combat who is mentioned in the prologue and the only one to be given a longer treatment. The outline is clear: definition of the praised woman (35 παρθένον… δαίφρονα Πενθεσίλειαν), her war exploits (36–8: developing the *topos* of a woman facing on her own a throng of men, with 37 θηλείης ὑπὸ χειρὸς in contrast with νέφος ἀνδρῶν) and the circumstances of her death (38b-9), without mentioning her posthumous feat of seducing Achilles, her killer.

Neoptolemus is also given a medallion in his first appearance:[460] as he has not had time yet to achieve great deeds (53), the passage is confined to mentioning his parents' (52) and that he has inherited his father's courage (54). A second medallion insists on the same image, when Neoptolemus is the first one to get into the wooden horse:[461] Diomedes marvels at

458 Besides the encomiastic element we have seen present in the description of the wooden horse: see pp. 294–5, on Triph. 55–107.

459 Triph. 33–9 Αἱ δ' ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ἀρηιφίλοιο γυναῖκες / κοπτόμεναι περίκυκλον ἀθηλέος ὄμφακα μαζοῦ / παρθένον ὠδύροντο δαίφρονα Πενθεσίλειαν, / ἥ τε πολυξείνοιο χορὸν πολέμοιο μολοῦσα / θηλείης ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἀπεσκέδασεν νέφος ἀνδρῶν / νῆας ἐς ἀγχιάλους· μελίῃ δέ ἑ μοῦνος ὑποστὰς / καὶ κτάνε καὶ σύλησε καὶ ἐκτερέιξεν Ἀχιλλεύς ("The women from Thermodon dear to Ares, beating the unripe, unsucked circle of their breasts, mourned the warlike maiden Penthesileia, who came unto the dance of war, that war of many guests, and with her woman's hand scattered the cloud of men back to their ships beside the sea; only Achilles withstood her with his ashen spear and slew and despoiled her and gave her funeral"). Transl. Mair 1928.

460 Triph. 51–4 Καὶ Σκῦρον μὲν ἔβαινε λιπὼν εὐπάρθενον ἄστυ / υἱὸς Ἀχιλλῆος καὶ ἐπαινῆς Δηιδαμείης· / μή πω δ' εὐφυέεσσιν ἰουλίζων κροτάφοισιν / ἀλκὴν πατρὸς ἔφαινε νέος περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής ("From Scyros, too, leaving that city of fair maidens, came the son of Achilles and august Deidameia; who, albeit he mantled not yet on his goodly temples the down of manhood, showed the prowess of his sire, young warrior though he was").

461 Triph. 152b-8 τοῖο δὲ μύθοις / πρῶτος ἐφωμάρτησε Νεοπτόλεμος θεοειδής, / πῶλος ἅ τε δροσόεντος ἐπειγόμενος πεδίοιο, / ὅς τε νεοζυγέεσσιν ἀγαλλόμενος φαλάροισιν / ἔφθασε καὶ μάστιγα καὶ ἡνιοχῆος ἀπειλήν. / Τυδείδης δ' ἐπόρουσε Νεοπτο-

his resemblance to his father (157–8), but, besides, the strength and might of his youth (already introduced with 54 ἀλκήν) are dealt with in a comparison with a young colt (154–6). Even though it is praised, this impetuousness heralds that in 634–43 he will get carried away by the impulse of revenge and kill Priam.

There are no similar compositions in the *Abduction of Helen.* On the contrary, *Hero and Leander* opens with the description of Hero (28–41), praised for her virtue, which prevents her from joining the other women's maledicent chatter (34–6), and for her beauty, on which the author insists all along the poem. This description of her as a unique being is contrasted with her more common feminine reaction to Leander's amorous advances (119–59), which makes her equal to other women in the same circumstances.

6.4. The *Dionysiaca* as an encomiastic poem

Stegemann suggested that the *Dionysiaca* were composed following the outline of the βασιλικὸς λόγος to create a 'universal history' having Dionysus as its centre.[462] Keydell rejected his theory,[463] but years later Lasky found several advantages in defending the encomium as the underlying structure of the poem:[464]

1. The poet gets credit for imposing a certain appearance of order in his own enterprise.
2. It gives the poet a convenient approach to the length of the topic: it is a loose outline and would very well fit into the production of a poet with an epideictic inclination, such as Nonnus.
3. As opposed to history, it has the advantage of dealing with living persons. Having chosen a god, Nonnus would reject the biographical form, finishing with the death of the protagonist. The encomium is a poetic form in its origin and as a means of praise would be fitting for a poet with Nonnus' inclinations. The biography, on the contrary, is less pretentious and more objective.

λέμῳ Διομήδης / θαυμάζων ὅτι τοῖος ἔην καὶ πρόσθεν Ἀχιλλεύς ("And first godlike Neoptolemus followed his advising, even as a colt hastening over the dewy plain, which glories in his trappings of new harness and outruns both the lash and the threat of his driver. And after Neoptolemus rose up Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, marvelling for that even such aforetime was Achilles").

462 Stegemann 1930, 100–7, 209–30; Vian 1994b, 86; 1995, 60–5.

463 Keydell 1930, 116.

464 Lasky 1978, 360–2.

4. Menander instructs the encomiast to write the πράξεις as complete as possible, which would explain why Nonnus includes so many episodes which would otherwise be excluded because they only have a very distant relationship with the narrative.
5. The encomium had a significant influence, being one of the προγυμνάσματα that a boy practised at school. Nonnus lived in an atmosphere in which rhetoric prevailed, which explains why both he and his audience appreciated rhetorical developments. The most convenient field of rhetoric for a poet approaching Dionysus and wanting to creat a favourable portrait would be the encomium.

A detail overlooked by Lasky is that the suitable genre to deal with a god is the hymn, i. e. one of the types of the encomium, and Nonnus states unambiguously that he is singing a hymn in the first proem of the *Dionysiaca*.[465] We know that in Late Antiquity the praise of an emperor comes close to the praise of a god because the former is thought to represent the latter among mortals, so it comes as no surprise that we find in the *Dionysiaca* traces of suggestions similar to the ones given by Menander for the βασιλικὸς λόγος. Thus, Dionysus' birth is placed in book 7 under the sign of eternity, Aion, a common theme in imperial propaganda,[466] and life on earth is described as miserable before the coming of Dionysus, who, as promised by Zeus, will bring joy and peace to all, just as the new emperor does for his people.[467]

The choice of Dionysus as a subject is no doubt related to the god's popularity in Late Antiquity, not only in literature, but also in sarcophagi,[468] mosaics[469] and Coptic textiles,[470] above all the Dionysiac hanging

465 *D.* 1.12 ἀειδομένου Διονύσου, 15 ὅτι ποικίλον ὕμνον ἀράσσω, 17 μέλψω θεῖον ἄεθλον, 24 ὑμνήσω Διὸς υἷα, 26–7 υἷα Θυώνης / ἀείσω, 29 Διόνυσον ἀείσω. Also 25.257–9 ὑμνήσειν μὲν ὄφελλε τόσον καὶ τοῖον ἀγῶνα / Μοῦσα τεὴ καὶ Βάκχον ἀκοντιστῆρα Γιγάντων, / ἄλλοις δ' ὑμνοπόλοισι πόνους Ἀχιλῆος ἐᾶσαι (to Homer: "Your Muse ought to have hymned so great and mighty a struggle, how Bacchos brought low the Giants, and ought to have left the labours of Achilles to other bards"). Another non-programmatic passage: 21.174.

466 Cf. Chuvin 1992, 67.

467 *D.* 7.7–109 should be compared with Men. Rh. 370.21–6, 381.10–13, 422.10–20. Cf. analysis in 6.2.1.

468 Cf. Matz 1968–75; Zanker – Erwald 2004, 135–67.

469 Balty 1990; Kondoleon 1995; in Paunier – Schmidt 2001, cf. arts. in pp. II 130–46, 161–76, 177–89, 190–204, 265–75; in Morlier 2005, cf. arts. in pp. 859–80, 941–50, 1023–32, 1072–81, 1131–41, 1279–1300.

470 Cf. Lenzen 1960; Rutschowscaya 1990, 82–118; Schrenk 2004, nos. 27–31, 33, 34, 38, 44, 64, 92, 93, 96, 97, 111, 124, 194, 259.

from Panopolis, now in the Abegg Stiftung.[471] The interaction of these elements may point to the vigour of the Bacchic cult in this period or to a conventional symbol of hospitality and conviviality (a more plausible explanation),[472] but what we can be certain of is that Nonnus deliberately chose an international subject, one that would be well received beyond the Egyptian border.

To all this we can add the characteristic late antique motto 'the more difficult, the better' (how can you write a royal encomium of a cowardly god when it is focused above all on his virtues and exploits?).[473] Besides, the element of exaggeration is already suggested by Menander for the proem in the βασιλικὸς λόγος and in general for the whole epideictic rhetoric, especially that requiring a σύντονος style.[474] In fact, we know that impossible compositions were written at school to improve rhetorical skills:[475] if he did drilling with an encomium on Thersites,[476] Nonnus may have conceived his *Dionysiaca* as a *tour de force* in this aspect too and not only for its length, his rivalry with Homer and his all-inclusiveness.

Vian[477] acknowledged five main τόποι ἐγκωμιαστικοί: home and ancestors (1–6), birth (7–8), education (9–12), military (13–40) and peaceful deeds (40–8), death and posthumous honours (apotheosis in book 48). However, he reckoned[478] that in this general outline the episodes are organised freely, though not at random, and that the author is more interested in the details than in the whole.[479]

The careful design of the poem despite its digressive nature can be appreciated in the treatment of the infancy and adolescence of the god (9–12). The divine nature of baby Dionysus is ascertained by the brightness

471 Fleury-Lembert *et al.* 1987; Schrenk 2004, no. 1.
472 Cf. Parrish 1995, to be read together with Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 9.13.
473 For an exercise of encomium on Dionysus, cf. *P.Köln* 7.286 (MP^3 2543.11 = LDAB 5043). **3.** Bacchus (BKT 9.70, Oxyrhynchus, 2nd / 3rd, papyrus roll) is too ill-preserved to be of any help. Cf. also Dihle 2002, on *P.Oxy.* 4.670 (Hymn to Dionysus).
474 Men. Rh. 368.8–10, 369.1–5.
475 Cf. Plb. 12.26b.4–5; Pernot 1993, 79; Stramaglia 2003, 214. Other mentions of encomia with impossible subjects: Pl. *Symp.* 177b.5-c.11; Plu. *Mor.* 44e.
476 Cf. Aeschines 3.231, Lib. 8.243–51 Förster.
477 Vian 1976, xx-xxi.
478 Vian 1976, xxii-xxix.
479 Vian 1976, xxviii. On fragmentation as aestetic principle, cf. Simon 1999, 80.

of his body[480] and his recognition of Zeus as his father and the sky as his realm.[481] He is initiated to the mysteries by Mystis (9.111–31) and with Rhea he develops a very special relationship with animals (9.160–205), two characteristics which will identify him the rest of his life. Books 9 and 10 also illustrate how deeply Hera hates him. Initially she does not dare to harm him, but she drives mad all his nurses and relatives.[482] This situation will only be reversed when, after maddening him (32.98–150), following Zeus' command, she has to suckle him (35.319–35), i.e. to adopt him.[483]

The second half of book 10 and books 11–12 deal with Dionysus' transition to adulthood. The god experiences the playfulness (10.322–11.55) and torment (10.217–77) of his first love, the satyr Ampelos, who dies setting a pattern of destruction for Bacchus' successive darlings and teaches him to mourn (11.224–350). The resurrection of the young satyr and his transformation into vine (12.117–291) provides the god with the successful weapon for his future expedition to India and establishes his ability to triumph over death.

For exploits (πράξεις, warlike and peaceful) and virtues (ἀρεταί: mainly courage, justice, temperance and wisdom) rhetorical treatises suggest a combined treatment to avoid dryness.[484] Nonnus states in the proem (1.11–33) that his aim is to hymn the deeds of Dionysus, so that books 1–12 can be perceived as preliminary and preparatory for the main body of his exploits. Dionysus' *praxeis* are the answer to Zeus telling

480 *D.* 9.103–6 καὶ Διὸς αὐτοβόητος ἀπαγγέλλουσα λοχείην / μαρμαρυγὴ σελάγιζε, καταυγάζουσα προσώπου· / τοῖχοι δ' ἀχλυόεντες ἐλευκαίνοντο μελάθρου, / καὶ ζόφον ἔκρυφε φέγγος ἀθηήτου Διονύσου ("But a brilliant light shone from his face, which declared of itself the off-spring of Zeus: the gloomy walls of the house grew bright, and the light of unseen Dionysos hid the darkness". Transl. Rouse 1940). Also 24.13–14; 47.422, 470. On light as a sign of divinity: 40.411 ff., 45.280–3, 48.319–27.

481 Cf. *D.* 9.32–6 καὶ πάις ἀντικέλευθον ἐς οὐρανὸν ὄμμα τιταίνων / ὕπτιος ἦεν ἄυπνος, ἀμοιβαίῃσι δὲ ῥιπαῖς / ἠέρα λακτίζων διδυμάονι τέρπετο παλμῷ, / καὶ πόλον ἐσκοπίαζεν, ἀήθεα, θαμβαλέος δὲ / πατρῷην ἐγέλασσεν ἴτυν δεδοκημένος ἄστρων ("And the boy lay on his back unsleeping, and fixt his eye on the heaven above, or kicked at the air with his two feet one after the other in delight; he stared at the unfamiliar sky, and laughed in wonder to see his father's vault of stars"); 14.153 αἰθέρα παπτάζοντα, Διὸς πατρώιον ἕδρην ("as he cried Daddy to the sky, the seat of his father Zeus"). To be compared with 48.951–4 (baby Iacchos cries 'Euoi').

482 Cf. 9.37–54 (Nymphs), 243–74 (Ino), 10.1–125 (Athamas, Ino, Melicertes).

483 Cf. Vian 1994b, 93.

484 Theon 112.3–6; Men. Rh. 373.5–9; Nic. 52.17–18.

him the price he has to pay to go to heaven at the beginning of book 13, when Bacchus already has his weapon (wine) and is an experienced lover, so that he can face the challenges of adult life. However, Zeus' instructions are far from clear and they are rephrased by Iris.[485] First Zeus gives Iris his message for Dionysus:

> 13.3–7 ὄφρα δίκης ἀδίδακτον ὑπερφιάλων γένος Ἰνδῶν
> Ἀσίδος ἐξελάσειεν ἑῷ ποινήτορι θύρσῳ,
> ναύμαχον ἀμήσας ποταμήιον υἷα κεράστην,
> Δηριάδην βασιλῆα, καὶ ἔθνεα πάντα διδάξῃ
> ὄργια νυκτιχόρευτα καὶ οἴνοπα καρπὸν ὀπώρης
>
> ("that he must drive out of Asia with his avenging thyrsus the proud race of Indians untaught of justice: he was to sweep from the sea the horned son of a river, Deriades the king, and teach all nations the sacred dances of the vigil and the purple fruit of vintage").

Lines 3–4 refer only to punishing the Indians for their impiety, while 5–6a specify the action against Deriades and 6b-7 introduce the notions of proselitism of a new Dionysiac religion and civilization. However, when Iris passes on the message (13.19–24)

> Ἀλκήεις Διόνυσε, τεὸς γενέτης σε κελεύει
> εὐσεβίης ἀδίδακτον ἀιστῶσαι γένος Ἰνδῶν.
> Ἀλλὰ τεαῖς παλάαμῃσι μαχήμονα θύρσον ἀείρων
> αἰθέρος ἄξια ῥέξον, ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἄμβροτος αὐλή
> οὔ σε πόνων ἀπάνευθε δεδέξεται, οὐδέ σοι Ὧραι
> μή πω ἀεθλεύσαντι πύλας πετάσουσιν Ὀλύμπου.
>
> ("O mighty Dionysos! Your father bids you destroy the race of Indians, untaught of piety. Come, lift the thyrsus of battle in your hands, and earn heaven by your deeds. For the immortal court of Zeus will not receive you without hard work, and the Seasons will not open the Gates of Olympos to you unless you have struggled for the prize")

she adds the idea of a war to destroy the Indians (20 ἀιστῶσαι, 21 μαχήμονα θύρσον), not present previously. Zeus had not mentioned either that the purpose of this crusade was for him to deserve to go to heaven. The stress is laid on what Bacchus has to do (his πράξεις), not on how he has to be (ἀρεταί), though his actions will reveal his character.

Actions are traditionally divided into warlike and peaceful[486] and it would be tempting to use such a division for Dionysus': the war against the Indians on one hand and the peaceful interludes and episodes (main-

485 Cf. analysis in Vian 1995, 109–12.

486 Cf. the introduction to the encomium.

ly, Nicaea, Staphylos and bks. 40–8) on the other.[487] This would however not reflect the real development of the *Dionysiaca*, as peaceful methods (wine) are used in war and erotic conquests are particularly violent, being contrary to the will of the πάρθενοι φυγόδεμνοι. The fusion is especially clear when Dionysus falls in love with Beroe, but is defeated in a naumachy (books 41–3).

Nonnus seems to look for a balance of non violent and martial exploits. During the *Indiad* the god abandons the military scenery to seduce Nicaea (15–16) and for the hospitality of Staphylos and Brongos.[488] Also, in his civilizing tour (40–8), he includes the battle for Beroe, the fight with Perseus (47.472–741) and the Gigantomachy (48.1–89). That alternation is reinforced through thematic elements. Thus, books 12–16 can be called wine books:

12 Invention / discovery of wine
14–15 Battle on the banks of Lake Astacid – military use of wine
15–16 Hymnos and Nicaea – erotic use of wine.

Not only we can point similarities between the inebriation of Nicaea and the Indians,[489] but Nonnus puts both episodes at the same level at the conclusion of book 16.[490]

So much for the *praxeis*. As for the virtues, *D.* 13.1–27 provides a preliminary idea of how Dionysus will emerge when he completes his task: a punisher of injustice (3 δίκης ἀδίδακτον… γένος ᾽Ινδῶν) and impiety (19 εὐσεβίης ἀδίδακτον… γένος ᾽Ινδῶν), so as to correct the behaviour of the Indians, a warrior god, but also a civilizer.[491] For that, no doubt, he will need the four virtues of the *encomium:* courage, justice, temperance and wisdom.

His first actions, the defeat of the Indians (books 14–15) and the rape of Nicaea (15–16), reinforce the impression conveyed by Zeus' orders. In the first episode, he acts as a redeemer of the peoples subjugated by the

487 Cf. Chuvin – Fayant 2006, 6–7.
488 Cf. Gerbeau 1992, 4, 8–13.
489 Cf. Gerlaud 1994, 98.
490 Nonn. *D.* 16.403–5 Καὶ πτόλιν εὐλάιγγα φιλακρήτῳ παρὰ λίμνῃ / τεῦξε θεὸς Νίκαιαν, ἐπώνυμον ἣν ἀπὸ Νύμφης / Ἀστακίης ἐκάλεσσε καὶ ᾽Ινδοφόνον μετὰ νίκην ("And the god built a city of fine stone beside the tippler's lake, Nicaia, City of Victory, which he named after the nymph Astacia and for the victory which brought the Indians low").
491 For a complete list of the virtues of late antique Dionysus, cf. *AP* 9.524, a hymn made up with his epithets. The evolution of Dionysus through the war is accounted for by Vian 1994b.

Indians (14.295–8),[492] who are punished for their *hybris* and for not respecting Bacchic heralds.[493] Nicaea pays dearly her lack of respect for Hymnos' passion and the rules of Eros. The two episodes are not exactly equivalent, though, as in the latter the god is unmerciful, while he proves clement to the Indians when defeating them with drunkenness (cf. 14.411–12). Also, he is bellicose (14.322 ἐγερσιμόθῳ Διονύσῳ), but his orders are pleasant and friendly.[494]

On the contrary, the battle in the Taurus (17.87–397) ends up in a carnage, with Dionysus present as Indian-slayer (17.354 'Ινδοφόνοιο… Λυαίου, 387).[495] He tries to spare Orontes, though, and in fact he does not kill him for his wrong-headedness, but induces him to commit suicide.[496] His clemency is again shown to the Indian chieftain Blemys, who is sent to Ethiopia in payment for his submission (17.385–97).

Brongos (17.32–86), Staphylos (books 18–19) and Icarius (47.1–264) confirm that the god can be merciful to those who are hospitable and welcoming towards him. They are given the wine to enjoy, though it is by no means an easy gift: Brongos disappears from the story, but Staphylos suddenly dies and Icarius is killed by his very people, who think he has poisoned them. The sorrowful contact of Dionysus is best conveyed by Ino (10.95–119), constantly tormented by Hera because she has cared for her nephew, until she commits suicide. They all have to wait for the afterlife to enjoy the benevolence of the god: Ino (10.120–5) is transformed into mermaid Leucothea and both the families of Staphylos (19.53–5, 20.130 ff.) and Icarius (47.246–64) are given a new shape and proximity to the god. The same can be said of Ariadne, his only wife, who dies in the battle against Perseus, petrified by the head of Medusa (47.665–6),[497] as she is also granted the apotheosis (48.969–73).

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492 He is never given the title σωτήρ, though. Cf. Liebeschuetz 1996, 82.

493 This aspect of Dionysus appears as well when he deals with Pentheus (44–6) and the Tyrrhenian pirates (45.137–50). On Dionysus as a justice maker, cf. Vian 2003, 11.

494 Cf. Gerlaud 1994, 46–7.

495 Cf. Men. Rh. 374.19–21 ἐπάξεις πάλιν καὶ ἄλλα κατορθώματα, καὶ τρόπαια τροπαίοις συνάψεις, καὶ νίκας νίκαις, ἱππέων φυγάς, πεζῶν φόνους ("you should introduce other successes, and link trophy with trophy, victory with victory, routs of cavalry, massacres of infantry").

496 Gerlaud 1994, 143–4. To be compared with his duel with Deriades: cf. Vian 1994b, 94–5.

497 After dying, Ariadna complains of another characteristic of Dionysus, his insatiability in love, apparently inherited from his father: cf. *D.* 48.550–2 ("You are just like Cronion changing from bed to bed, and you have imitated the doings

Bacchus shows a different face when he comforts Staphylos' widow and son with wine (19.17 ff.). In fact, wine, most of the time his *alter ego* and not only his weapon, has consoling and healing powers, so that it is often described as a *pharmakon.*[498] This image of Dionysus as a healer recurs in many instances (esp. bk. 29), when he nurses members of his entourage back to health.

Probably the most difficult virtue in an *encomium* on Dionysus would be courage. He constantly relies for help and protection on his nurses and indeed he flees from battle in the episode of Lycurgus (20.352–69), but he is also portrayed as a cautious general[499] and powerful warrior who needs no weapons other than his thyrsus (22.159–67, 23.18–26).[500] In the end when he comes out victorious of the *Indiad* he proves that his methods, however unconventional, are effective.

This combination of exploits and virtues leads us to the final triumph of the god, his apotheosis (48.974–8), meaning that he has achieved what his father asked him to, defeating the Indians and spreading the Bacchic gospel.

To see how Nonnus adapts the rules of the encomium to his poem, we can read the reference to Dionysus in the second proem, the beginning of the part devoted to the direct confrontation between Dionysus and Deriades (books 25–40):

25.22–30 Ἀλλὰ πάλιν κτείνωμεν Ἐρυθραίων γένος Ἰνδῶν.
Οὔ ποτε γὰρ μόθον ὁμοίιον ἔδρακεν Αἰών
Ἠφ́ου πρὸ μόθοιο, καὶ οὐ μετὰ φύλοπιν Ἰνδῶν
25 ἄλλην ὀψιτέλεστον ἰσόρροπον εἶδεν ἐνυώ,

of your womanmad father, having an insatiable passion for changing your loves"). On Dionysus as a lover, cf. Vian 2003, 23–6.

498 Passages collected in Gerbeau 1992, 64.

499 Cf. 22.117–30, where, advised by a Hamadryad, Dionysus gives some orders so that his troops do not fall into an Indian ambush. To be compared with Men. Rh. 373.21–5 (on talking about wisdom of the emperor in the actions of war) ἐκφράσεις δὲ καὶ λόχους καὶ ἐνέδρας καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως· εἶτα ἐρεῖς, ὅτι σὺ μὲν τοὺς ἐκείωνων λόχους καὶ τὰς ἐνέδρας διὰ φρόνησιν ἐγίνωσκες, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ πραττομένων οὐδὲν συνίεσαν "You should also describe traps and ambushes laid by the emperor for the enemy and by the enemy for the emperor. Then add: 'Through your wisdom, you discovered their traps and ambushes, but they understood nothing of what you were doing'". Text and translation: Russell-Wilson 1981.

500 He also faces the Giants on his own (48.1–89), though the report of the episode is clearly comic: cf. Vian 2003, 7–10.

οὐδὲ τόσος στρατὸς ἦλθεν ἐς Ἴλιον, οὐ στόλος ἀνδρῶν
τηλίκος. Ἀλλὰ νέοισι καὶ ἀρχεγόνοισιν ἐρίζων,
εὐκαμάτους ἱδρῶτας ἀναστήσω Διονύσου,
κρίνων ἠνορέην τεκέων Διός, ὄφρα νοήσω
τίς κάμε τοῖον ἀγῶνα, τίς εἴκελος ἔπλετο Βάκχῳ.

"Once more let us slay the race of Erythraian Indians: for Time never saw before another struggle like the Eastern War, nor after the Indian War in later days has Enyo seen it equal. No such army came to Ilion, no such host of men. But I will set up the toils and sweat of Dionysos in rivalry with both new and old; I will judge the manhood of the sons of Zeus, and see who endured such an encounter, who was like unto Bacchos."

This passage is followed by the comparison (σύγκρισις) of Dionysus with three sons of Zeus: Perseus (31–147), Minos (148–74) and Heracles (174b-252).[501] The *synkrisis*, besides a self-standing *progymnasma*, is one of the most notorious elements of the *encomium*[502] and Nonnus explicitly says that we are dealing with one, when stating in l. 28 that its function is to extol (ἀναστήσω 'I will raise up') Dionysus' arduous exploits (εὐκαμάτους ἱδρῶτας = the *praxeis*, central in the encomium).

It is clear too that the comparison (and subsequent identification of the superior element in it) is multi-purpose. The pre-eminence of Dionysus' accomplishments implies Dionysus' supremacy above all gods, but also the superiority of the *Indiad* over the *Iliad* and of Dionysus over Achilles implies Nonnus' superiority over Homer[503] and the modern poets (νέοισι καὶ ἀρχεγόνοισιν).

Menander Rhetor, in his analysis of the βασιλικὸς λόγος suggests that one full comparison (376.31 τελειοτάτη σύγκρισις) should be left for the

501 On the rhetorical wink in l. 29, cf. the definitions of *synkrisis* in Theon 112.20–1, Hermog. *Prog.* 19.16–8, Aphth. 31.7–8, Nic. 60.6–10.

502 Cf. Theon 111.1–3; Hermog. *Prog.* 17.2–4, 18.6–7,17–20; Aphth. 22.9–10; Nic. 53.3–6, 59.5–10.

503 Cf. Nonn. *D.* 25.253–60 Παμφαὲς υἱὲ Μέλητος, Ἀχαιίδος ἄφθιτε κῆρυξ, / ἱλήκοι σέο βίβλος ὁμόχρονος ἠριγενείῃ· / Τρῳάδος ὑσμίνης οὐ μνήσομαι· οὐμὰς ἐίσκω / Αἰακίδῃ Διόνυσον ἢ Ἕκτοι Δηριαδῆα. / ὑμνήσειν μὲν ὄφελλε τόσον καὶ τοῖον ἀγῶνα / Μοῦσα τεὴ καὶ Βάκχον ἀκοντιστῆρα Γιγάντων, / ἄλλοις δ' ὑμνοπόλοισι πόνους Ἀχιλῆος ἐâσαι, / εἰ μὴ τοῦτο Θέτις γέρας ἥρπασεν ("O brilliant son of Meles, deathless herald of Achaia, may your book pardon me, immortal as the Dawn! I will not speak of the Trojan War; for I do not compare Dionysos to Aiacides, or Deriades to Hector. Your Muse ought to have hymned so great and mighty a struggle, how Bacchos brought low the Giants, and ought to have left the labours of Achilles to other bards, had not Thetis stolen that glory from you"). Cf. also 2.359–63; Agosti 2004b, 64.

end of the composition, just before the epilogue, but shorter ones should be included under each heading (377.4 ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν κεφαλαίων ποιήσεις συγκρίσεις). Nonnus moves the main comparison to book 25, but he also furnishes some sections of the poem with partial *synkriseis*.

Thus, his mother Semele is compared to other lovers of Zeus even before she first appears in the poem. Eros retrieves the arrow to shoot Zeus from a quiver storing the twelve arrows used for Zeus' human liaisons (7.117–35), in contrast with the catalogue of his divine liaisons offered in 5.619–21.[504] Semele is later compared with her rivals by Zeus (7.352–68) and Hera (8.134–51) and she proclaims herself victorious against her sisters and Hera, her main adversary (9.208–42).[505] The superiority of Semele implies the superiority of her son over the rest of Zeus' children.

Dionysus is compared to other deities not only in book 25, but all through the poem when his gifts (vine and wine) are put side by side with those provided by them. This motif is exploited in particular in the invention of wine (12.117–393), but it reappears subsequently,[506] validating the Bacchic victory. His weapon, but also his exploits,[507] grant him a place beside Zeus, together with Apollo and Hermes.[508]

Lasky thinks that the humour at the expense of Dionysus frequently exploited in the *Dionysiaca* is a kind of parody of the encomium through the parody of the praised person.[509] An instance of it would be that Non-

504 On the connection of both catalogues, cf. Chuvin 1992, 3–5. There was a long tradition of similar catalogues: *Il.* 14.317–25, Arist. *Apol.* 9, Isoc. *Hel.* 59, Ov. *Met.* 6.103–14. They existed as well on papyrus: cf. *P.Mil. Vogl.* 3.126 is an alphabetic list of the unions of Zeus with mortal women and their offspring, corresponding closely with Ps.–Clem. *Recogn.* 10.21–3 and *Hom.* 5.13–14. Cf. Van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, no. 64, pp. 132–3, 318–19.

505 Cf. analysis in Chrétien 1985, 8–9.

506 Cf. esp. 7.73–105, 12.210–12 and 254 ff., 18.80–99, 45.101–2, 47.45–55. Analysis in Vian 1995, 72–4; 1994a, 278–81.

507 Cf. the final part of the transmission of Zeus' orders in 13.33–4 καὶ σὺ μετ' Ἀπόλλωνα, μεθ' Ἑρμάωνα, μογήσας / μισθὸν ἔχεις καμάτων πατρώιον αἰθέρα ναίειν ("You also do your work, after Apollo, after Hermaon, and your prize for your labours will be a home in your father's heaven").

508 In response to 13.33–4, cf. the final verses of the *Dionysiaca* (48.976–8): καὶ βροτέην μετὰ δαῖτα, μετὰ προτέρην χύσιν οἴνου / οὐράνιον πίε νέκταρ ἀρειοτέροισι κυπέλλοις, / σύνθρονος Ἀπόλλωνι, συνέστιος υἱέι Μαίης ("after the banquets of mortals, after the wine once poured out, he quaffed heavenly nectar from nobler goblets, on a throne beside Apollo, at the hearth beside Maia's son").

509 Lasky 1978, 376: "The fundamental witticism of the poem is that by occasionally making fun of his hero, Nonnus satirizes the very genre in which he works".

nus includes a playful review of the composition of hymenaei as part of Dionysus' *erotodidaxis* to seduce Beroe (42.251b-70): Pan promises to teach Dionysus the best way of bewitching Beroe,[510] consisting of intoning a variegated song (255 ἑτερόθροον ἠχώ) with lyre accompaniment. The topic should be love stories from Beroe's fatherland (271 πατρῴων… μελίφρονα θεσμὸν Ἐρώτων): Daphne, Echo, Pitys, Selene and Endymion, Aphrodite and Adonis. Pan supposes that the nymph will become sensitive with the stories of wretched loves and will not resist Dionysus' suit (262–3, 270–1).

Singing is included among the delusions to which lovers can resort.[511] The starting point is, thus, the delusion as a necessary element to persuade the reticent person, but the character of this person should also be taken into consideration. As women desire as much as or even more than men, but out of decency they hide it (209–16), Dionysus should adopt a similar aspect, serious (218 ἀγέλαστον), pretending shame (217 μιμηλῆς… αἰδοῦς), but combined with a faked unintentional approach (219 ὡς ἀέκων Βερόης σχεδὸν ἵστασο) and pretended amazement (220 θαύματι… δολίῳ). About the speech he only says that it will be made up of a general σύγκρισις with the goddesses (224–6), which will make Beroe feel more beautiful than her contemporaries (230 ὅτι κάλλος ὑπέρβαλεν ἥλικος ἥβης). The passage is a somehow humorous reflection of Nonnus' way of presenting the approach to women and their seduction and of his approach to the poem.

The encomium is not only present in the *Dionysiaca* on a large scale, but it also configures several episodes. There are, for instance, several hymns to the gods:[512] Eros (1.398–407), Starclad Heracles (40.369–410), Beroe (41.143–54), Selene (44.191–216).

It is more appealing to analyse Phaethon's episode (38.103–434). The narrative is introduced by Hermes, who intends to tell it all (107 μῦθον ὅλον Φαέθοντος) to Dionysus, who has asked him for it because he is in-

510 42.251–2 σὲ δὲ ζυγίων ὑμεναίων / φέρτερον, ἢν ἐθέλῃς, θελκτήριον ἄλλο διδάξω ("But there is a stronger charm for wedded union, which I will teach you if you like").

511 42.208 ἀλλὰ πόθου δολίοιο πολύτροπον ἦθος ("But I will tell you the multifarious ways of deception in love"). πολύτροπον reminds of *Od.* 1.1, so that Pan and his pupil Dionysus are compared with Odysseus, capable of various deceits and in possession of a powerful and convincing oratory.

512 Analysed in Fauth 1995, 165–83. On the presence of hymns in the *Codex Visionum*, cf. Agosti 2001a, 200–2. On hymns, cf. Pernot 1993, 216–38.

terested in old legends (106 παλαιγενέων ἐπέων). It follows the layout of the encomium:[513]

- 108–41 Phaethon's γένος: origins of his mother Clymene (108–12); her beauty seduces Helios, who spies on her in her bath (113–29); Helios and Clymene's hymenaei (130–41).
- 142–54 Birth (τὰ περὶ γενέσεως): Clymene's pregnancy and Phaeton's birth (142–5), cosmic phaenomena heralding the future (146–51a), the newly born is so like his father in his beauty (περὶ φύσεως) that he gives him his own name (151b-4).
- 155–66 Upbringing (ἀνατροφή): games with Oceanos, including a bad omen of his future which the god silences in order not to sadden Clymene.
- 167–83 Infantile pursuits (ἐπιτηδεύματα): he mimicks his father's activities.
- 184–409 Exploits (ὁ περὶ τῶν πράξεων λόγος): Phaethon becomes obsessed with the chariot and asks his father for it (184–95); Helios tries to dissuade him (196–211), but has to give in to the youngster's insistence (212–21); to this follows Helios' speech advising his son (222–90), his preparations (291–317) and his disastrous race (318–409).
- 410–23 Fortune (τύχη): Zeus casts down the chariot to Oceanos to safeguard cosmic harmony.
- 423–34 Events after his death (ἐπίλογοι): Phaethon's catasterism and metamorphosis of his sisters into trees.

This myth is clearly not a pointless digression: it heralds the victory of Dionysus and the fall of Deriades. As Phaethon is a *typos* of Deriades, the choice of the encomium for the narration implies an inversion of the genre, the creation of an *antiencomium.*[514]

7. Conclusions

As we have discussed the access to literate and literary training as an element common to all these poets and a very complex style achievable only through training, it is not surprising that the treatises of *progymnasmata* offer a satisfactory nexus for them all. Also, the analysis of literary

513 Simon 1999, 29–40; Agosti 2004b, 759–60.
514 Agosti 2004b, 762.

works of different qualities helps us to understand the process of application of the rules we find isolated in the *Progymnasmata.* Late antique aesthetics and the stylistic guidelines afforded in manuals are not watertight compartments or mutually exclusive realities, but two sides of the same coin. We have scarce information about the real use of the extant treatises and thus we cannot establish a direct relationship between these and literary production. Nevertheless, literary strategies which share some elements with these treatises had in all probability some relation with the school.

I have offered a brief treatment of the narrative because in late antique literature it gives ground to the ἔκφρασις and it made more sense to expand the chapter on the latter. The analysis of its presence in the *Sack of Troy* and the *Dionysiaca* has revealed that, even considering the structural divergences derived from their differing length, they have common features, such as the indirect linking of narrative elements. And yet, while in Triphiodorus' poem we easily follow the thread of the plot, in Nonnus we need a strong capacity of abstraction to isolate it. Allusions, different summarising strategies, compiling elements and the form chosen for each episode usually suggest how to evaluate the interaction of episodes.

Analysing the paradoxographical narratives of the *Dionysiaca*, concentrated in book 26, and contrasting them with the treatises of προγυμνάσματα, not with the exercise of διήγημα but with the encomium, has revealed that the thematic contents were not confined to one single *progymnasma.* They served as an oblique axis and, as such, they appeared in adult compositions.

As for mythological narratives, we see that they are frequently used as *exempla.* In Nonnus they appear in series, probably inherited from the consulted catalogues. In some cases the mention of the mythical character's name is enough to evoke the whole myth, but in others a short development is provided. In the *Dionysica* the recurrence of mythical patterns highlights some threads of the plot (e. g. attempts to change the universal order provoke cosmic catastrophes).

The importance of the ἔκφρασις, noticeable in the meticulous treatment in the manuals, both in its variety and in the advice on the patterns, has its counterpart in its centrality in the literary works of the age. Late antique discourse tends towards description because its purpose is to go beyond reality and it also tends towards comprehensiveness and transcending the real through ἐνάργεια. The presence of ἔκφρασις as a way of building the speech is, therefore, oppressive and has its origins in an aesthetics defined both as baroque and cumulative.

The ἔκφρασις provides a manner of narration through successive images in short epic poems such as the *Sack of Troy*, *Hero and Leander* and the *Abduction of Helen.* This is especially conspicuous in the first of them. Certainly Triphiodorus' poem displays such a descriptive plasticity that it can be analysed placing scenes on a stage and relating them to mythical themes that became popular in plastic arts. This happens because the narrated story is taken as a basis upon which interpretations of the event, tactile sensations or the feelings of the characters are added, a common element in the description of an object. In some cases the same happens with *Hero and Leander*, where that subjective element focuses, above all, on the description of the characters' reactions to what is happening. On the contrary, the *Abduction of Helen* is less plastic and the context is rarely described, though occasionally the author has in mind the rhetorical advice for the description of places. Nonnus too works in episodes made up of a series of tableaux.

As a self-standing composition, the ἔκφρασις may be used for encomiastic purposes, as we see in the works by Christodorus of Coptos and Paul the Silentiary. Descriptions of nature were still being composed at that time, some of them inserted in longer poems.

The long descriptions we have analysed prove that the rules of the rhetorical treatises were also applied in the literature extant through manuscript transmission. The literary tradition, which was itself the basis of everyday's work at school is also very important. Triphiodorus' ἔκφρασις of the wooden horse (57–107) follows the suggested chronological order and the argumentation, but it also reviews and interprets Homer. Something similar occurs in the *Dionysiaca* (book 25) with the description of Dionysus' shield, which is related to the one of Achilles' shield (*Iliad* 18). The former is also a narrative milestone, an introduction to the second half of the poem and a programmatic confession.

It is hardly surprising that only Theon treated the paraphrase as an independent exercise, since the exercise deals with a set of techniques related to all kinds of composition rather than one specific form. On the other hand, it is somehow outside the introductory boundaries of the rest of the προγυμνάσματα due to its complexity. No wonder, then, that it was an activity typical of γραμματικοί such as Triphiodorus and all who intended to refashion prose (above all the Bible) in verse. Nonnus is very thorough in his treatment of the Homeric model and he engaged in the 'translation' of the Gospel of John into his aesthetics, which implies that he appreciated this genre. Both Homer and St. John's Gospel only needed updating to be considered modern.

The diversity of extant ethopoeae gives us an overall view, which, with certain reservations, could be applied to the rest of the exercises, above all those related to the epideictic genre (narrative, description and encomium). Most of the ethopoeae preserved on papyrus share a reference to Homer and therefore a connection to the paraphrase and an increasingly more pathetic style. They are collected in anthologies, which confirm their success as a self-standing genre at school. Also, the poems by Dioscorus of Aphrodito attest that they could be compositions to which adults devoted their literary leisure. The ethopoeae included in book 9 of the *Palatine Anthology* might come from some kind of previous anthology and were the result of adults' literary caprices, similar to those of Dioscorus, but of better quality.

Another instance of the pervasiveness of this genre is that it provides the basis for the *Sack of Troy.* Homer is taken as the starting point for the new composition and the aesthetics and expression are consistent with him, but also adapted to contemporary literary tastes. The ethopoeic compositions in the *Codex Visionum* show that the school tarred the élite with the same brush, no matter their religious beliefs. Thus certain Christian communities produced a type of literature, probably for internal liturgical and/or devotional purposes, using the same resources as the authors of mythical poems, though the result did not always have the quality of the *Dionysiaca.*

The encomia extolling contemporary officers (**17.**, **23.**, **27.**, **39.**, **41.1**, **43.**, **46.**, **54.1**, **54.4**, **56.**, **58?**, **60.**) were in all probability composed by local poets to provide the public administration with the poems needed for important and minor occasions. They also met the demand of those who could afford to pay for a composition required on a special occasion such as a wedding. The extant papyri allow us to deduce that much of the school effort was aimed at the adaptation of rhetorical schemes and divine and heroic myths to specific situations, because the success of the resulting compositions depended on it.

The encomium has a limited use in short poems. It was confined to little descriptive medallions but played a central role in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, based on the outline of the βασιλικὸς λόγος. Nevertheless, we should not simplify this poem, as its development and adaptation are extremely complex and show the versifying expertise of the author.

The study I have carried out is not exhaustive, an impossible task due to the amount of literary and rhetorical material available. I think, however, that it is sufficient to extract some general conclusions on the poetry com-

posed by the so-called Nonnian authors. Many innovations were ascribed to Nonnus because of the lack of an overall study of the poems preserved in medieval manuscripts and the failure to compare them with papyrological and epigraphic evidence. These compositions provide us with a closer approach to the everyday use of such compositions and also with the rhetorical theory which gave those compositions their theoretical basis (esp. the *Progymnasmata*). What we now know is that all the poetry here considered was built upon the foundation work laid down at school, without disdaining the influences of some authors on others and the different interpretation that each of them made of tradition.

Chapter 5
Conclusions

Eunapius of Sardes was right when he said (*VS* 493) that the Egyptians were mad about poetry and we find evidence of this when we examine carefully the Egyptian epic hexameter production from the third to the sixth centuries, especially that of the southern region (Thebaid or Upper Egypt). However, two observations should be made about this statement: poetry was not only written in Egypt, as is clear when all that was composed from the Oppians to the *Cycle* of Agathias is taken into account, and in Egypt not only poetry was written. Thus, we know about Aurelius Ammon's family (*P.Ammon*), the family of the Horapollos, linked to philosophical-religious milieu of Alexandria, Olympiodorus of Thebes, author of a Ὑλὴ ἱστορία, and the technical prose of Zosimus, the alchemist.

Certainly, in comparison with prose, the production of poetry is broader and much more attractive. Thus, from manuscript transmission we have the *Sack of Troy* by Triphiodorus of Panopolis (3rd c.), the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John* and the *Dionysiaca* by Nonnus of Panopolis (*c.* 450), *Hero and Leander* by Musaeus (second half of 5th c. – beginning 6th c.), the *Abduction of Helen* by Colluthus of Lycopolis (5th – 6th c.), some poems (*AP* 1.99, 9.136, 15.9) by Cyrus of Panopolis (5th c.) and the *Description of the Statues in the Gymnasium of Zeuxippus* (*AP* 2) by Christodorus of Coptus (*fl.* 491–518). All these poems can be called epic because, even allowing for their different subject matters, they share a marked Homeric influence, together with the deliberate intention of adapting hexameters and their content to late antique aesthetic demands, sometimes diverging from Homeric principles.

Among them, Nonnus has had the greatest impact, due to the extraordinary length of his work (48 books of *Dionysiaca*, 21 of *Paraphrase*), his idiosyncratic style and his influence on later authors. Complexities of structure and expression and the variety of subjects treated in his poems have generated a considerable number of studies, which go hand in hand with the process of reedition of both poems. Because of this and because of the comparison with the short length and fragmentation

of the other surviving poems, Nonnus has outshone other authors, often simply compared with him in modern studies.

In addition to these poems, which alone provide a broad field of research, an inscription (*I.Milne* 9267, Ptolemagrius' Monument) has reached us, together with 59 rolls or codices or *tabulae*, most of them fragmentary, on which epic compositions or compositions with epic contents or style of this period were copied. These poems preserve some poetic forms written to be used without further ado, probably similar to the ones composed in other parts of the Greek-speaking Eastern Mediterranean, which are not extant. In a sense these poems are at the lowest level as regards quality, compared with those known through manuscripts.

It is difficult to analyse them individually because of their fragmentation, problematic dating and the absence of information about the contexts in which they were created. On the other hand, their collective study has to face the disparity and diversity of their editions. Some of them are collected in the *corpora* assembled by Page and Heitsch, who did not have an exegetical purpose in mind and did not include texts published after the mid 1960s. On the other hand, databases, specifically the LDAB and the MP^3, offer up-to-date bibliography, as well as a brief description of the material and its contents, but not the texts or their critical analysis. Thus, as a preliminary step to a comprehensive analysis, it was necessary to build up a catalogue including this inscription and the papyri. In it I have offered the latest bibliography and a brief analysis of what is known about the author, the provenance of the material, its dating (where possible the date of the poem too) and its description. I have added a summary of the contents where necessary, as well as a sum-up of their metrical and stylistic characteristics, their possible functions and references to similar poems.

None of these compositions states its author explicitly, and we have to restrict our remarks to what we can infer from the poem and its physical assets. On the contrary, almost nothing is known about the work of authors mentioned by others, such as Helladius of Antinoopolis, Hermias of Hermoupolis, Serenus, Cyrus of Antaeopolis and Christodorus of Thebes, who we reckon wrote similar poems. Finally, we have information about the public life of Andronicus of Hermopolis and Pamprepius of Panopolis, whose poetry is lost.

Their only shared features are that they all could write poetry, that they could do it because it had been an important part of their education and that as adults they used poetry as a means of living and / or a leisure activity, a clear way of signalling their belonging to a cultural élite. We

cannot consider them a group or community because of lack of information and their distance in time and space, but we know that they were interrelated in social networks. These were the means through which books and literary novelties were set in movement and they were not confined to their places of origin, but expanded through travelling and letters, sometimes beyond the Egyptian frontiers.

Egypt did not lack communication with the rest of the Mediterranean, as is clear from a perusal of book 9 in the *Palatine Anthology*, which gathers compositions that share stylistic and formal traits with the Egyptian poets, Agathias' *Cycle* and the poems by Paul the Silentiary. We should also remember the so-called School of Gaza and their chief figures Procopius and John of Gaza. All of these display a way of writing poetry that parallels that of the Egyptian authors and frequently has a visible influence from Nonnus. These features are also found in Dioscorus of Aphrodito (6th c.) and George of Pisidy (7th c.), both samples of the significance of this aesthetics and of the weight Nonnus had within the poetic tradition.

Going through the studies on Graeco-Egyptian epic from the third to the sixth centuries as a whole, we find that critics from the eighteenth century onwards have focused on the poems transmitted in medieval manuscripts, especially Nonnus', and tended to 'arrange' their authors in a school headed by Nonnus, who would have established some metrical and stylistic guidelines, which were never fully defined. Fortunately, with the passing of time, especially thanks to the edition and study of literary papyri, we have gradually realised that Nonnus was a link (an important one) in the evolution of epic poetry since Homer, not a new starting point.

A decisive moment in this process was the edition of *P.Oxy.* 2946, a third-century fragment of the *Sack of Troy* by Triphiodorus, because it forced a reassessment of his dating and this gave rise to a more consistent view of his place in literary tradition. At present our more realistic approach to metrical and stylistic evolution, due above all to the analysis of compositions on papyrus, has caused the denomination 'School of Nonnus' to fall into disuse, although 'the so-called School of Nonnus' is still applied to Graeco-Egyptian epic poetry in Late Antiquity.

As for the terms 'Nonnian style' or 'Nonnian metrics', they still appear in specialised literature, but their use is most of the time restricted to those authors or works whose metrical, expressive or formal features, clearly defined, are also to be found in Nonnus and sometimes in other authors. The evolution of metrics has been substantially studied, but for-

mal, lexical and stylistic analysis prove to be more complex, due to the extension of the *corpus*. This is why my first issue were the stylistic features in Graeco-Egyptian epic poetry from the third to the sixth centuries, taking Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* as a primary starting point. My main objective has been to verify if they allow us to infer the existence of a school of Nonnus, characterised by a defined style, and, if not, to enquire after the reasons critics put forward to reach that conclusion.

Several papers by Alan Cameron[1] from the sixties onwards attracted attention towards those poets about whom less was known and spread the image of a school of poets – Egyptian, pagan, professionals, who took part in public life, travellers, in possession of a wide knowledge of the Greek language and literature and, in many cases, of the Latin language and literature, too. From the objective data to which we have access I could not infer such a 'poet type' and I realised that the one and only element they actually had in common was the very composition of epic hexameters in which they developed guidelines learnt during their training period at school. Thus, the common factor was that they all belonged to the élite and were educated for literature. This inference, however, could be dangerously theoretical if not accompanied by an analysis of the real context in which these authors emerged. In order to keep it in manageable boundaries I focused on the Panopolite nome (on its capital town Panopolis to be precise), the place of origin of the main group of authors: what caused it to produce so many poets?

Style and context are key points, but any study would be incomplete if it did not tackle the relationship among these poems and what we know about the teaching for composition at schools. I am aware that, even confining it to hexametric poetry with epic features, we deal with very different works: some are strongly encomiastic; the *Codex Visionum* must also have had a practical use in the community that copied it; the compositions related to the *progymnasmata* are school exercises or works written by adults who kept exercising in poetic composition; the longer poems, handed down to us in manuscripts, seem to have been written to produce literary pleasure.

Chapter 2. "Common stylistic features" goes through all we know about metrics, syntax and morphology in these authors, especially Nonnus, and focuses on the vocabulary and principles of poetics and stylistics.

1 Especially Cameron 1965, 1982, 2004b, 2007.

The metrical analysis reveals increasingly rigid hexameters, with fewer variants (Homer uses 32 variants, Triphiodorus 17, Nonnus 9) and very restricted caesurae, word ends, intensity accents, hiatuses, elisions, lengthenings and contractions. As a result, hexameters are repetitive, solemn and heavy, due to the lack of *variatio.* This rigidity is probably at the same time the means resorted to by experts in metrical rules to differentiate themselves from those who only knew the rudiments, and a hypercorrective reaction against those compositions not adhering to the rules, such as the *Visio Dorothei* in the *Codex Visionum.*

The complexity of these rules, besides a lot of drilling, demanded competent teachers to explain them and pupils who devoted considerable time to their study and drilling. Most probably, moreover, the generalisation of the hexameter as a vehicle of high culture, in opposition to the iambics (frequently used in comic prooemia), is directly related to the stress made at school on hexametric compositions and models, mainly Homer.

These metrical rules favour the use of long words and nominal style, matching the late antique special predilection, such as we recognise in Nonnus, for adjectives, derivative and compound words. This gives way to a very descriptive style, as well as to a field of experimentation in creating new words and interpreting anew and relocating others that had entered the epic stream before.

The lexical analysis of Nonnus reveals a will of learned display, as shown in the juxtaposition of complicated words and the attempts to exhaust semantic fields in every single passage: when composing a certain section on any given topic, the poet manages to fit in all related words, especially difficult ones, without implying a deep knowledge behind it.

Another purpose of lexical choices is to suggest sensations unavoidable for the reader, which results in the abundance of sensorial vocabulary. The *Dionysiaca* is full of references to noise, taste, smell, touch, and, above all, sight, which contributes again to build a descriptive poem. Behind this we discern as a primary objective the ἐνάργεια, the capacity a text has to make its content visible and sensed.

Even though the vocabulary displayed by these authors is varied and exuberant, it is complemented with the recurrence of words and roots in adjacent passages, a constant feature in late Greek epic, also present in word-play too, with or without a *figura etymologica.* It is a learned literary entertainment, as we deduce from the fruitless search for technical terms and uses: epic poems were not expected to show an interest in technicalities, but rather in literary tradition in itself, although technical uses could

be introduced occasionally to suggest a complicated approach. This is the reason for the emphasis on the relationship with Homer, whom Nonnus explicitly treats as a model and rival. Nonnus borrows from Homer most of his vocabulary, rejecting words which are too Homeric, enemies of ποικιλία, and reshapes his formulae to suit late antique aesthetics.

What I have said until now applies to the general stylistic principles of late antique plastic arts and literature: the more difficult, the better; regularity of outline combined with variation in detail; stylisation and abstraction. Related to these three points we find Nonnian poetics' keyword, *poikilia* (variety, multiformity, polymorphism), embodied in the prologue of the *Dionysiaca* in Proteus, who alters his shape constantly to adapt himself to changing situations and needs. The term had had an early use in literary criticism: it was even associated with Homer and the resources to provide a polished, elevated style were thoroughly studied.

The *poikilia* is behind the lexical choices, but also behind the type of epic which Nonnus in particular and the late antique literary scene in general turn into literary genre *par excellence* when subsuming the rest of genres to produce a new whole, i.e. variations of a sole genre, stretching to take everything in. The *Dionysiaca* includes pastoral passages until they are superseded by the invention of wine in Hymnos and Nicaea's story (15.169–16.405). We find a similar appropriation in **54.3** 'Song of the day' and *AP* 9.136 and 363.

In the same way, in the *Dionysiaca* we locate funerary epigrams, such as 2.629–30, and reversed novels, like the one of Morrheus and Chalcomede (33–5) or the Lycurgeia (20–1). Tragic influence is perceptible in particular in the cases of σπαραγμός of children, which reach their climax in the murder of Pentheus (46.176–216) and the story of Aura (48.917–24). Comic influence is to be found in irony and iambic contents (infatuation with the dead such as 35.21–78, voyeurism in bath scenes).

The *poikilia* can also be seen as a diminution in the choices of a work as a whole and in specific passages: instead of selecting a generic tone, or certain resource, or a word among several possible, they are all included. This cumulative aesthetics was found pleasing at that time, but in lower quality compositions it yields to simple juxtaposition of not easily combinable elements.

These are features common to all the Greek-speaking Orient, not restricted to an author or an area (of course not to an imagined School of Nonnus) and we realise that they were not easily acquired, especially in the case of metrics. Nevertheless it was always possible to feign the ad-

equate phraseological veneer by including the commonest *iuncturae*, which became a lexical *koine* common to those that had had some type of schooling. Even if we do not share the aesthetic pleasure they produced in the Late Antiquity, we cannot help admiring the capacity these poets developed to absorb the complicated metrics and such a broad heritage of Homeric rewriting.

Two key issues stimulate our interpretation of these features: their presence in compositions that have a proven relationship with the school and the occurrence of some of them in previous poems, to be precise the ethopoea by Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (IG XIV 2012, end of 1st c. AD), Babrius and the oracles collected in the *Theosophia Tubingensis*. The first and the second of them are directly related to the school and the oracles were composed by a learned élite that had spent some time in it.

Thus, even without denying Nonnus' influence on later poetry, we notice that many of his metrical features and stylistic choices are the long-term result of an earlier process, to which the school contributed by providing a decisive place of transmission. The fact that we discover points of contact with highbrow literature in some school-like compositions proves that there was a movement of approximation between high culture and the techniques learnt at school. This would explain the use and development of the same resources studied at school and the meticulousness in scenes to the detriment of the whole, due to the shortness of school exercises.

In Chapter 3 "The role of culture and education in Panopolis (3rd to 6th c. AD)" we see that at this time Egypt was evolving on an increasingly parallel level with the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean. The same can be said about the Egyptian élites, who had the same ambitions as other Greek-speaking élites and expressed their status in a similar way, through the *gymnasium* or in the festivals. Greek education was still a proof of status and literary culture is taken into account when talking about everyday life in the towns of the province (Antinoopolis, Hermopolis, Panopolis) and in Alexandria.

The extant documentation from Panopolis, capital town of the Ninth Nome or Panopolite, which I have tried to consider as a whole, produces an image that proves itself useful to reconstruct the origins of our poets. The élite was made up of landlords, some of which we know as part of a family group (e.g. those of Aurelius Ammon or Alopex) and some of which probably did not reside permanently there, as happens with the Horapollos. This group appears in land registries, tax receipts and land

leases, together what seem to be small owners. We know that the first group provided its descendants with a literary education, but we do not have enough information about the second group to decide whether they did so or not and, if they did, to what extent. In the same way, the landlords were engaged in administrative life, travelled to Alexandria and frequented the βουλή and the *gymnasium*, but we do not know if small owners did the same and to what extent.

At the beginning of the period studied there coexisted in Panopolis Egyptian paganism (with local divinities such as Min or Triphis), and Greek paganism. Christianity with a marked Coptic character was added to these and became increasingly strong from the fourth century onwards, showing its presence in numerous monasteries in the area. The transition from a polytheistic society to a mainly Christian one does not appear to have been violent or traumatic, although it would not have been easy for traditional pagan families such as the Horapollos or Ammon's.

As for the Greek education in the area, I have taken as a starting point its overall characteristics, together with their interaction with Latin and Coptic and the ubiquitous presence of rhetoric. The extant documents relate to the town teachers of different levels (διδάσκαλοι, γραμματικοί, ῥήτορες), although not all of them taught in Panopolis and I cannot deduce to what level schooling was guaranteed at any time. No doubt those interested in completing their training needed to move to Alexandria or any other place away from Egypt, but the well-off Panopolite citizens had all the necessary means in their hometown to begin it and to carry on with it, perhaps up to the level of philosophy. It is not out of place that several of our poets came from this town.

The data on the literary texts in circulation in Panopolis at that time point in the same direction: the spectacular funds of the library known mainly through the *P.Bodm.* come probably from the area and might have belonged to some religious community. This was not the only library in the area, but we do not know how numerous such collections were or how they were used. Information about individuals is even more limited, but Dioscorus of Aphrodito's possessions may give us an idea for comparison.

Beyond the first level of education, Panopolite students worked with more or less the same contents and texts as in other areas, although not all of them are represented and we do not have a full certainty that those that are represented were used for educational purposes: we have evidence for Homer, Hesiod, Menander, Euripides and Thucydides, but

also Achiles Tatius, *AP* 14.100, as well as numerous biblical texts from the Old and New Testaments, orthodox and apocryphal. The Bodmer Papyri prove that Latin was known and taught and, as they belonged to a religious community, that at least some of these offered some training to their members to understand and perhaps compose the poems of the *Codex Visionum*, where *progymnasmata* (the *ethopoea* in particular) are the basis for literary composition.

Mathematics, Astronomy, Natural Sciences and Music required specific training which almost certainly Panopolis could not offer. This meant that those interested in them had to move in search of specialised places, such as Alexandria for Mathematics. These subjects were not included in basic education beyond a minimum introductory level, which explains their dissociation from epic literature. Law studies, increasingly generalised amongst the learned élites, prompted an academic pilgrimage too, and high philosophy was reserved for a reduced number of adepts (cf. the family of the Horapollos). Greek education was, therefore, a trait of the élite, and we could even say a trait of the masculine élite, as it appears that women did not trespass the threshold of literacy.

Panopolis, as many other towns in the Eastern Empire, had a *gymnasium* which we find working in the third century AD, but we do not know until when. More interesting, however, is the organisation from 265 AD of games to honour Perseus, inspired by those that Herodotus (2.91) had said were celebrated there. They included sportive, theatrical and musical events, though there is no mention of literary competitions.

From all this we can infer that Panopolis provided the necessary conditions to yield the poets we know: teachers, books and, above all, well-off families who appreciated literary culture enough to invest part of their money in the education of the following generation. This investment produced learned adults, capable of writing poetry, who in fact did compose it as an entertainment, to show off their skills or as a source of income. In such a context it does not make sense to think of a school of Nonnus, but in well-off families making sure that their children learnt to write poetry and adults composing it.

Chapter 4 "Influence of school-practice in 'Nonnian' poetry: the *progymnasmata*" collates the poems of the *corpus* collected in Chapter 1 with the four extant handbooks of *Progymnasmata* (by Theon, Hermogenes, Aphthonius, and Nicolaus of Mira) and Menander Rhetor. Though Theon contemplates 15 exercises, Hermogenes and Nicolaus 12 and Aphthonius 14, I have focused on those considered more useful for epideictic genres,

i.e. narrative (διήγημα), description (ἔκφρασις), paraphrase (παράφρασις), ethopoea (ἠθοποιία) and encomium (ἐγκώμιον).

Narrative, in its double variant διήγημα / διήγησις, underwent a significant transformation in late antique literature. In the *Sack of Troy* narrative units in chronological succession are easily discernable, but finding the links between them is a more arduous task. Also in the *Dionysiaca* it is difficult to find the liaisons between episodes, due to the central role played by the *poikilia.* As it involves an aspiration to comprise everything, the *poikilia* ('variety') causes the narrative to expand and hides the chronological thread making the interpretation of plot development more difficult.

In the *Dionysiaca* I examined two types of narrative, paradoxographical and mythical ones. Paradoxography, present in book 26 above all, is linked to the *Bassarica* by Dionysius and Herodotus, though the rhetors include paradoxographical motifs in their treatment of encomium (story of Athenian Callimachus). This suggests a double source, learned and school-originated. We get an analogous impression with mythical narratives. These are often very brief *exempla* or plain allusions to common knowledge, collected in catalogues, but sometimes the author mentions unknown legends, and long mythical narratives have also structural significance.

To understand the role of description in these poems a careful reading of rhetorical theory has been crucial. The *Sack of Troy* is a clear literary application of this theoretical analysis. The composition is made up of a series of tableaux, some mostly narrative, some others more descriptive (57–107 construction of the Trojan horse, 305b-57 conveyance of the horse, 506–663 and 668–91 *Nyktomachia*). On the other hand, in *Hero and Leander*, description is significant in the introduction of the characters and their reaction to events. In the *Abduction of Helen*, even though there are some images, the ekphrastic heritage appears above all in spatial directions when entering a new place (200–30 and 236–48). In the *Dionysiaca* ekphrastic tableaux are also the basis of episodes. Description is also the structural support for short compositions, either encomiastic (e.g. those by Christodorus of Coptos, Paul the Silentiary and Procopius of Gaza) or epideictic (e.g. *AP* 9.363 or **54.3** 'Song of the Day').

Subsequently I explored two modes of description, those influenced by Achilles' shield in *Iliad* 18, i.e. long descriptions of an object (or of its making), a vehicle for metaliterary and programmatic reflections, and battle descriptions, shared by all kinds of war epic, which provide us with a tool of analysis for the evolution of the genre. Regarding the

first mode, in the *ekphrasis* of the construction of the Wooden Horse in the *Sack of Troy* (57–107), Triphiodorus displays his Homeric heritage basing it upon the construction of the raft by Odysseus in *Od.* 5.241–62, though it is as a *grammatikos* that he shapes the argumentation. The description of Dionysus' shield (Nonn. *D.* 25.380–567) has a structural function and refers to previous and subsequent narrative threads, but is also susceptible to an ironic reading. This description includes a long mythical narrative, that of the resurrection of Tylos thanks to a plant, the effect of which is comparable to Bacchus' wine.

On battle descriptions, in the *Nyktomachia* by Triphiodorus (506–691) we trace the chronological sequence advised by rhetors and the application of a network of *topoi* to the capture of a town. The same happens with the descriptions in the *Dionysiaca*, which always follow the same outline (preliminaries / preparations, battle, reactions / consequences), although parts of it are sometimes out of proportion. These elements appear in battle descriptions in encomia on papyrus too. This review clearly shows the influence of rhetorical theory in the compositional process and, even taking into account stylistic evolution, provides a common link to all these poems.

The paraphrase, presented as an exercise only by Theon, brings together a set of techniques by means of which Greek students acquired strategies to handle their models. It was a complicated endeavour, so adults kept exercising in it once they had left school. The paraphrase was deemed a learned activity, but accessible to everybody: it produced centos and more complicated forms, from ethopoeae based on a Homeric motif to a full project such as the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John.* It was also the basis of complementary work such as the reassessment of Homer in the *Dionysiaca.*

The ethopoea is the exercise that provides us with the broadest view. Besides what the rhetors illustrate theoretically, compositions with Homeric argument extant on papyrus, both free-standing and part of anthologies, show how important the ethopoea was at school. It went beyond the school to configure quality adult compositions such as the ethopoeae now in *AP* 9 and as Triphiodorus' *Sack of Troy*, built on the song by Demodocus (*Od.* 8.492–520). Parallel to its classical employment, the ethopoea was developed by Christians in *Cain's Words* and *Abel's Words* in the *Codex Visionum*, which also includes *On Abraham.* The presence of the ethopoea in the *Dionysiaca* is continuous and serves structural purposes, as we see in the Indian war (Nonn. *D.* 13–40) or in the story of Morrheus

and Chalcomedeia (33–5), in both of which the progression of the plot is marked by the speeches of the characters.

Regarding the encomium, the papyri offer us an overall vision of its daily application to institutional purposes: personal encomia for special and routine occasions, but also city encomia (*patria*) and epithalamia, which at least in principle were delivered on private occasions. In short compositions its presence is confined to medallions for the introduction of characters, whereas in the *Dionysiaca* it provides the structure of the poem, composed following the framework of royal encomium (*basilikos logos*). The encomium is also at the basis of shorter episodes (Phaethon in 38.103–434).

The samples of *progymnasmata* which I have considered prove that many elements common to all these authors come from school, where students were given the outline and compositional strategies that accompanied them as adult members of Greek cultural élites. This heritage was interwoven with the literary one, also shaped by the school, where they were taught how to read and understand earlier texts, including some recent ones, e. g. Nonnus'. Therefore, I do not find any evidence to defend the existence of a school of Nonnus. What we get is an image of three centuries in the history of the Graeco-Egyptian literature, in which authors and poetry are related directly to the social, economic, cultural and literary context from which they come. The training they could get and the books and authors they came in touch with explain why we have so many names and works, written in a language and metrics that enjoyed the greatest esteem. Triphiodorus, Nonnus, Musaeus, Colluthus, Cyrus of Panopolis and Christodorus of Coptos are just the tip of a literary iceberg only known through the texts that papyri offer us.

Appendix: Checklist of Inscriptions, Papyri, Parchment and Tablets

No.	Title	Edition	Provenance	Date	Material	Format	Genre / Use
1	Prolemagrios' Monument	*I. Milne* 9267	Panopolis	2/3	stone		funerary monument?
2.	Ruin of the town	*P.Heid.Inv.G.* 239D (De Stefani 2000)		2/3	papyrus		
3.	Bacchus	BKT 9.70	Oxyrhynchus?	2/3	papyrus	roll	
4.	Rhegium	PSI 15.1466		2/3	papyrus	roll	
5.	The Cup	*P.Rain.* 3.15	Fayum	2/3	papyrus	roll	
6.	Thasos	*P.Rain.* 3.11		3^{in}	papyrus	roll	
7.	Hermes and the Nile	*P.Oxy.* 3.423	Oxyrhynchus	3	papyrus	roll?	epithalamium
8.	Galatea and Apollo	*P.Lit. Lond.* 38		3	papyrus		epithalamium
9.	Death of the *boukolos*	*P.Oxy.* 3.434	Oxyrhynchus	3	papyrus	roll	
10.	Hector	*P.Oxy.* 30.2514	Oxyrhynchus	3	papyrus	roll?	
11.	Hexameters about glassblowing	*P.Oxy.* 50.3536	Oxyrhynchus	3	papyrus	roll?	
12.	Achilles and Hector	PSI 6.722		3	papyrus	roll	ethopoea
13.	Odysseus'? return	*P.Oxy.* 15.1821	Oxyrhynchus	3	papyrus		
14.	Mythological acrostic	*P.Mich. inv.* 4953 (Daniel 1981a)		3^{med}	papyrus	roll	school exercise

No.	Title	Edition	Provenance	Date	Material	Format	Genre / Use
15.	Encomium on Theon	*P.Oxy.* 7.1015	Oxyrhynchus	3^{med}	papyrus	sheet from roll	encomium (for a contest?)
16.	Ethopoea on the king and the sceptre	*P.Oxy.* 4.671	Oxyrhynhus	3^{ex}	papyrus		ethopoea
17.	Antinous and Diocletian	*P.Oxy.* 63.4352	Oxyrhynchus	3^{ex}	papyrus	roll	encomium (for a contest?)
18.	1. Reunion after Troy (*r.*) 2. Rivalry between Sirens and Muses (*v.*)	*P.Ant.* 1.17	Antinoopolis	3^{ex}	papyrus	sheet from codex	
19.	Odysseus' ethopoea	*P.Ryl.* 3.487		3^{ex}	papyrus	sheet / codex	collection of extracts or exercises?
20.	Penelope?	BKT 9.116		3/4	papyrus	codex	
21.	Trojan Cycle	BKT 9.126		3/4	papyrus	codex	
22.	Tyrtaeus?	*P.Berol. inv.* 17024 (Müller 1974)		3/4	papyrus	codex	
23.	Encomium on a Contemporary	PSI 2.149	Hermoupolis	3/4	papyrus	codex	encomium
24.	Priam	*P.Bingen* 15		3/4	papyrus	roll	

No.	Title	Edition	Provenance	Date	Material	Format	Genre / Use
25.	1. On Odysseus (*r*) 2. Scene of seduction (*v*)	PSI 15.1467 PSI 15.1468		4	papyrus	codex	
26.	1. Hesiod inspired by the Muses (*r*) 2. Encomium on Antinous and Hermes (*v*)	*P.Oxy.* 50.3537	Oxyrhynchus	3/4	papyrus	roll	1. acrostic ethopoea 2. encomium
27.	Encomium on Maximus	*P. Vindob. gr.* 29788 + 29474 (Zumbo 2007)		4	papyrus	codex	encomium: *epibaterios logos*
28.	The War of Troy	*P.Ant.* 2.57	Antinoopolis	4	papyrus	codex	
29.	Athena's Words to Achilles	*P.Oxy.* 42.3002	Oxyrhynchus	4	papyrus	sheet	ethopoea
30.	Helen and Hermione	*P.Berol. inv.* 13239 (BKT V.2, 146)	Hermoupolis	4	papyrus	codex	
31.	Heracles and Penelope	*P.Hal.* 2	Oxyrhynchus?	4	papyrus	roll	epithalamium
32.	Encomia on a Teacher from Beryto	*P.Berol. inv.* 10558–9 (BKT V.1, 82–93)	Hermoupolis	4	papyrus	codex	encomia
33.	Homeric Parody	*T. Kellis inv.* D/2/46 (Hope-Worp 2006)	Kellis	4	wood	codex	related to school

No.	Title	Edition	Provenance	Date	Material	Format	Genre / Use
34.	Epithalamium	*P.Ryl.* 1.17	Hermoupolis	4^{ex}	papyrus	sheet	epithalamium
35.	Aphrodite and the Trojans	*P.Laur. inv.* III/277 (Livrea 1979a)		4^{ex}	papyrus	codex	
36.	Polyxena	*P.Flor.* 3.390	Hermoupolis	4^{ex}	papyrus	codex	ethopoea
37.	Epic Speech	*P.Berol.inv.* 1969 BKT V.2, 145–6		4/6	papyrus		
38.	The Funeral Pire and the Bird	*P.Rain.* 3.12		4/5	papyrus	codex	
39.	Panegyric on General Germanus – Blemmyomachy	*P.Berol.* 5003 *et al.* (Steinrück 1999)	Monastery Phoebammon	5^{in}	papyrus	codex	encomium
40.	*Codex Visionum* 1. *Vision of Dorotheus* 2. *On Abraham* 3. *Speech to the Righteous* 4. *[Eulogy] of Lord Jesus* 5. *Cain's words*	*P.Bodm.* 29–37	Panopolis?	5^{in}	papyrus	codex made of 12 double folios	devotional use 2. ethopoeic form 5. ethopoea

No.	Title	Edition	Provenance	Date	Material	Format	Genre / Use
	6. *The Lord to those who suffer* 7. *Abel's words* 8. hexametric poem 9. hymn?						7. ethopoea
41.	Codex of encomia 1. Diocletian and Galerius' War against the Persians 2. *Patria* of Hermoupolis	 *P.Argent.* 480 *P.Argent.* 481		5	papyrus	codex	used as a model or reference? 1. encomium 2. *Patria*
42.	Offerings to Athena	BKT 9.23	Hermoupolis	5	papyrus	codex	
43.	Farewell to a Dux of Thebes	*P.Flor.* 2.114	Fayum? Hermoupolis?	5	papyrus	bifolio of a codex	encomium
44.	Hero	*P.Berol. inv.* 17071 (Müller 1974)	Hermoupolis	5	papyrus	codex	
45.	The Snake	*P.Ant.* 2.58	Antinoopolis	5^{med}	parchment	sheet	
46.	Encomium on Heraclius after his campaign	PSI 3.253	Hermoupolis	5/6	papyrus	codex	encomium
47.	Antinous?	*P.Berol. inv.* 17044 (Müller 1968)	Hermoupolis	5/6	papyrus	roll / folios	

No.	Title	Edition	Provenance	Date	Material	Format	Genre / Use
48.	Asteria?	BKT 9.40	Hermoupolis	5/6	papyrus		
49.	Epic exequies	BKT 9.152	Hermoupolis	5/6	papyrus	roll	
50.	Eudorus?	*P.Berol. inv.* 17050 (Müller 1974)	Hermoupolis	5/6	papyrus	codex	
51.	1. Bridegroom Nile and Bridge Egypt (*r*) 2. Song of the Sea (*v*)	PSI 7.845	Hermoupolis	5/6	papyrus	codex	1. Poem for a festival
52.	Anthology of ethopoeae	TCD pap. inv. D6 (Heitsch 26)		5/6	papyrus	codex	collection of ethopoeae
53.	Achilles claims his *geras*	Heitsch 38		*c.* 500	wood	diptych	eidolopoea
54.	Papyrus Codex attributed to Pamprepius 1. Encomium on an emperor 2. Hexametric text 3. 'Song of the Day' 4. Encomium on the patrician Theagenes	*P. Vindob. gr.* 29788 A-C (Livrea 1979b)		*c.* 500	papyrus	codex	1. encomium 4. encomium (on commission?)
55.	Anthology of six ethopoeae	*P. Heid. inv.* 1271 v (Gerhard-Crusius 1905)		*c.* 6	papyrus	codex	collection of ethopoeae

No.	Title	Edition	Provenance	Date	Material	Format	Genre / Use
56.	Encomium on a Dux from the Thebaid	*P.Berol. inv.* 9799 + 21154 (Heitsch S10 + BKT 9.56)	Theadelphia	6	papyrus	codex	encomium
57.	Hecate	*P.Rain*. 3.13		6	papyrus	codex	
58.	Encomium on Apion?	*P.Harr.* 2.175		6	papyrus	sheet	
59.	Wasted Land	*P.Ant.* 2.59	Antinoopolis	6	parchment	codex	
60.	Encomium on Archelas	*P.Ant.* 3.115	Antinoopolis	6	papyrus	sheet	

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